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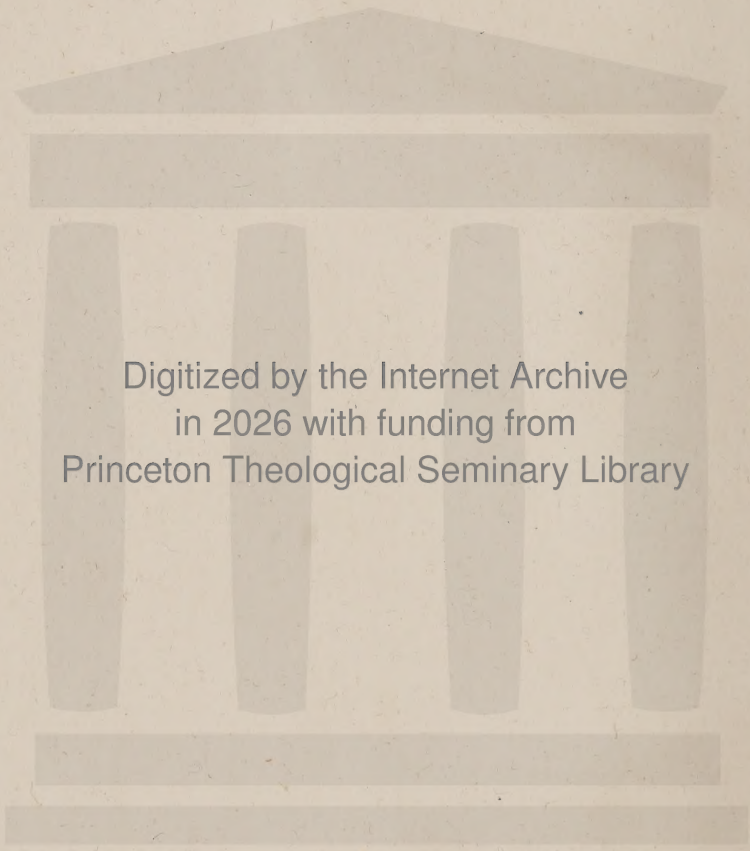
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MAP OF
NEW NETHERLAND,
According to the Charters granted by
THE STATES GENERAL,
on the 11th October, 1614, and 3rd June, 1621.
To Illustrate
BRODHEAD'S HISTORY
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.
Salem 1629
Fox Baren 1614
Boston Harbor
Fayck Bay
Staten Bay 1614
Nieuw Holland
C. Malebarre 1603
Vlacke Hoeck 1614
Zuyder Zee 1614
NANTUCKET
Vlieland 1614
Springfield 1636
Windsor 1633
Hartford 1635
Wethersfield
NAWAAS
SEQUINS
PEQUATOOS
Pequods
WAPANOOS
NARRAGANSETTS
PATUXET
New Plymouth 1620
MANOMET 1627
Quotenis 1637
Elizabeth Isle
CAPAWACK
Block Island 1614
Block Island
Hendrick Christiaensens I. 1614
Rhode Island 1638
Point Judith
Montauk Point
Southampton 1648
Southampton 1640
SEWANHACKY
Long Island
Hackinsack 1641
Colendonck 1646
Yonkers
PAPIRINEMIN
Myt den Duyvel
Bronck's R.
Vreedeland
Hoboken
Bergen 1661
Pavonia 1630
Mespath 1642
Middelburgh 1652
Flushing
Vlissingen 1645
Boswyck 1661
Bushwick
Waalbogt 1623
Rustdorp 1656
Jamaica
Breuckelen 1646
Brooklyn
Heemstede 1644
Hempstead
Midwout 1654
Flatbush
Amersfoort 1654
Flatlands
New Utrecht 1661
MONACKNONG or
EGHQUAOUS
Staten Eylandt
RARITANS
OMPOGE
Amboy
Port May
Coenraets Bay
Columns Point 1609
Sandy Hook
Rondeberg
NEVESINCKS
Coenraet Eylandt 1644
Coney Island
B. of the Mountains 1609
R. Mauritius 1614
Hudson River 1664
R. Mauritius 1614
River 1616
43
42
41

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK.

BY

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

FIRST PERIOD.

1609—1664.

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PREFACE.

THERE are four marked periods in the history of the State of New York. The first, opening with its discovery by the Dutch in 1609, and closing with its seizure by the English in 1664, comprises also the early history of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and, to some extent, that of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The second begins with the ascendency of the English in 1664, and ends with the cession of Canada to England in 1763, by which all the Northern colonies in America became subject to the British crown. The third reaches from the treaty of Paris in 1763, to the inauguration of Washington as President of the United States in 1789. The fourth embraces the annals of the state from the organization of the Federal government.

This volume contains a history of the first of these periods. In that period many of the political, religious, and social elements of New York had their origin. It offers varied themes which invite attention; the savage grandeur of nature; the early adventure of discovery and settlement; the struggle with barbarism, and the subjugation of a rude soil; the contrast and blending of European with American life; the transfer of old institutions; the

intermingling of races; the progress of commerce; the establishment of churches and schools; the triumph of freedom of conscience over bigotry; the development of principles of self-government within, and the action of encroachment and conquest from without.

The preparation of this book has not been without much care and labor. Many of its materials are now employed for the first time; the numerous references to others show the extended resources which, under the recent impulse to American historical investigation, have been brought within reach. It is submitted to the judgment of the public in partial execution of a purpose contemplated for many years; with a desire to aid in the vindication of truth; and with a full consciousness of the importance of the subject and of the fidelity due to the fit performance of the work.

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

New York, November, 1852.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

1492—1609.

Columbus' Discovery, and Papal Donation of the New World to Spain, page 1; Cabot and Verazzano, 2; Cartier and Roberval, 3; Frobisher, 4; Gilbert and Raleigh, 5; Virginia, 5, 6; Gosnold at Cape Cod, 7; Pring on Coast of Maine, 8; Weymouth's Voyage, 9; Virginia Charter, 10; Jamestown founded, 12; Sagadahoc Colony, 13–15; New Charter for Virginia, 15; Pont Gravé and Champlain in Canada, 16; De Monts and Poutrincourt at Port Royal and Saint Croix, 16, 17; Quebec founded, 18; Lake Champlain discovered, 18; Dutch maritime Enterprises, 19–22; Dutch East India Company, 23; West India Company proposed, 24; Hudson in Holland, 24; Hudson sails from Amsterdam in the Half Moon, 25; At Penobscot, 26; At Cape Cod, 26; At the Capes of the Chesapeake, 26; In Delaware Bay, 26; Anchors in Sandy Hook Bay, 27; Death of John Colman, 28; Hudson ascends the "River of the Mountains," 28–31; Descends the River, 32, 33; At Hoboken, 34; Arrives at Dartmouth, 34; Reports to the Dutch East India Company, 34, 35; The River of the Mountains in 1609, 35–37.

CHAPTER II.

1609—1614.

The Dutch an independent Nation when Hudson made Discoveries in their Service, 38–42; Hudson's Voyage to the North, and Death, 42, 43; The Half Moon returns to Amsterdam, 43; Another Ship sent to Manhattan, 44; Christiaensen's and Block's Voyages, 45, 46; Other Ships sent, 47; Yacht built at Manhattan, 48; Virginia Affairs, 49; Lord Delawarr, 50; Never in Delaware Bay, 51; Argall on the Coast of Maine, 52; His alleged Visit to Manhattan, 54; Fort Nassau built on Castle Island, 55; Block explores Long Island Sound in the Yacht "Restless," 55; Discovers the Housatonic and Connecticut, 56; Block Island, 57; Rhode Island, 58; Pye Bay and Boston Harbor, 58; Returns to Holland, 59; Amsterdam Trading Company formed, 60; Deputies sent to the Hague, 61; New Netherland Charter of the 11th of October, 1614, 62; Its Provisions, and the Views of the States General, 63, 64; Block in the Arctic Ocean, 65.

CHAPTER III.

1615—1620.

New Netherland Company, 66; Death of Christiaensen, 66, 67; Champlain discovers Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, 68; At Onondaga Lake, 69; Onondaga Fort

attacked, 69–71; Indian Tribes along the Cahohatatea, or North River, 72–77, Hendricksen explores the South or Delaware River, 78, 79; Returns to Holland, 79; New Charter for South River applied for and refused, 80; Fort Nassau destroyed, 80; New Post on the Tawasentha, 81; The Konoshioni, or Iroquois, 82–87; Treaty of the Tawasentha, 88; Expiration of the New Netherland Charter, 89; Its Renewal refused, 90; Smith in New England, 91; Dermer passes through Long Island Sound to Virginia, 92; Dermer at Manhattan, 93; Patent for New England, 94–96; Progress of Dutch Explorations, 97.

CHAPTER IV.

1620.

Prosperity of Holland, 98; The Reformation in the Netherlands, 99; First Preaching of "the Reformed," 100; Establishment of the Reformed Religion, 101; Toleration of other Religions, 102; Calvinism of the Dutch Clergy, 103; The Gomarist and Armenian Controversy, 104, 105; The Remonstrants, 106; Maurice and Barneveldt, 107, 108; The Synod of Dordrecht, 109, 110; Death of Barneveldt, 111; The Church of England, 112; The Puritans, 113, 114; Puritans emigrate to Holland, 115; The Reformed Dutch Church, and the Church of England, 116–119; The Puritans dissatisfied in Holland, 120; Wish to emigrate to America, 121; Their Patent from the Virginia Company, 122; Their Condition in Holland, 123; They propose to go to New Netherland, 124; Memorial to the Dutch Government, 125; Its Prayer refused by the States General, 126; The Puritans leave Leyden, 127; Sail from Plymouth, 128; Their Destination, 129; The Mayflower at Cape Cod, 130; Compact on board the Mayflower, 131, 132; The Landing of the Pilgrims, 133.

CHAPTER V.

1621—1625.

The Dutch West India Company incorporated, 134; Its Powers and Duties, 135, 136; Its Organization delayed, 137; Private Ships sent to New Netherland, 137, 138; Parliament jealous of the New England Patent, 139; Plymouth Company complains of the Dutch, 140; James claims New Netherland, and sends Instructions to Carleton at the Hague, 141; Carleton's Memorial to the States General, 142; Dutch and English Titles considered, 143, 144; Dutch Traders in Long Island Sound, 145; Walloons in Holland, 146, 147; The West India Company organized, 148; Takes Possession of New Netherland as a Province, 149; First permanent agricultural Colonization, 150; Fort Orange built, 151; Fort Wilhelmus, 152; Fort Nassau, on the South River, 153; Walloons at the Waal-bogt, 154; C. J. May first Director of New Netherland, 154; Ship of D. P. de Vries seized at Hoorn, 155; Dutch Ship arrested at Plymouth, 156; Publications of Wassenaar, De Laet, and Purchas, 157; More Colonists sent to New Netherland, 158; Cattle at Nutten Island and Manhattan, 159; William Verhulst succeeds May as Director, 159; Death of Maurice, 160; Of James I., 161; Treaty of Southampton, 161; Peter Minuit appointed Director General of New Netherland, 162.

CHAPTER VI.

1626—1629.

Provincial Government under Minuit, 163; Purchase of Manhattan Island, 164; Fort Amsterdam begun, 165; Murder of an Indian near the Kolck, 166; Description of Manhattan, 167; Affairs at Fort Orange, 168; Krieckebeeck and Barentsen, 169; Colonists removed from Fort Orange and the South River to Manhattan, 170; The Puritans at New Plymouth annoyed at the commercial Superiority of the Dutch, 171; Long Island, or Sewan-hacky, the chief Manufactory of Wampum, 172; Correspondence between New Netherland and New Plymouth, 173–175; Isaac de Rasieres sent as Ambassador, 176; At New Plymouth, 177; Describes the Puritan Settlement, 178, 179; Mutual Trade, 180; The English Objections to the Dutch Title, 181; Minuit asks for Soldiers from Holland, 181; Charles I. favors the Dutch West India Company, 182; Revenue of New Netherland, 182; Population of Manhattan, 183; Heyn captures the Spanish Silver Fleet, 184; Infatuating Effect upon the West India Company, 185; Cost of New Netherland, 186; Charter for Patroons proposed, 187; Progress of the Colonization of New England, 188; Royal Charter for Massachusetts Bay, 189; Church organized at Salem, and religious Intolerance established, 190.

CHAPTER VII.

1630—1632.

The Golden Fleece, 191; Dutch Towns, and the feudal System in Holland, 192, 193; Charter for Patroons in New Netherland, 194–197; Its Effects, 198; Charter published, 199; Godyn and Blommaert purchase on the South River, 200; Van Rensselaer buys on the North River, and begins to colonize Rensselaerswyck, 201; Pauw purchases Pavonia and Staten Island, 202; Jealousies among the Directors at Amsterdam, 203; Patroonships shared, 204; Heyes sent to the South River, 205; Colony established at Swaanendael, 206; No Dutch Colonies on the Connecticut, 207; Winthrop founds Boston, 208; Extent of the New England Settlements, 209; Connecticut Sachem at Boston, and Winslow, of New Plymouth, visits the Connecticut, 210; Lord Warwick's Grant of Connecticut, 211; Great Ship "New Netherland" built at Manhattan, 212; Minuit recalled, 213; His Ship arrested at Plymouth, and Negotiation in consequence with the British Government, 214–216; Ship released, 217; Difficulties between the Directors of the West India Company and the Patroons, 218; Destruction of Swaanendael by the Savages, 219; De Vries sails for the South River, visits the Ruins, and makes a Peace, 219–221.

CHAPTER VIII.

1633—1637.

Wouter van Twiller appointed Director General in Place of Minuit, 222; Arrives at Manhattan, 223; First Clergyman, Schoolmaster, and provincial Officers, 223; Revenue and Expenditures, 224; De Vries at Fort Nassau, 225; Visits Governor Harvey in Virginia, 226; Pleasant Intercourse opened, 227; De Vries at Manhattan, 228; English Ship sails up to Fort Orange, 229; Forced to return, 229;

Van Twiller's vexatious Conduct, 231; Corssen's Purchase on the Schuylkill, 232; Affairs on the Connecticut, 233; The West India Company purchases Lands of the Savages there, 234; Commissary Van Curler completes Fort Good Hope, 235; Van Twiller's Conduct toward De Vries on his Return to Holland, 236; Virginia Ship and New Plymouth Pinnace at Manhattan, 237; Massachusetts refuses to join New Plymouth in occupying Connecticut, 238; John Oldham's overland Journey, 239; Winthrop claims Connecticut, and Van Twiller replies, 239, 240; New Plymouth Expedition to the Connecticut, 240; Dutch Protest against the Settlers at Windsor, 241; Treaty between Massachusetts and the Pequods, 242; Affairs at Manhattan, 243; Pavonia, Fort Nassau, Fort Orange, and Rensselaerswyck, 244; Van Twiller and Domine Bogardus, 245; English Complaints against the West India Company, and their Answer, 245, 246; Lubbertus van Dincklagen appointed Schout of New Netherland, 247; Difficulties between the Patroons and the Directors, 247, 248; Surrender of Swaanendael to the Company, 249; Clayborne's Explorations, 250; Motives for the Emigration of Roman Catholics from England, 251; Lord Baltimore's Patent for Maryland, 252; Saint Mary's founded, 253; Harvey deposed and sent to England, 254; Fort Nassau seized by a Virginian Party, 254; Retaken by the Dutch, and the English Prisoners sent back to Virginia, 255; Emigration from Massachusetts to Connecticut, 256; English Plantation Board, 257; Its Jealousy of the New England Colonists, 258; Long Island conveyed to Lord Stirling, 259; The New England Patent surrendered, and the younger Winthrop appointed Governor of Connecticut, 259, 260; The Dutch Arms torn down at the Kievit's Hook, 260; Lion Gardiner at Saybrook, 261; William Pynchon at Springfield, 261; True European Title to Long Island and Connecticut, 262; Domestic Affairs at Manhattan and Pavonia, 263, 264; Lands taken up on Staten Island and Long Island, 265; Van Dincklagen sent back to Holland, 266; Beverwyck and Rensselaerswyck, 266, 267; Van Twiller's private Purchases, 267; Bronck's Purchase in West Chester, 268; Quotenis, in Narragansett Bay, and Dutchman's Island at the Pequod River, 268; Traffic with New England, 269; The Pequod War, 269–272; Complaints in Holland against Van Twiller and Bogardus, 273; William Kieft appointed Director General in Place of Van Twiller, 274.

CHAPTER IX.

1638—1641.

Arrival of Kieft at Manhattan, 275; Condition of Affairs there, 276; New Regulations, 277; Domine Bogardus retained, 278; Rensselaerswyck, Pavonia, and Long Island, 279; Jansen Commissary on the South River, 279; Swedish West India Company, 280; Minuit sails from Sweden, and anchors at Jamestown, 281; Arrives in the South River, and purchases Land, 282; Kieft protests against him, 283; Minuit builds Fort Christina, 284; Swedish Ship seized in Holland, 284; The States General inquire into the Condition of New Netherland, 285; New Articles proposed by the Company, 286; By the Patroons, 287; Proclamation of freer Trade, 288; Its Effects, 288, 289; De Vries, Kuyter, and Melyn, 289; Strangers attracted from New England and Virginia, 290; Captain John Underhill, 291; Obligations and Privileges of foreign Settlers in New Netherland, 291; Grants of Land near Coney Island, Breuckelen, and Deutel Bay, 292; Do-

mestic Administration, 292; Tribute proposed to be exacted from the Savages, 293; New Haven, Stratford, Greenwich, and Hartford, 294; Aggressions of the Hartford People, 295; The Dutch purchase West Chester Lands, 296; James Farrett, Lord Stirling's Agent for Long Island, 297; Lion Gardiner at Gardiner's Island, 298; English Intruders at Schout's Bay dislodged, 299; Southampton and Southold settled, 300; De Vries goes up to Fort Orange, 301, 302; Affairs at Beverwyck and Rensselaerswyck, 303–305; The Cohooes, 306; De Vries' Opinion of the North River, 307; Difficulties with the Savages, 307–309; The Dutch ordered to arm, 309; Expedition against the Raritans, 310; The Tappans refuse to pay Tribute, 310; New Charter for Patroons, 311; The Reformed Dutch Church established in New Netherland, 312; Vriesendael, Hackinsack, and Staten Island, 313; Provincial Currency regulated, and Fairs established, 314; The Raritans attack Staten Island, 315; Smits murdered at Deutel Bay, 316; The "Twelve Men" appointed, 317; Kieft urges War, 318; The Twelve Men oppose and avert Hostilities, 319; Swedes on the South River, 319; De Bogaerdt, Powelson, and Hollændare, 320; Death of Minuit, 321; Lamberton and Cogswell's Expedition from New Haven to the Varken's Kill and the Schuylkill, 321, 322; Vexatious Conduct of the Hartford People, 322; Delegates sent to England from Massachusetts and Connecticut, 323; Hugh Peters commissioned to treat with the West India Company, 324; Sir William Boswell's Advice to crowd out the Dutch, 324.

CHAPTER X.

1642—1643.

The Twelve Men again convoked, 325; They demand Reforms, 326, 327; Kieft's Concessions, 328; Dissolves the Board of Twelve Men, 329; Expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks, and Treaty at the Bronx River, 330; Greenwich submits to the Dutch, 331; Roger Williams founds Rhode Island, 332; Emigrations from Massachusetts to New Netherland, 333; Doughty's Patent for Mespath, 333; Throgmorton at Vredeland, 334; Anne Hutchinson at "Annie's Hoeck," 334; Strangers at Manhattan, 335; City Hotel for Travellers, 335; New Church at Manhattan, 336, 337; George Baxter appointed English Secretary, 337; New Haven Settlements on the South River broken up, 338; The Hartford People and the Dutch, 339; Threats in England against the Dutch, 340; Beginning of the Civil War in England, 341; Van der Donck, Schout Fiscal of Rensselaerswyck, 341; Domine Megapolensis, 342; Church at Beverwyck, 343; The Jesuits in Canada, 344; Father Jogues captured by the Mohawks, 345; Benevolent Efforts of Van Curler, 346; Van Voorst murdered by an Indian at Hackinsack, 347; The Savages offer an Atonement, 348; Kieft demands the Murderer, 348; The Mohawks attack the River Indians, 349; Public Opinion at Manhattan, 349; Kieft resolves on War, 350; Warned in vain against his Rashness, 351; Massacres at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook, 352; The Long Island Indians attacked, 353; The Savages aroused to Vengeance, 354; Vriesendael invested, 355; Popular Indignation against Kieft, and Proclamation of a Day of fasting, 356; Proposition to depose Kieft, 356; Adriaensen and the Director, 357; De Vries and Olfertsen at Rockaway, 358; Treaty with the Savages, 359; The Indians still discontented, 360.

CHAPTER XI.

1643—1644.

The United Colonies of New England, 361; Kieft addresses the Commissioners, 362; Their Reply, 363; Murder of Miantonomoh, 364; The North River Savages attack a Dutch Boat, 364; The Commonalty convoked, 364; "Eight Men" chosen, 365; Warlike Measures authorized, 365; English enrolled, and Underhill taken into the Dutch Service, 366; Annie's Hook and Vredeland destroyed, 366; Lady Moody's Settlement at Gravesend attacked, 367; Settlers driven away from Mespath, 367; Hackinsack attacked, and Pavonia surprised, 368; Alarm at Manhattan, 369; The Eight Men again convoked, 370; Application to New Haven for Aid, and its Result, 370; De Vries' parting Prophecy, 371; Letter of the Eight Men to the West India Company, 371; To the States General, 372; Father Jogues at Manhattan, 373; Describes its Condition, 374; Sails for Europe, 374; Church at Beverwyck, 374; Missionary zeal of Megapolensis, 375; Mercantile Policy of Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, 376; Van der Donck's Conduct, 377; Attempts to form a Settlement at Katskill, and is prevented, 378; John Printz appointed Governor of New Sweden, 378; Arrives at Fort Christina, and builds Fort New Gottenburg, 379; De Vries at the South River, 380; Plowden's Claim to New Albion disregarded by Printz and Kieft, 381; Lamberton arrested by Printz, 382; Exploring Expedition from Boston to the South River, 383; Failure of the Boston Enterprises, 384; The Dutch and the Swedes oppose the English on the South River, 385; Expeditions sent to Staten Island and Greenwich, 386; Captain Patrick murdered, 387; Expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks, 387; Stamford People settle at Heemstede, 387; Patent for Heemstede, 388; Hostility of the Indians, and Expedition sent to Heemstede, 389; Atrocities at Manhattan, 389; Soldiers supplied from private Ship at Manhattan, 390; Underhill's Expedition to Stamford, 390, 391; Thanksgiving at Manhattan, 391; Peace with West Chester and Long Island Tribes, 392; Fence built at Manhattan, 392; Hostility of the River Tribes, 393; Bankruptcy of the West India Company, 393; The Eight Men oppose an Excise, 393; Kieft's arbitrary Imposition, 394; Excise enforced, and the Brewers refuse to pay, 395; The People side with the Brewers, 396; Kieft's Misconduct, 396; Expedition to the North, 397; Memorial of the Eight Men to the West India Company, 398–400; Staple Right claimed for Rensselaer's Stein, 400; Koorn and Loockermans, 401; Koorn summoned to Manhattan, fined, and protests, 401; Father Bressani captured by the Mohawks, and ransomed by the Dutch, 402; Affairs of New Netherland considered in Holland, 403; Provisional Appointment of Van Dincklagen to succeed Kieft, 404; Report of the Company's Bureau of Accounts, 404–406.

CHAPTER XII.

1645—1647.

End of the Indian War, 407; Treaty at Fort Orange, 408; General Treaty at Fort Amsterdam, 409; Condition of New Netherland, 410; Lands purchased on Long Island, 410; Settlement of Vlissingen, or Flushing, 410; Doughty at Mespath, 411; Lady Moody's Patent for Gravesande, or Gravesend, 411; Mineral Discoveries near Fort Orange and among the Raritans, 412; Arendt Corssen sent to

Holland, and lost on the Way, 412, 413; Action of the West India Company respecting New Netherland, 413; Peter Stuyvesant—His early Life, 413; Appointed Director in Place of Kieft, and Van Dincklagen Vice Director, 414; Instructions for the Provincial Council, 414, 415; New Arrangements, and Stuyvesant's Departure postponed, 416; Kieft denies the Right of Appeal to Holland, 417; Denounced by the People, and reproved by Bogardus, 417; Quarrel between the Director and the Domine, 418; Restoration of Anne Hutchinson's Grand-daughter, 419; Van Curler and Van der Donck, 419; Death of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, and Appointment of Van Slechtenhorst as Director of Rensselaerswyck, 420; Van der Donck's Patent for Colendonck or Yonkers, 421; Van Slyck's Patent for Katskill, 421; Breuckelen incorporated, 422; Father Jogues visits Andiataroctè, and names it "Lac du Saint Sacrement," 422; Murder of Jogues by the Mohawks, 423; Hudde Commissary on the South River, 424; Negotiates with Printz, 425; Purchases the Site of Philadelphia, 426; Discourteous Conduct of Printz, 427; New Haven Trading-post on the Paugussett, 428; Kieft protests, and negotiates with Eaton, 428; With the Commissioners, 429, 430; Instructions of the West India Company, 431; Stuyvesant commissioned as Director, and sworn, 432; Sails from the Texel, 433; Arrives at Manhattan, 433.

CHAPTER XIII.

1647—1648.

Death of Frederick Henry the Stadtholder, 434; Treaty of Munster, and General Peace of Westphalia, 435; The House of Burgundy, 436; Great Charter of Holland, 437; Charles V. and Philip II., 437, 438; The Reformation in Friesland and Holland, 438; Action of the Spanish Government, 439; Alliance of the Nobles, and Origin of the "Gueux," 440; Iconoclasts, 441; Alva in the Netherlands, 441; Council of Blood, and Execution of Egmont and Hoorn, 441; Capture of the Brielle, 442; The People refuse to pay Alva's Taxes, 442; Haerlem and Alckmaer besieged, 442; Defense of Leyden, and Foundation of its University, 443; Pacification of Ghent, 444; The Union of Utrecht, 445; Dutch Declaration of Independence, 446; The Dutch a self-governing People, 447; Their republican System of Administration, 448; The States General, 449; Council of State, Chamber of Accounts, Stadtholder, and Admiralty, 450; The Province of Holland, 451; Industrial and democratic Spirit of the Dutch, 452; Municipal Governments of Holland, 453; Effects of the Dutch System, 454; Doctrine of State Rights, 455; Social and political Results, 455, 456; Prosperity of the Dutch, 456; Extensive Commerce, 457; Free Trade; Universal Toleration, 458; Foreigners attracted; Freedom of the Dutch Press, 459; Illustrious Men and Artists of the Netherlands, 460; Party Spirit; the Hoeks and Kabbeljaus, 461; Economy and Frugality; Hospitality and Benevolence, 462; Establishment of free Schools, 462; Influence of Women, 463; Honesty of the Dutch, 463; Their Firmness and Patriotism, 464.

CHAPTER XIV.

1647—1648.

Commencement of Stuyvesant's Administration, 465; Organization of his Council, 466; Police and Revenue Regulations, 466, 467; Church in Fort Amster-

dam, 467; Domine Backerus succeeds Bogardus, 468; Complaints against Kieft, 468; Dismissed by Stuyvesant, 469; Kuyter and Melyn accused by Kieft, 470; Convicted and sentenced, 471; Right of Appeal again denied, 472; Shipwreck of the Princess, and Death of Kieft, Bogardus, and others, 472; Escape of Kuyter and Melyn, 473; Stuyvesant's Concessions to the People, 474; The "Nine Men," 474; Their Duties and Oath of Office, 475; Their Action on Stuyvesant's first Communication, 476; Forrester, Lady Stirling's Agent, arrested and banished, 477; Correspondence with New England, 478; Stuyvesant seizes a Ship at New Haven, 479; Eaton's Retaliation, 480; Stuyvesant's Vindication, 481; Insults of the Swedes on the South River, 482; The Savages invite the Dutch to build on the Schuylkill, 482; Fort Beversrede, 483; The Swedes reproved by the Savages, 483; Campanius returns to Sweden, 484; Plowden again at Manhattan, 484; Van Dincklagen and La Montagne at the South River, 485; Vexatious Conduct of the Swedes at Passayunk, and Protests of the Dutch, 486; Municipal Affairs at Manhattan, or New Amsterdam, 487; Recommendations of the Nine Men; Residence required; Scotch Merchants, or Peddlers; "Kermis," or Fair, 489; Contraband Trade in Fire-arms, 490; Van Slechtenhorst at Rensselaerswyck, 491; Stuyvesant visits Fort Orange, 491; Soldiers sent there, 492; Van Slechtenhorst summoned to Fort Amsterdam, 493; Megapolensis and Backerus, 494; Popular Discontent at New Amsterdam, 495; Delegation to Holland proposed by the Nine Men, 495; Correspondence with New England, 496; Stuyvesant's Explanations of the Dutch territorial Rights, 497.

CHAPTER XV.

1649—1651.

Death of Charles I., 498; Threatened Rupture between England and the Netherlands, 499; Death of Winthrop, and Correspondence with New England, 499; The Dutch and other Foreigners forbidden to trade with the New England Savages, 500; Stuyvesant and the Nine Men, 501; Proceedings against Van der Donck, 502; Case of Kuyter and Melyn, 503; Memorial of the Nine Men to the States General, 504; Burgher Government demanded; Remarks and Observations of the Nine Men, 505; Vertoogh, or Remonstrance of New Netherland, 506; Delegates sent to Holland, 507; Domine Backerus succeeded by Megapolensis, 508; Van Tienhoven sent to Holland as Stuyvesant's Representative, 509; Katskill, Claverack, and Weckquaesgeek, 510; Lands purchased on the South River, 510, 511; The popular Delegates at the Hague, 511; Publication of the Vertoogh, 512; Letter of the West India Company's Chamber at Amsterdam, 512; Measures to promote Emigration, 513; Provisional Order for the Government of New Netherland, 514; Opposed by the Amsterdam Chamber, 515; Domine Grasmeer, 516; Municipal Affairs of New Amsterdam, 517; Stuyvesant's Opposition to Reforms, 517; The Director visits Hartford, 518; Provisional Treaty arranged, 519, 520; Dissatisfaction of the Commonalty at New Amsterdam, 521; Affairs at Rensselaerswyck, 522; Van der Donck and Van Tienhoven in Holland, 523; Return of Van Tienhoven, 524; Melyn on Staten Island, 525; Van Dincklagen and Van Schelluyne oppressed, 526; Gravesend and Heemstede support Stuyvesant, 526, 527; Expedition from New Haven to the South River defeated, 527; Van Slechtenhorst arrested at New Amsterdam, 528;

Stuyvesant visits the South River, 529; Fort Nassau demolished, and Fort Casimir built, 529; Dyckman appointed Commissary at Fort Orange in Place of Labbatie, 530; Proposed Exploration of the Katskill Mountains, 531.

CHAPTER XVI.

1652—1653.

Fiscal Van Dyck superseded, and Van Tienhoven promoted, 532; Troubles at Beverwyck, 533; Stuyvesant again at Fort Orange, 534; Annexation of Beverwyck to Fort Orange, 535; John Baptist van Rensselaer Director, and Gerrit Swart Schout of Rensselaerswyck, 535; Settlement at Atkarkarton, or Esopus, 536; Middelburg or Newtown, and Midwout or Flatbush, on Long Island, 536; Van Werckhoven's Purchases on Long Island and New Jersey, 537; Domine Drisius, 537; Domine Schaats, 538; Opposition of the Amsterdam Chamber to the Provisional Order, 539; Burgher Government conceded to Manhattan, 540; Instructions for Schout of New Amsterdam, 541; The States General recall Stuyvesant, 541; His Recall revoked, 542; Proposed Union between England and the Netherlands, 542; English Act of Navigation, 543; Failure of proposed Treaty, 544; Naval War between the Dutch and English, 545; Precautions of the States General and the Amsterdam Chamber, 546; Maritime Superiority of Manhattan predicted, 547; Its Condition and Population, 548; Organization of the municipal Government of the City of New Amsterdam, 548, 549; Critical Condition of the Province; Preparations for Defense, 549; First City Debt, 550; State of Feeling in New England; Charges against the Dutch, 550, 551; Agents sent to New Netherland, and Preparations for War, 552; Conduct of the New England Agents, and Propositions of the Dutch, 553; Stuyvesant's Reply to the Commissioners, 554; Substance of the Charges against him, 555; Underhill's seditious Conduct on Long Island, 556; Is banished, and goes to Rhode Island, 556; Massachusetts at Variance with the Commissioners, 557; Prevents a War with New England, 558; Fort Good Hope seized by Underhill, 558; Stuyvesant sends an Embassy to Virginia, 559; Disagrees with the City Authorities of New Amsterdam, 560; Return of Van der Donck; His "Description of New Netherland," 561; De Sille appointed Counselor, and Van Ruyven Provincial Secretary, 561; Domine Drisius sent on an Embassy to Virginia, 562; Affairs of Rensselaerswyck, 562; The Mohawks and the French, 563; Father Poncet restored, 564; Temper of the New England Governments, 564, 565; Piracies on Long Island Sound, 565; Libelous Pamphlet published in London, 566; The Boundary Question in Holland, 567; Stuyvesant surrenders the Excise to the City, 568; Disaffection among the English on Long Island, 568; Meeting of Delegates at New Amsterdam, 569; "Landtdag" or Convention called, 570; It meets at New Amsterdam, 571; Remonstrance of the Convention, 571; Its Character, 572; Stuyvesant's Reply, 573; Rejoinder of the Convention, 574; The Convention dissolved, 575; Letter of Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam to the West India Company, 575; Letter from Gravesend, 576; Affairs on the South River, 576; Departure of Printz, 577; John Rising appointed Deputy Governor of New Sweden, 577.

CHAPTER XVII.

1654—1655.

New Amsterdam Affairs, 578; Precautionary Measures, 579; Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout incorporated, 580; Church at Midwout or Flatbush, and Domine Polhemus called, 581; Illiberal Treatment of Lutherans at New Amsterdam, 582; Cromwell's Expedition against New Netherland, 582; Sequestration of Fort Good Hope by Connecticut, 583; New Amsterdam put in a State of Defense, 584; Warlike Preparations in New England, 585; Treaty of Peace between England and Holland, and Countermand of hostile Orders, 586; Thanksgiving in New Netherland, 587; Letters of the Company to Stuyvesant and to the City Authorities, 587; Grant of a City Hall and Seal to New Amsterdam, 588; Kuyter murdered, and Van Tienhoven continued as City Schout, 588; Ferry at Manhattan regulated, 589; War Tax laid; Excise resumed by Stuyvesant, 590; Troubles at Beverwyck, 591; Father Le Moyne discovers the Salt Springs at Onondaga, 592; Rising at the South River, 593; Captures Fort Casimir, and names it Fort Trinity, 593; Swedish Ship seized at Manhattan, 594; English Settlements at West Chester and Oyster Bay, 595; Stuyvesant visits Lady Moody at Gravesend, 596; Delivers Seal and Coat of Arms to Burgomasters at New Amsterdam, 596; Sails for the West Indies, 597; Baxter, Hubbard, and Grover at Gravesend, 597; Protest against the Settlers at West Chester, 598; De Decker appointed Commissary at Fort Orange in Place of Dyckman, 599; Affairs at Gravesend, 599; The Boundary Question in Holland, 600; Stuyvesant ordered to recover Fort Casimir, 601; Letter of West India Company to Burgomasters of New Amsterdam, 602; Stuyvesant returns from the West Indies, 603; Expedition to the South River, 604; Capitulation of the Swedes, 605; Establishment of the Dutch Power on the South River, 606; Indian Invasion of New Amsterdam, 607; Hoboken, Pavonia, and Staten Island laid waste; Esopus deserted, 607; Measures for Defense; Ransom of Prisoners, 608; Jacquet appointed Vice Director on the South River, 609; Assistance asked from Holland, and Precautions against the Savages proposed, 610; Stuyvesant prohibits New Year and May Day Sports, 611; Father Le Moyne at Beverwyck, 611; New Alliance between the Dutch and the Mohawks, 611; Chaumonot and Dablon; Jesuit Chapel at Onondaga, 612.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1656—1658.

Proclamation to form Villages, 613; Stuyvesant and the Municipal Government of New Amsterdam, 613; Religious Affairs in New Netherland, 614–616; Proclamation against unauthorized Conventicles, 617; Disapproved by the West India Company, 617; Expedition sent to West Chester, 618; Oostdorp or West Chester, and Rustdorp or Jamaica incorporated, 619; Baxter escapes to New England, 620; Swedish Ship seized at the South River, 620; Ratification of the Hartford Treaty by the States General, 621; Complaints of the Swedish Government, 622; Van Tienhoven dismissed from public Service, 622; Survey and Population of New Amsterdam, 623; Troubles at Beverwyck about the Excise, 623; Van Rensselaer fined and ordered to give Bonds, 624; New Church at Beverwyck, 624,

625; La Montagne appointed Vice Director at Fort Orange in Place of De Decker, 625; Unsatisfactory Correspondence with New England, 625; Lutherans at New Amsterdam, and Baptists at Flushing, 626; Affairs at Oostdorp, 627; Great and Small Burgher Right established at New Amsterdam, 628, 629; The West India Company conveys Fort Casimir and the adjacent Territory to the City of Amsterdam, 630; Colony of New Amstel; Alrichs appointed Director, 630, 631; Transfer of Fort Casimir, and Organization of Colony of New Amstel, 632; Fort Christina named Altona, and Jacquet succeeded by Hudde, 633; Domine Welius and Church at New Amstel, 633; Cromwell's Letter to the English on Long Island, 634; Lutheran Clergyman at New Amsterdam, 635; The People called Quakers, 635; Penal Laws of Massachusetts, 635; Liberality of Rhode Island, 636; Quakers at New Amsterdam, 636; Proclamation against Quakers, 637; Remonstrance of Flushing, 637; Its Charter modified, 638; Persecution of Quakers, 638, 639; Nomination of Magistrates allowed to New Amsterdam, 640; Foreigners; Municipal Affairs; Latin School, 640, 641; New Haerlem and Staten Island, 641; Bergen and Gamoenepa, or Communipa, 642; The West India Company enjoins religious Moderation, 642, 643; Jesuit Mission at Onondaga; Saint Mary's of Genentaha, 644; Le Moyne at New Amsterdam, 645; Commerce between New Netherland and Canada, 646; Abandonment of the French Settlement at Onondaga, 646; Outrages of the Indians at Esopus, 647; Stuyvesant's Conference with the Esopus Savages, 648; Village laid out at Esopus, 649; Jeremias Van Rensselaer Director of Rensselaerswyck, 649; Mohawks at Fort Orange, 650; Dirck Smit Commandant at Esopus, 651; Stuyvesant visits Altona, 651; Willem Beeckman appointed Vice Director on the South River, 652; Affairs at New Amstel, 653; Death of Cromwell, and Downfall of the Protectorate, 653.

CHAPTER XIX.

1659—1660.

Territorial Claims of Massachusetts, 654; Exploring Party refused a Passage up the North River, 655; The West India Company allows New Netherland a Foreign Trade, 656; Curtius Latin Schoolmaster at New Amsterdam, 656; Liberality in Religion enjoined, 656; Hermanus Blom called to Esopus, 657; Fresh Troubles with the Savages, 658; Delegation from Beverwyck to the Mohawks at Caughnawaga, 659; Expedition from New Amsterdam to Esopus, 660; Affairs at New Amstel, 661; Copper Mine at Minnisinck, 662; Beeckman purchases near Cape Hinlopen, 663; Designs of the Maryland Government, 663; Utie at New Amstel, 664; Conference with the Dutch Officers, 665; Heerman's and Waldron's Embassy to Maryland, 666; Negotiations with Governor Fendall, 667–669; Death of Domine Welius and of Director Alrichs, 670; Southampton, Easthampton, Huntington, and Setauket, on Long Island, 671; Letter of Commissioners to Stuyvesant in favor of the Massachusetts Claim, 672; Stuyvesant's Reply, 673; His Dispatches to the Company, 674; Tonneman Schout of New Amsterdam; Second Survey of the City, 674; New Haerlem incorporated, 674; Treaty with the Long Island and other Indians, 675; War against the Esopus Savages, 676; Stuyvesant refuses to organize a Court at Esopus, 677; Opposes the Employment of the Mohawks, 677; Conference and Treaty with the Esopus Indians, 678; "Bosch-loopers" at Fort Orange, 679; Stuyvesant's Conference

with the Senecas, 679; Domine Blom settled at Esopus, 680; Domine Selyns at Breuckelen and the Director's Bouwery, 680, 681; Lutherans at Beverwyck, 681; Hinoyossa succeeds Alrichs at New Amstel, 682; Treaty between New Netherland and Virginia, 683; Sir Henry Moody's Embassy to Manhattan, 683; Berkeley's Correspondence with Stuyvesant, 684; Restoration of Charles II., 684; Lord Baltimore and the West India Company, 685; The Company's Memorial to the States General, 686; English Council for Foreign Plantations, 686.

CHAPTER XX.

1661—1664.

English Jealousy of the Dutch, 687; Liberal Conditions offered by the West India Company to English Emigrants to New Netherland, 688; Stuyvesant again persecutes Quakers, 689; Charter of Wiltwyck, or Wildwyck, at Esopus; Roelof Swartwout Schout, 690; Purchase of "Schonowe," or Schenectady Flats, 691; Bergen incorporated; Tielman van Vleeck Schout, 691, 692; Staten Island; Domine Drisius preaches there in French, 692; New Utrecht and Boswyck, or Bushwick, incorporated, 693; The "Five Dutch Towns," 693; Affairs at New Amsterdam; a Mint contemplated; Curtius succeeded by Luyck; Reputation of the Latin School, 694; Salt-works on Coney Island, 694; Connecticut petitions the King for a Charter, 695; Winthrop sails from New Amsterdam, 695; Proposed Puritan Settlement in New Netherland; Stuyvesant's Concessions, 696; Calvert on the South River, 697; Mennonists propose to colonize the Horekill, 698; Singular Articles of Association, 698, 699; Plockhoy, their Leader, 699; Beeckman and Hinoyossa, 699; Sir George Downing, the British Ambassador at the Hague, 700; Lord Baltimore's and Lord Stirling's Claims, 701; Convention between the United Provinces and Great Britain, 701; Berkeley and Winthrop in London; Royal Charter for Connecticut, 702; Encroaching Claims of the Connecticut Court, 703; West Chester and Long Island Towns annexed, 703; Le Moyne again among the Iroquois, 704; The Mohawks on the Kennebeck, 704; Governor Breedon's Complaints, and Stuyvesant's Interposition, 704; Tracy Viceroy of Canada, 705; Progress of Quakerism on Long Island, 705; Banishment of Bowne, 706; The West India Company enjoins Toleration, and Persecution ceases, 707; Terms offered to Puritans desiring to settle themselves on the Raritan, 708; Connecticut enforces its Claims of Jurisdiction, 709; Earthquake, 709; Small-pox at Beverwyck, and non-intercourse Regulations of Connecticut, 710; New Village at Esopus; "Ronduit" on the Kill, 710; Wiltwyck surprised by the Savages, 711; Expedition sent from New Amsterdam, 712; Invasion of the Esopus Country, and Destruction of Indian Forts on the Shawangunk Kill, 712, 713; Party sent to the Sager's Kill, 713, 714; The South River ceded to the City of Amsterdam, 714–716; Calvert at New Amstel and Altona, 717; Hinoyossa and Beeckman, 717; Stuyvesant visits Boston, and negotiates with the Commissioners, 718; Difficulties on Long Island, 719; Dutch Commissioners sent to Hartford, 720; Unsatisfactory Negotiation, 721; Act of Connecticut respecting the West Chester and Long Island Towns, 722; Convention called at New Amsterdam, 722; Remonstrance to the West India Company, 723; Names of English Villages on Long Island changed, 723; Stuyvesant surrenders them and West Chester to Connecticut, 723; English Party on the Raritan; Purchase of the Nevesinck Lands, 724; Baxter and Scott in London, 725; Scott on Long

Island, 726; Combination of English Villages; Scott chosen President, 726; Conditional Arrangement at Jamaica, 727; Agreement between Stuyvesant and Scott, 728; General Provincial Assembly at New Amsterdam, 729; Charter of the West India Company explained and confirmed by the States General, 730; Letters to the Towns, 730; Arrival of Huguenots, 730; Treaty of Peace with the Esopus Savages, 731; Beeckman Commissary at Esopus, 732; Settlement at Schaenhechstede, or Schenectady, 732; The Mohawks and the Abenaquis, 732; Ravages of the Mahicans, and Alarm at Fort Orange, 733; Winthrop's Proceedings on Long Island, 734; Stuyvesant still hopeful, 734; Royal Patent to the Duke of York and Albany, 735; Royal Commissioners, 736; Colonel Richard Nicolls dispatched with a Squadron to surprise New Netherland, 736; Grant of New Jersey, 736; Preparations to defend New Amsterdam, 736; Stuyvesant goes to Fort Orange, 737; Royal Commissioners at Boston, 737; Squadron anchors in Nyack Bay, 738; Manhattan summoned to surrender, 739; Stuyvesant tears Nicolls's Letter, 739; Ships anchor before Fort Amsterdam, 740; Condition of the City, 741; Capitulation agreed to, 742; Surrender of New Amsterdam, 742; Nicolls proclaimed Governor; his opinion of the City called "New York," 743; Surrender of Fort Orange; named Fort Albany, 744; Reduction of the South River, 744; New York, Albania, and Yorkshire named, 745; Review; Character and Influence of the Founders of New York, 745–750.

APPENDIX.

Note A ..... Page 751
Note B 752
Note C 753
Note D 753
Note E 754
Note F 755
Note G 755
Note H 756
Note I 757
Note K 758
Note L 758
Note M 759
Note N 760
Note O 760
Note P 760
Note Q 761
Note R 761
Note S 762

General Index 765

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, momentous events, which had been agitating Europe, led the way to the permanent colonization of the northern regions of America. The art of printing had gradually diffused the learning of the cloister through the marts of commerce; a venerable but abused faith no longer shackled emancipated mind; a recent inductive philosophy was teaching mankind to seek the fruits of careful experiment; and an irrepressible spirit of adventure, growing with the progress of knowledge, prompted enterprise in the New World which the genius of Columbus had given to the Old.

1492.

The immortal Genoese, who, in those late years foretold at Rome, had verified the sublime prophecy of Seneca, and made the ocean reveal the long-mysterious earth beyond the furthest Thule, had worked out his grand demonstration in the service of Spain. By her the splendid prize was claimed. But Portugal, having already explored the Azores, boldly asserted a superior right. The question was referred to the Pope; and Alexander the Sixth decided that the sovereigns of Spain should hold, as a gift in perpetuity, all the heathen lands found or to be discovered to the west of a meridian, one hundred leagues westward of the Azores. The apostolic decree did

Papal donation of the New World to Spain.

1493. 4th May.

CHAP. I. 1493. not satisfy Portugal; and it was agreed that the line of partition should be advanced two hundred and seventy leagues further to the west. Still, nearly all the New World remained actually included in the papal donation to Spain.*

But the Pontiff's sweeping grant was not universally respected. Leaving Spain and Portugal to push their conquests in the rich and sultry regions of the south, England and France commenced an early rivalry in exploring the rugged and picturesque territories of the north. Disregarding the edict of the Vatican, almost simultaneously they began their grand career of transatlantic enterprise.

English and French discoveries.

Cabot. 1497-8. 1517. While the Cabots, under commissions of Henry the Seventh, after discovering Newfoundland, sailed along the continent, from Labrador to the parallel of Gibraltar, and, in a succeeding reign, perhaps entered the Arctic Seas westward of Greenland, the fishermen of Normandy visited Cape Breton, and made rude charts of the great gulf within; and Verazzano, under a commission of Francis the First, coasting northward from the Carolinas, explored, with his boat, the "most beautiful" Bay of New York,† and anchored awhile in the "very excellent harbor" of Newport. But, though plans of colonization were suggested in England and France, permanent occupation was

1504. 1506.

Verazzano. 1524.

* Hazard's Historical Collections, i., 3–6; Chalmers's Political Annals, 10; Herrera, i., 2, 10; Irving's Columbus, i., 185–200; Prescott's Ferd. and Isab., ii., 116, 174, 181; Thorne, in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," &c., 43–47, reprinted by the Hakluyt Society of London, 1850.

† Verazzano thus describes the Narrows, and the Bay of New York: "After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea. From the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colors. They came toward us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed *a most beautiful lake*, three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals."—Letter to King Francis I., of July 8, 1524, translated by Mr. Cogswell, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., i. (second series), 45, 46.

delayed. Not a solitary emigrant established his home along all the indented line of coast.* CHAP. I.

Jacques Cartier, an experienced mariner of Saint Malo, following, a few years after Verazzano's adventurous voyage, discovered the mouth of the "Great River of Canada." The next year, returning with three well-fitted vessels, Cartier passed westward of Newfoundland on the festival of Saint Lawrence, and, in honor of the martyr, gave his name to the noble gulf which stretched beyond. Pursuing his way up the great river, and holding friendly intercourse with the Hurons and Algonquins along its banks, the enterprising explorer visited the island of Hochelaga, the fertile hill on which, he named "Mont Real." After wintering his ships in the little river just north of the present city of Quebec, Cartier solemnly erected a cross, and, claiming the surrounding regions as the rightful possessions of his sovereign king, Francis I., set sail once more for Saint Malo.

Cartier in Canada. 1534. 1535. 10 August. 3 October. 1536. 6 May.

Cartier's reports on his return to France, though they did not arouse a general spirit of enterprise among his countrymen, stimulated François de la Roque, lord of Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy, to obtain from the king a patent as viceroy over the newly-discovered French territories on the Saint Lawrence. With Roberval was associated Cartier, as captain and pilot-in-chief. Returning to the Saint Lawrence, Cartier built a rude fort, not far from the site of Quebec, and thus gave to his country the pre-eminence of having erected the first European post

Roberval. 1540. 15 January. 19 October. 1541.

* Hazard, i., 9, 10; Chalmers, 4, 7, 8; Holmes's Annals, i., 13–54; Bancroft, i., 8–17, 75, 76; Biddle's "Memoir of Cabot;" C. Robinson's "Voyages to America;" Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages." In 1501, Cortereal, a Portuguese, visited Newfoundland and Labrador, but his voyages produced no practical results. Verazzano's Letter to King Francis I., of July 8, 1524, giving an account of his discoveries, is the earliest original description now extant, of the Atlantic coast of the United States. Translations of that letter are in N. Y. H. S. Collections, i., 45–60 (from Ramusio), and in i. (second series), 39–67 (from the Magliabecchian MSS.). In the Hakluyt Society's reprint of "Hakluyt's Divers Voyages," the translation of Verazzano's letter (from Ramusio) is accompanied by a fac-simile of the rare map which Michael Lock, of London, made and dedicated to Sir Philip Sydney, in 1582. This map, it appears, was constructed partly from "an old excellent mappe," which Verazzano himself had given to King Henry VIII., and which, when Hakluyt published his work (in 1582), was "yet in the custodie of Master Locke." The name by which the New World is now unworthily known, was not, at the time of Verazzano's voyage, applied to the Northern Continent; at all events, Verazzano does not use the term "America" in his letter.

CHAP. I. in the northern territory of America. But divided authority frustrated the discordant enterprise; and, for a long
1542. generation, no further American discoveries were prosecuted by the subjects of France.*

Frobisher's Voyages. Forty years after Cartier first ascended the Saint Lawrence, Martin Frobisher, "one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean," encouraged by the favor of Elizabeth to search for a northwest passage to China, made his
1576. way to a group of islands off the coast of Labrador. A few stones brought back to London, from the desolate abode of the Esquimaux, were supposed to contain gold;
1577-8. and new expeditions were sent to the imaginary Dorado. But Frobisher's voyages were all unsuccessful. While credulous avarice was signally disappointed, the coasts of North America remained unexplored by the English.†

Gilbert's patent. With more definite purpose, and with sounder views, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a knight of Devonshire, obtained
1578. a royal patent, authorizing him to discover and occupy
11 June. any remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, "not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people." Gilbert's purpose was to begin that actual occupation of American territory which England had entirely neglected during the eighty years that followed the voyage of Cabot. The patent gave Gilbert abundant powers; but various obstacles postponed the execution of his design.‡ Meanwhile, Elizabeth was stoutly denying the exclusive pretensions of
1580. Spain to the New World, in virtue of first visitation, and of the Pope's donation, and was distinctly affirming the
Actual possession the English doctrine. principle that discovery and prescription, unless accompanied by possession, are of no avail.§ Thus the Queen

* Hakluyt, iii., 250–297; Hazard, i., 19–21; Chalmers, 81, 82; Bancroft, i., 19–24.

† Hakluyt, iii., 29–32, 47–129; Purchas, v., 811; Bancroft, i., 81–86; Rundall's Narratives, &c., 9–34, published by the Hakluyt Society, 1849.

‡ Hazard, i., 24–28; Bancroft, i., 88, 89.

§ "Præterea illam non intelligere, cur sui et aliorum Principum subditi ab Indiis prohibeantur, quas Hispanici juris esse persuadere sibi non posset ex Pontificis Romani donatione, in quo prærogativam in ejusmodi caussis agnovit nullam, nedum auctoritatem ut Principes obligaret, qui nullam ei obedientiam debent; aut Hispanum *novo* illo *orbe* quasi *infeudaret*, et possessione investiret. Nec alio quopiam jure quam quod Hispani hinc illinc appulerint, casulas posuerint, flumen aut Promontorium denominaverint, quæ proprietatem acquirere non possunt. Ut hæc rei alienæ donatio quæ ex jure nihili est, et imaginaria hæc proprietas obstare non debeat, quo minus ceteri Principes commercia in illis regionibus exerceant, et colonias ubi Hispani non incolunt, jure gentium nequaquam violato, dedu-

of England, while she refused to recognize the double Spanish title by exploration and investiture, at the same time virtually renounced any English claim founded solely upon Cabot's voyage. 1580.

After a few year's delay, Gilbert, aided by the resources of his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, equipped an expedition, and sailed directly to Newfoundland, where, for the first time, he set up the arms of England and proclaimed the queen. On his return voyage, the intrepid adventurer perished at sea. But the English right to the island "first seen" by Cabot, was now formally published to the world "by the voice of a herald."* Gilbert at Newfoundland. 1583. 5 August. 9 Septemb.

The untimely fate of his kinsman did not dishearten Raleigh, who readily procured from Elizabeth, whose favorite he had become, a new patent to discover and occupy any remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, "not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people." Up to this time the English had limited their views to the bleak regions near the fisheries at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence. Raleigh's enterprise was now directed to a more genial climate. Two vessels were soon dispatched toward Florida, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. Sailing by the circuitous route of the Canaries and the West Indies, they safely reached the island of Wocockon, at the Ocracoke inlet, in North Carolina, where they took formal possession of the country in behalf of their sovereign. On their return to England, the adventurers made such glowing reports of the regions they had visited, that Elizabeth gave to the wilderness the name of VIRGINIA, to commemorate its occupation in the reign of a maiden queen.† Raleigh's new patent. 1584. 25 March. 27 April. 13 July. Virginia named.

But the time for permanent English settlements beyond the Atlantic had not yet fully come. The colonists whom Raleigh sent to the island of Roanoke in 1585, under Colonization attempted, 1585.

cant, quum præscriptio sine possessione haud valeat."—Camden, Rerum Ang. et Hib. Reg. Eliz. Annales, 1580, edit. Hearne, 1717, p. 360

* "Regionem illam [Newfoundland] Anglici juris esse, voce præconis publicasset." —Camden, Annales Eliz., 1583, p. 402; Hakluyt, i., 679–699, iii., 143–166; Purchas, iii., 808; Hazard, i., 32; Bancroft, i., 90, 91.

† Hazard. i., 33–38; Hakluyt, iii., 246–251; Bancroft, i., 92–95; Chalmers, 4, 9.

CHAP. I. Grenville and Lane, returned the next year, dispirited, to
1587. England. A second expedition, dispatched in 1587, under John White, to found "the borough of Raleigh, in Virginia," stopped short of the unexplored Chesapeake, whither it was bound, and once more occupied Roanoke.
1590. In 1590, the unfortunate emigrants had wholly disappeared; and, with their extinction, all immediate attempts to
and abandoned. establish an English colony in Virginia were abandoned.* Its name alone survived. After impoverishing himself in unsuccessful efforts to add an effective American plantation to his native kingdom, the magnanimous patriot was
1603. consigned, under an unjust judgment, to a lingering imprisonment in the Tower of London; to be followed, after
1618. the lapse of fifteen years, by a still more iniquitous execution. Yet, returning justice has fully vindicated Raleigh's fame; and nearly two centuries after his death,
Raleigh's fate.
1792. the State of North Carolina gratefully named its capital after that extraordinary man, "who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual."†

The reign of Elizabeth did not terminate before another step had been taken in the path of American adventure. Shakspeare's liberal-minded patron, the Earl of Southampton, "having well weighed the greatness and goodness of the cause," contributed largely to fit out a vessel
Gosnold's voyage. under the command of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold and Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, to discover a "convenient place for a new colony" to be sent to North America.
1602. Early in 1602, Gosnold sailed from Falmouth in a Dart-
26 March. mouth bark, named the Concord, "holding a course for the north part of Virginia." Rejecting the usual circuitous route by the Canaries and the West Indies, Gosnold, after being driven by an unfavorable wind "as far southward as the Azores," boldly steered his small vessel di-

* Hazard, i., 38–45; Hakluyt, iii., 251–265, 280–295; Chalmers, 514, 515; Bancroft, i., 95–108. The attention of Europe was attracted, in 1590, to the characteristics of the North American savages, by the beautiful plates with which Theodorus de Bry, of Frankfort, illustrated his collections of "Voyages." These were engraved from the sketches made, under Raleigh's direction, by the draughtsman Wythe, who accompanied Lane in 1585.

† Bancroft, i., 111.

rectly across the Atlantic, by which he made the voyage "shorter than heretofore by five hundred leagues."* In seven weeks the Concord safely made the land, about the latitude of 43°, in the neighborhood of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Here the adventurers were visited by several Indians in a French-built shallop, with "mast and sail, iron grapples, and kettles of copper." From their explanations, it appeared that some French vessels from the Basque Provinces "had fished and traded at this place." But seeing no good harbor, Gosnold stood again to sea southwardly, and soon "found himself imbayed with a mighty headland." Here he went ashore in his shallop, while his men, during the six hours he was absent, caught so many "excellent codfish, that they were compelled to throw numbers of them overboard again." Naming this headland "Cape Cod"—a designation which it has ever since retained—Gosnold coasted to the southward as far as the mouth of Buzzard's Bay, where he prepared to plant a colony on the westernmost island, which was called "Elizabeth," in honor of the queen. Three weeks were spent in building a house, where Gosnold proposed to remain during the winter, with eleven of his men, and meanwhile send the Concord home, in charge of Gilbert, "for new and better preparations." But his men, filled with "a covetous conceit of the unlooked-for merchandise" which had rewarded their traffic with the Indians, "would not by any means be treated with to tarry behind the ship;" and Gosnold returned to England, after an absence of five months, with the most favorable reports of "the benefit of a plantation in those parts."†

1602.
14 May. Cape Cod discovered and named
28 May.
23 July.

Elizabeth's timid successor now sat on the throne of Great Britain. At the time of James's accession, Spain was the only European nation that possessed any fixed settlements in all the northern continent to which Colum-

1603.
24 March. Accession of James I.

* Smith's Hist. of Virginia, i., 105.

† "History of Travail into Virginia Britannia," by William Strachey, 153–158; Purchas, iv., 1647; Smith's Hist. of Virginia, i., 105–108. Strachey's interesting work has just been published (1850) for the first time, from the original MS. in the British Museum, by the Hakluyt Society.

CHAP. I. 1603. bus had led the way, more than a century before. South of the Saint Lawrence, not a foot of American territory had yet been permanently occupied by England or France. But the time was now near at hand when these rival nations were to commence a long-enduring struggle for ultimate dominion over vast regions far across the sea. Raleigh's enterprises, and Gosnold's successful voyage, had given a strong impulse to the national spirit of Great Britain; for the development of which the anticipated termination of hostilities with Spain, in consequence of James's accession to the throne, was soon to offer the most favorable opportunities. The south of England already felt the pressure of a redundant population; and English adventurers foresaw that they would no longer be allowed to despoil, at pleasure, their enemies' rich West India possessions. Enterprise must soon pursue more honest paths, and commerce and colonization must supplant piracy and rapine. The thoughts of the intelligent were naturally turned toward the North American Continent, where, between Mexico and Florida and the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, not a solitary European family was yet established. Among the foremost of these intelligent men, and the one to whom "England is more indebted for its American possessions than to any man of that age,"* was the distinguished historian of maritime enterprise, Richard Hakluyt, a prebendary of Saint Augustine's at Bristol, and afterward of Saint Peter's at Westminster. Influenced by his enlightened zeal, some Bristol merchants fitted out two small vessels, manned with experienced crews, several of whom had accompanied Gosnold the year before; and, a few days after the death of the queen, dispatched them from Milford Haven, under the command of Martin Pring, to explore the northern coasts of Virginia. Falling in with the land near Penobscot Bay, Pring coasted southerly along the mouths of the Kennebeck, Saco, and Piscataqua, until he reached the waters of Massachusetts Bay. After an absence of six months, he returned to England, with

Richard Hakluyt the historian.

10 April. Pring's voyage.

2 October.

* Robertson, ix.

a valuable cargo of sassafras, and a birch bark canoe, as a specimen of the ingenuity of the native savages.*

1603.

Pring's voyage stimulated afresh the awakened enterprise of England. James had, meanwhile, signalized his accession to the British throne by declaring himself at peace "with all the princes of Christendom," and by recalling all letters of marque and reprisal against the Spaniards.† This step was followed the next year by a formal treaty with Spain, which by degrees repressed the predatory expeditions that English mariners had so long carried on against the American possessions of their recent foes. The northern voyage across the Atlantic was now divested of its terrors, and experience had abundantly demonstrated its advantages over the more circuitous route by the West Indies. The liberal Earl of Southampton, "concurrent the second time in a new survey and dispatch," in concert with his brother-in-law, Lord Arundel, of Wardour, fitted out a ship, in which Captain George Weymouth was dispatched from the Downs to visit the coast of Maine. In six weeks Weymouth found himself near the shoals of Nantucket; whence, running northward about fifty leagues, he landed upon an island between the Penobscot and the Kennebeck, which he named Saint George. Pursuing "his search sixty miles up the most excellent and beneficial river of Sacadehoc," which he found "capable of shipping for traffic of the greatest burden," Weymouth set up a cross, and took possession in the name of the king. After four months absence, Weymouth returned to England, bringing with him five native savages, whom he had decoyed on board his ship. Three of these were immediately "seized upon" by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the governor of Plymouth, who afterward declared that "this accident must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."‡

Peace with Spain. 23 June.

1604. 18 August.

Weymouth's voyage.

1605. 31 March. 18 May.

18 July

* Purchas, iv., 1654. † Rymer, Federa, xvi., 516.

‡ Sir F. Gorges, "Brief Narration," &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxvi., 50, 51; xxviii., 129–157; Strachey, 159; Purchas, iv., 1659; Smith, i., 109; Prince, 109. Some of our historians have supposed that Weymouth ascended the Penobscot. But Strachey's authority seems to be conclusive in favor of the Sagadahoc or Kennebeck.

CHAP. I.

1605. A new Virginia charter projected.

Upon Weymouth's return to England, "his goodly report joining with Captain Gosnold's," and being confirmed by the accounts given by the native Indians he had brought over, kindled the ambition of "many firm and hearty" British adventurers to colonize domains in the New World. Next to Richard Hakluyt, the most prominent among these master spirits of an enterprising age were Sir John Popham, the chief justice of England, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the governor of Plymouth. Raleigh was now lying attainted in the Tower, and his Virginia patent had been forfeited. But since the grant of Raleigh's patent, extensive discoveries had been made far to the northward; and within the limits of these new discoveries it was proposed that English emigrants should now be settled, simultaneously with a renewed attempt to colonize Virginia. To accomplish these purposes, a royal charter was thought necessary; and all questions of rivalry, it was supposed, could best be avoided by combining both objects in the same instrument. The moment seemed favorable, and was improved. The world was aroused. A mighty intellectual revolution was just beginning; the era of successful American colonization had come. About the very time that Bacon was putting forth his noble treatise on the "Advancement of Learning," some of the most influential men of England, including Hakluyt the historian, Popham, the chief justice, Gorges, Somers, Gates, and Smith, went to the king, and besought him to encourage an undertaking whereby "God might be abundantly made known, his name enlarged and honored, a notable nation made fortunate," and themselves famous.*

Obeying England's sublime destiny, to "make new nations"—

"Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine—"†

1606. 10 April. Charter granted by King James.

James I. readily granted a new and ample charter for the colonization of "that part of America commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually pos-

* Strachey, 161; Gorges, "Brief Narration," 53. † Cranmer in Henry VIII., Act V.

sessed by any Christian prince or people," between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth degrees of latitude. The grant included all the North American coast from Cape Fear to Nova Scotia. Two separate companies were named as grantees of the patent. To the first of these, composed of Gates, Somers, Hakluyt, and Wingfield, with their associated adventurers residing at London, was granted the privilege of occupying and governing a space of one hundred miles along the coast, in any part of the country between the thirty-fourth and the forty-first degrees. The second company, whose leading members, Hanham, Gilbert, Parker, and George Popham, with their associates, lived in and near Plymouth and Bristol, the chief commercial towns in the west of England—for Liverpool was then only an inconsiderable village, and the northern counties almost entirely pastoral—was invested with similar privileges for any part of the territory between the thirty-eighth and the forty-fifth degrees of latitude. Thus the whole of the region between the thirty-eighth and the forty-first degrees—from the sea-coast of Maryland to Montauk Point—was, by the terms of James's patent, nominally open to colonization by either company. Yet, to prevent collision, the charter expressly provided that the colony which should be planted last should not approach its boundary within one hundred miles of that of the prior establishment.* But at the time the patent was sealed, no English navigator had searched the American coast further south than Buzzard's Bay, nor further north than Roanoke. The almost unknown intermediate region was entirely unoccupied by Europeans; the Chesapeake itself was yet unexplored, nor had its Capes been discovered or named.†

London Company.

Plymouth Company.

The summer passed away in preparations, on the part of the patentees of the Southern or London Company, to organize an expedition to Virginia; and, on the part of the pedantic king, in drawing up a code of laws for the colony.

The London Company sends colonists to Virginia.

* See charter at length in Hazard, i., 51–58; Chalmers, 13; Bancroft, i., 117–121.

† De Bry; Hakluyt, iii., 255; Smith, i., 151; C. Robinson's "Voyages to America," 483, 484. Cabot's and Verazzano's discoveries have already been considered.

CHAP. I. Late in the winter, a little squadron of three ships sailed from England, under the command of Christopher Newport; and, following the old roundabout route by the Canaries and West Indies, it arrived safely, the next spring within the Chesapeake Bay. The headlands at the mouth of this bay were immediately named Cape Henry and Cape Charles, in honor of the two sons of King James. A few days afterward, the colony of Virginia—the "Old Dominion" of the United States—was founded at Jamestown; and, during the two following years, Captain John Smith, "the adventurer of rare genius and undying fame," unremittingly exerted the most strenuous efforts to sustain, amid constant discouragements, an enterprise which, but for his sagacity and devotion, must soon have utterly and disgracefully failed.*

1606. 19 Dec.

1607. 26 April.

Jamestown founded. 13 May.

The Plymouth Company at the Kennebeck.

The simultaneous attempt of Chief-justice Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and other members of the Plymouth or Northern Company, to establish a colony upon the Sagadahoc or Kennebeck, which Weymouth had visited in 1605, was unsuccessful. Soon after the charter was sealed, Gorges and some others of the Plymouth Company sent out a ship under the command of Captain Henry Challons, to make further discoveries on the coast of Maine. But instead of taking the northern course, according to his orders, Challons sailed by way of the West Indies, where he was captured by a Spanish fleet and carried into Spain. Meanwhile, Chief-justice Popham had dispatched another ship, under the command of Captains Thomas Hanham and Martin Pring, to join Challons on the coast of Maine. Failing to meet him there, Hanham and Pring carefully explored the shores and harbors, and brought home with them the most accurate descriptions of the country. "Upon whose relations," says the manifesto of the Plymouth Company, "afterward the lord chief justice and we all waxed so confident of the business, that the year following, every man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to join in the charge for the

1606. 12 August.

Challons, Hanham, and Pring.

* Smith, i., 114, 151; Bancroft, i., 118–129.

sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation."*

1607.

Under such auspices, a fly-boat, called the "Gift of God," commanded by George Popham, the brother of the chief justice, and a ship called the "Mary and John," commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed from Plymouth in the summer of 1607, with one hundred and twenty persons, to found a colony on the Kennebeck. Both the commanders were patentees of the new charter, and they now carried home with them two of the native savages whom Weymouth had taken to England.†

Popham and Gilbert sail from Plymouth.

31 May.

The adventurers arrived off Penobscot Bay early in August. Thence running westward, they anchored, a few days afterward, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc. Popham and Gilbert then manned their boats and "sailed up into the river near forty leagues," to find a fit place for their settlement. On the return of the exploring party, "they all went ashore, and made choice of a place for their plantation at the mouth or entry of the river, on the west side." The next day, Richard Seymour, their chaplain, preached them a sermon; after which the commission of George Popham, their president, and their colonial laws, were read. The next two months were diligently employed in building a fort and store-house; while Gilbert, with twenty-two of his men, explored the adjacent coasts, between the Penobscot and Casco Bay. Before long, the ship was sent home, in charge of Captain Davies, with news of their progress, and with letters to Chief-justice Popham, asking for a supply of necessaries to be sent to them betimes the next year.‡

7 August.

16 August. Anchor at the Sagadahoc.

18 August.

19 August.

After the departure of Davies, the remaining colonists finished their intrenched fort, which they named "Saint George," and armed it with twelve pieces of ordnance.

* Mass. Hist. Coll., xix., 3, President and Council's "Brief Relation," 1622; Purchas, iv., 1827; Prince, 113; Strachey, 162, 163.

† Strachey, 164; F. Gorges, Brief Narration, Mass. Hist. Coll., xxvi.

‡ Strachey, 165–179; Gorges, Brief Narration, 54. According to Gorges and Purchas, both the vessels sailed for England on the 15th of December, 1607, leaving forty-five persons only in the colony. Prince, 117.

CHAP. I. Fifty houses, besides a church and store-house, were also constructed within the intrenchments; "and the carpenters framed a pretty pinnace of about some thirty tons, which they called the Virginia; the chief shipwright being one Digby, of London." Gilbert, meanwhile, endeavored to explore more fully the neighboring coasts; but the winter proved so very severe, that "no boat could stir upon any business." To add to their distress, their store-house took fire, and their provisions in part were burned. Early in the new year, their president, George Popham, died. In the mean time, the colonists on the Kennebeck had not been forgotten by their principals at home. In the course of the next summer, Davies returned from England with a ship "laden full of victuals, arms, instruments, and tools." On his arrival, he found that, notwithstanding the death of the president, the colony had prospered; "all things in good forwardness," large quantities of furs obtained, a good store of sarsaparilla gathered, and "the new pinnace all finished." The "Virginia," of Sagadahoc, was thus the first vessel built by Europeans within the limits of the original United States.

1607. First vessel built by Europeans within the United States.

1608. 5 Feb.

But with welcome supplies, the mournful intelligence now reached the colony, that its liberal patron, Chief-justice Popham, had died just after the first ships left England;* and Gilbert also learned that, by the decease of his brother, he had become heir to a fair estate which required his presence in England. As Popham, their president, was dead, and Gilbert was about to leave them; as no mines, "the main intended benefit to uphold the charge of this plantation," had been discovered; and especially, as they feared that all the other winters would prove like the first, "the company by no means would stay any longer in the country." They therefore "all embarked in this

1607. 10 June. Death of Chief-justice Popham.

1608.

* Sir John Popham died on the 10th of June, 1607. He was a "huge, heavy, ugly man," and in his younger days had actually been a highwayman. In 1592 he was made Chief Justice of England, and in 1603 presided at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he sentenced to death. Lord Campbell, in his biography of Popham, entirely omits any reference to his early zeal in the cause of American discovery and colonization, which—as much as any other incident in his life—gives lustre to his fame.—Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices, i., 226.

new-arrived ship, and in the new pinnace, the Virginia, and set sail for England." Thus ended the Northern English colony upon the Sagadahoc. On the return of the faultering emigrants to England, their disappointed principals, vexed with their pusillanimity, desisted for "a long time after" from any further attempts at American colonization; though a few vessels were still annually employed in the prosperous fisheries, and in trafficking with the Indians on the coast of Maine.*

1608.

Failure of the colony.

1608 to 1614.

The year after the failure of the Plymouth Company's colony at the Kennebeck, the London Company obtained a more ample charter from the king, by which the affairs of Virginia were placed upon a much better footing. The new grant essentially modified the first charter of 1606. "The treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the first colony in Virginia" were made a corporate body, to which the political powers, before reserved to the king, were now transferred. An absolute title was also vested in the company to all the territory extending two hundred miles north from Point Comfort, and the same distance to the south, and stretching from the Atlantic westward to the South Sea.† Thus, while the limits of Virginia were expanded westwardly, across the continent, to the Pacific, they were curtailed one degree of latitude on the north. Their first charter of 1606 gave the Virginia Company the right to plant colonies as far north as the forty-first degree. The second charter of 1609 fixed their northern boundary at two hundred miles north of Point Comfort, or about the fortieth parallel of latitude. The Plymouth Company continued to enjoy a nominal existence for eleven years longer, under their first charter; but, though Smith and Gorges several times during that period endeavored to form new settlements, not a single English colony was permanently planted north of Virginia, until 1620.

Second Virginia charter. 1609. 23 May.

Meanwhile, France had continued to look across the At-

French enterprises.

* Strachey, 179, 180; Purchas, iv., 1828; Gorges, N. E., 19; Mass. Hist. Coll., xix., 4; Hubbard, 35–40.

† Stith's Virg., App. ii.; Chalmers, 25; Hazard, i., 58–72.

CHAP. I.

lantic. Nearly eighty years after Verazzano had reported to Francis I. the deep river he had found opening into "a most beautiful lake,"* within the headlands forming the "Narrows," in New York harbor, and nearly seventy years after Cartier had first ascended the Saint Lawrence, a com-

1602. pany of merchants was organized at Rouen, to develop the resources of Canada. An expedition was soon fitted out, under the command of the Sieur du Pont Gravé, a wealthy merchant of Saint Malo, who had already made several voyages to Tadoussac, at the mouth of the deep and gloomy

Pont Gravé and Champlain in Canada.

Saguenay. By command of the king, Pont Gravé was accompanied by Samuel de Champlain, of Saint Onge, a captain in the French navy, who had just before return-

1603. ed from the West Indies. Early in 1603, Pont Gravé and Champlain reached Tadoussac, where leaving their ships to trade with the natives for peltries, they pushed boldly up the Saint Lawrence in a small skiff with five sailors, following the track of Cartier as far as the Sault de Saint Louis at Montreal.† On their return to France, they found

8 Novemb.

that Henry IV. had granted to the Huguenot Sieur de Monts, one of his gentlemen of the bedchamber, who had

De Monts' patent from Henry IV.

rendered him great services during the wars, a patent for planting a permanent colony in America, between the fortieth and the forty-sixth degrees of north latitude.‡ The king soon after granted to De Monts and his associates a monopoly of the fur trade in Acadia and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.§

1604. In the spring of the next year, a new expedition was

7 March.

accordingly organized and dispatched from Dieppe. Piloted by Champlain, and accompanied by the Sieur de Poutrincourt, De Monts safely reached the shores of Aca-

Poutrincourt's settlement at Port Royal.

dia. The beautiful harbor of Port Royal, now Annapolis, pleasing the taste of Poutrincourt, he obtained permission to establish himself there. De Monts, however, by Cham-

De Monts' colony at Saint Croix.

plain's advice, selecting for his own colony the island of Saint Croix, in the river which now divides Maine from

* "Bellissimo Lago;" see Verazzano's Letter, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., i. (second series), p. 60, quoted, *ante*, p. 2.

† Voyages de Champlain, p. 40 (edit. 1632).

‡ Champlain, 42; Hazard, i., 45.

§ Lescarbot, i.; Chalmers, 82.

New Brunswick, built a fort, and passed the winter there; and thus, "at a time when there existed no English subjects in America, the first permanent settlement was made in Canada during the year 1604."* 1604.

But the situation of Saint Croix proving inconvenient, De Monts, the next spring, transferred his diminished colony to Port Royal; and, sailing along the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts, contemporaneously with Weymouth, he claimed for France the sovereignty of the country as far as Cape Malebarre. The following autumn he returned to Europe, leaving his colony in charge of Pont Gravé, as his lieutenant, who, with Champlain and Champdoré, received instructions to explore the adjacent territory more accurately, and trade among the hostile savages.† On his arrival in France, De Monts entered into a new engagement with Poutrincourt, who, accompanied by Marc Lescarbot the historian,‡ returned to Port Royal with welcome supplies, just as the dispirited colonists were about embarking for home. The French cabins remained at Acadia; and under judicious management the colony prospered, until it was surprised and broken up by Samuel Argall with a Virginian force, in 1613. Meanwhile, Henry IV., urged by the complaints of the French traders and fishermen, who were deprived of their accustomed privileges on the coast, revoked the monopoly which he had conferred on De Monts, to whom, however, he granted a small indemnity for his loss. But the king soon afterward ratified and confirmed, by his letters patent, the quiet possession of Port Royal to Poutrincourt.§

1605. French explore the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts. September 1606. Revocation of De Monts' patent. 1607.

After four years absence, Champlain returned to France, filled with the ambition of founding a French colony upon the River Saint Lawrence. Moved by Champlain's earnest representations, De Monts succeeded in obtaining from the king a new commission to plant a settle-

Champlain again in Canada. 1608.

* Chalmers, 82; Champlain, 60. † Champlain, 66–93; Lescarbot.

‡ Lescarbot, who published, in 1609, his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," is described by Charlevoix (i., p. 119) as "un avocat de Paris, un auteur exact, et judicieux, un homme qui eût été aussi capable d'établir une colonie, que d'en écrire l'histoire."

§ Champlain, 99.

CHAP. I. ment in Canada, and a monopoly of the fur trade for one year.* Two ships were promptly equipped at Honfleur, and dispatched, under the command of Champlain, to the Saint Lawrence. On the 3d of June, the expedition anchored at Tadoussac. After a short delay, Champlain ascended the great river, examining, as he went along, the shores on both sides, for the most appropriate spot on which to establish the future capital of New France. Finding none "more commodious or better situated than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages," the rude foundations of a town were laid, near the spot where Cartier had passed the winter about three quarters of a century before.† For five dreary months the secluded colonists endured the inhospitable climate, and saw the face of nature all around continually covered with a deep snow. A bright spring again opened the streams; and in the following summer, Champlain, accompanied by two of his countrymen, boldly ascending the River Richelieu or Saurel with a war-party of Hurons and Algonquins on an expedition against the Iroquois, gave victory to his allies by his European fire-arms, and discovered the beautiful lake on our northeastern frontier, which will ever commemorate his illustrious name.‡

1608. 13 April.

Quebec founded. 3 July.

1609. 30 July. Discovery of Lake Champlain.

The Dutch become competitors with the English and French.

While England and France were thus quietly appropriating, by royal charters, nearly all the northern territory of the New World, a fresh competitor in American discov-

* Champlain, 114. † Ibid., 118–124.

‡ Champlain (edit. Paris, 1632), page 149, states that on the night of July 29, 1609, his party, while passing up the lake in their canoes, discovered their Iroquois enemies, "at the point of a cape which runs out into the lake from the west side." The enemy barricaded themselves with trees on this cape; and the next morning, Champlain, advancing at the head of the invaders, killed two of the Iroquois chiefs with a discharge of his arquebuse, and put their frightened followers to flight. He adds (p. 152), that "the place where this attack was made is in forty-three degrees and some minutes of latitude, and I named it the Lake of Champlain." On the map which accompanies his work, Champlain marks the place "where the Iroquois were defeated," as a promontory a little to the northeast of "a small lake by which one goes to the Iroquois, after having passed that of Champlain." These particulars seem to identify Ticonderoga, in Essex county, as the spot where the first encounter took place, between the white man and the red man, on the soil of New York. Champlain distinctly states that he "afterward" saw the "waterfall" or outlet of "another lake, which is three or four leagues long." This lake, now known as Lake George, was first named "Saint Sacrement," by the Jesuit Father Jogues, in 1646. Translated extracts of Champlain's work have just been published in iii. Doc. Hist. N. Y., 1–9. See also Yates and Moulton's History of New York, i., 177–181.

ery suddenly appeared, to divide with them the magnificent prize. The red flag of England waved over Virginia, and the white banner of France floated over Canada, as the tricolor of a new nation was first unexpectedly displayed in the unknown intermediate region.* 1609.

A generation of men had lived to see a powerful republic result from the confederation at Utrecht of the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands against the bigotry and despotism of Spain. These provinces, whose whole population scarcely exceeded two millions of souls, animated by a spirit which Sir Philip Sydney said to Queen Elizabeth, "is the spirit of God, and is invincible," after a long and desperate conflict against a powerful adversary, finally triumphed over their vindictive oppressor, and compelled him to acknowledge their independence and sovereignty. 1579. The United Provinces of the Netherlands. 1609. 9 April.

The "Union of Utrecht," originally a league which bound the provinces together for mutual defense and protection, became the Constitution of a Confederated Republic. This Constitution, though complex and not entirely popular, was nevertheless a decided and memorable step in human progress; and it enabled the Dutch to establish and maintain a system of universal toleration, which, while contributing materially to the freedom of their own country, made it an inviting asylum for the oppressed of other lands.† Their republican Constitution.

Providence early indicated to that singular country her destiny. While foreign despotic power inflamed the patriotism of her people, and forced them to struggle for civil and religious freedom, the natural disadvantages of her geographical position stimulated their enterprise, and Maritime destiny of Holland.

* The national ensign of the United Provinces was adopted about the year 1582, at the suggestion of William I., prince of Nassau and Orange. It was composed of the prince's colors, orange, white, and blue, arranged in three equal horizontal stripes. After the death of William II. (1650), a red stripe was substituted for the orange; and the Dutch ensign, at the present day, remains what it was, as thus modified, two centuries ago.—J. C. de Jonge, "Over den Oorsprong der Nederlandsche Vlag," 1831, 26–68.

† I shall invariably use the term "DUTCH," in its legitimate English sense, as referring exclusively to the inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands and their descendants. A blunder is frequently committed in applying the name "Dutch," instead of their proper denomination "Germans," to the people of Germany in general.

CHAP. I. 1562. taught them continual lessons of perseverance. A vast morass, protruding into the sea, and formed by the accumulations which the Rhine continually brings down from the foot of the Alps, the Low Countries are only saved from the encroaching ocean by the ceaseless and irrepressible energy of their inhabitants. But the very ocean, which the untiring industry of the Dutch drives back from their narrow shores, was destined to be their widest scene of triumph, and their open avenue to wealth. A few fishermen's huts at the mouth of the Amstel, at a period when the cities of Flanders had attained celebrity, soon became the "Venice of the North;" the sea, subdued by skillful toil, flowed quietly through her splendid canals, and brought treasures from the ends of the earth to the very doors of her cosmopolitan burghers; and crowded streets, and rich warehouses, and stately palaces, and magnificent churches, usurped the ancient abode of the stork and the heron. Well might Fenelon describe the Tyre of his day as the "queen of all the seas."*

The way of the Dutch "in the sea."

Energetic, undaunted, and persevering at home, the Dutch could not fail to push their enterprising commerce into every zone. The very legend on their earliest coinage predicted, in holy words borrowed from the Vulgate, the maritime destiny of that people, whose "way is in the sea," and whose "paths are in many waters."† Accustomed from childhood to play fearlessly with the waves, the natives of Holland and Zealand were foremost in adventure; and the capital of the merchants of Amsterdam and Middleburg found abundant employment for the hardy crews which their own cities readily furnished. Even while its political existence was yet uncertain, the upstart republic "grasped the whole commerce of the world as its

* "Cette grande ville semble nager au-dessus des eaux, et être la reine de tout la mer. Les marchands y abordent de toutes les parties du monde, et ses habitants sont eux-mêmes les plus fameux marchands qu'il y ait dans l'univers. Quand on entre dans cette ville on croit d'abord que ce n'est point une ville qui appartienne à un peuple particulier, mais qu'elle est la ville commune de tous les peuples, et le centre de leur commerce."—Télémaque, liv. iii.

† In 1562, the mint of Zealand issued a penny, stamped with the effigy of a sceptered king riding a sea-horse over the waves, and surrounded by the words "In mari via tua, et semitæ tuæ in aquis multis." See Bizot's "Medalische Historie," 12; Van Loon, i., 58.

portion, and thus supplied itself with resources for a struggle which was longer and more desperate than that of Greece with Persia."* CHAP. I. 1594.

While Charles V. was yet their sovereign, the Dutch appear to have become familiar with part of the New World, which the Pontiff had granted, as a perpetual donation, to the kings of Spain. But the Revolution, which followed the accession of Philip II., interrupted for awhile the distant voyages of the insurgent Batavians.† The same summer that the United Provinces declared their independence of Spain, Thomas Buts, an English captain, who had five times visited the Spanish American islands, proposed to the states of Holland to conduct an expedition to the West Indies. But though the projected adventure seems to have been viewed with favor, no results are recorded. All the while, commerce flourished at home; and in spite of edicts, the Dutch maintained the command of the nearer seas. One thousand new vessels were annually built in Holland. From the Cape de Verd Islands to the White Sea, a profitable coasting trade was carried on; out of the Vlie alone sailed nearly six hundred ships, in one year, to bring corn from the Baltic. Before long, William Usselincx, a native of Antwerp, who had spent many years in Castile, Portugal, and the Azores, suggested the advantage of an association for trading to the West Indies. The views of Usselincx were listened to with respect, but his counsels were not immediately followed. Yet they were not without their effect. A few years afterward, Gerrit Bicker Peterszoon, of Amsterdam, and Jan Corneliszoon Leyen, of Enckhuysen, under the patronage of the States of Holland, organized separate companies for the West India trade. Their enterprise was the forerunner of eventual success.‡

Early voyages. 1581. 10 June. 1585. Home commerce of the Dutch. 1587. 1591. Voyages to the West Indies. 1597.

Meanwhile, the Dutch, sharing largely in the carrying trade of Europe, had sought distant regions for a more lucrative traffic. In 1594, Cornelius Houtman, the son of a

* Heeren. † Sir John Carr on the Commerce of the Dutch.

‡ Van Meteren, xiii., 260, 261; xiv., 283, 324; xix., 419; Wagenaar, Amst., i., 407, 408, 416; Vad. Hist., ix., 152, 153; Davies's Holland, ii., 181, 182, 200, 201; Muilkerk (Berg Van Dussen), Bydragen tot de Geschiedenis onzer Kolonizatie in Noord Amerika, A., 2–7.

CHAP. I. brewer of Gouda, returning from Lisbon, where he had
1594. spent the previous year, brought back tempting accounts of the gorgeous products of the East, which he had seen crowding the quays of the Tagus. His glowing descriptions provoked emulation; and nine merchants of Amsterdam, forming an association, equipped a flotilla of four ships, equally fitted for war and for trade, of which Houtman undertook the command. Following the track of the Portuguese, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and in two
1596. years returned to Amsterdam with rich cargoes of Eastern products.* And thus began the marvelous Indian commerce of the Dutch. The edicts of Philip could not exclude the independent Netherlanders from the free navigation of the seas. Thenceforth they determined to vindicate, by force of arms, their right to participate freely in that commerce which despotic selfishness was vainly attempting to monopolize. The privateers of the Batavian Provinces were every where victorious; and the ware-
1598. houses of their owners were soon filled with the choicest productions of the Indies, and ornamented with the ensigns of the conquered galleons of Spain. And while the circuitous voyage round the Cape of Good Hope thus gave ample returns, mercantile enterprise sought shorter avenues to the East. Under the influence of the vigorous Balthazar Moucheron, of Middleburg, expeditions were dis-
1594. patched from Zealand and Holland to explore a more direct passage to China, and Cathay or Japan, by way of Nova Zembla and the Polar Seas. Again, and a third time, un-
1595-6. successful attempts were repeated; and the daring enterprise, in which Barentsen, Cornelissen, and Heemskerk endured almost unparalleled trials, and won a renown as lasting as that of Willoughby or Davis, was at length abandoned in despair.†

First voyages to the East Indies.

Triumph of Dutch enterprise in the East.

Expeditions to the Polar Seas.

1600. The wealth of the East, which soon began to pour into Holland, naturally produced competition among the participants in the open traffic. Influenced by the representa-

* Richesse de la Hollande, i., 35; Van Meteren, xxiii., 509.

† Van Meteren, xviii., 371, 376; xix., 404, 419; Lambrechtsen, 7, 8; Davies, ii., 290-294, 328; Muilkerk, A., 18, 19.

tions of the merchants, who feared in an unrestrained rivalry a diminution of their individual profits, and looking also to the political advantages which the republic itself might gain in its conflict with Spain, the States General now resolved that the various adventurers engaged in commerce with the East should be united in one corporate body. A charter was accordingly granted in the spring of 1602, by which those merchants were incorporated for a period of twenty-one years, under the name of the "East India Company," with a capital of 6,600,000 of livres, the exclusive privilege of trading in the Eastern Seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope on the one side and the Straits of Magellan on the other, and large powers for conquest, colonization, and government within those limits.*

1600.

1602. 20 March. The Dutch East India Company.

While this powerful commercial monopoly was covering the Eastern Ocean with its fleets, and returning to its shareholders, in a single year, three fourths of their invested capital,† men's minds had been earnestly considering whether the Western World might not also offer a tempting field for Dutch mercantile enterprise. William Usselincx, who had already suggested an association to trade in the West Indies, was again among the most zealous to urge the immediate establishment of a company in the Netherlands, modeled after the one which had proved so successful in the East. He represented his project as an additional means of humbling their arrogant enemy on the very seas from which Philip was endeavoring to shut out the commerce of the republic; and besides the mercantile advantages which would result from securing the traffic with those affluent regions, he pressed the higher motive of the conversion of their heathen inhabitants to the Christian faith. The proposals which Usselincx circulated won general assent; and, aided by the influence of Plancius, Linschoten, and other leading scholars and merchants of Holland and Zealand, an application was made to the States

1607.

A West India Company proposed.

* Van Meteren, xxiv., 512. Cape Horn was not known to Europeans at this period. Schouten, who named it after his native city, "Hoorn," in North Holland, first sailed round the Cape in 1616.

† In the year 1606, the East India Company divided 75 per cent. Moulton, 194.

CHAP. I. 1607. General for the incorporation of a "West India Company," to trade exclusively, for thirty-six years, to the coast of Africa, from the tropics to the Cape of Good Hope, and to America, from the Straits of Magellan to Newfoundland. But the Dutch government was now engaged in negotiations for a peace with Spain, which Grotius and Barneveldt feared the proposed charter might prejudice; and the truce, which was finally concluded in 1609, suspended for several years any definite action on the subject.*

Its organization postponed.

Henry Hudson's voyages from London to the North.

Meanwhile, a shorter passage to China and Cathay, by way of the Northern Seas, continued to be a favorite theory in England, as well as in Holland and Denmark. A company of wealthy and energetic men in London, not discouraged by the ill-luck of all previous efforts, determined to attempt again, in 1607, the enterprise in which so many others had failed. Contributing the necessary means for an expedition, they intrusted the command to a skillful and experienced mariner, Henry Hudson, a native of England, and a friend of the famous Captain John Smith, who had just before sailed with the first colony for Virginia, and whom, in boldness, energy, and perseverance Hudson strongly resembled. But the expedition was unsuccess-
1608. ful, as was also a second voyage in the following year, and the London Company suspended further efforts.†

Not disheartened by his two failures, Hudson now re-
1609. solved to go to Holland, in the hope of meeting there encour-

Hudson goes to Holland.

agement to attempt again the venturesome enterprise he was so ambitious to achieve. He was not disappointed. His proposition to the East India Company, though opposed by the Zealand department, where Balthazar Moucheron's long experience in former fruitless voyages influenced his colleagues, found favor with the more liberal Amsterdam directors. By their orders, a yacht, or Vlie-boat, called the "HALF MOON," belonging to the company, of forty lasts or eighty tons burden,‡ was equipped for the voy-

The Dutch E. I. Company fit out the Half Moon.

* Van Meteren, 527, 528, 553, 556, 601, 603; Grotius, 721; Bentivoglio, i., 37; Bancroft, ii., 262, 263; Muilkerk, A., 10–17; Davies, ii., 404, 405.

† Purchas, iii., 567; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 61–102; Yates and Moulton, i., 198–200.

‡ "Ship book" found, in 1841, in the Archives of the old East India Company at Am-

age, and manned by a crew of twenty sailors, partly Dutch and partly English. The command was intrusted to Hudson; a Dutch "under-schipper" or mate was appointed; and instructions were given to explore a passage to China by the northeast or northwest.*

The Half Moon left Amsterdam on the fourth of April, 1609, and on the sixth took her departure from the Texel. Doubling the Cape of Norway on the fifth of May, Hudson found the sea so full of ice, that he was obliged to abandon his purpose of penetrating eastward of Nova Zembla. Some of his motley crew, who had been used only to the East India service, could ill endure the severity of the cold, and now began to murmur. Upon this, Hudson proposed to them two alternatives. The first was to sail directly to America, in about latitude 40°, where, according to the letters and charts which Smith had sent him from Virginia, he would find a sea affording a passage to the East round the English colony. The other proposition was to penetrate westward, through Davis's Straits; and this being generally approved, Hudson sailed toward the island of Faro, where he arrived on the last of May, and remained a day to water. Thence he stretched westward across the Atlantic; but failing to see the islands which Frobisher's ships had visited in 1578, he shaped his course for Newfoundland. After a stormy and perilous voyage, in which he lost his foremast overboard, Hudson arrived, early in July, on the Banks, where he was becalmed long enough to catch more cod than his "small store of salt" could cure. He then stood further to the west, and run-

6 April. Hudson sails from the Texel.

31 May.

sterdam. A "Vlie-boat" is so called from its being built expressly for the difficult navigation of the Vlie and the Texel. It is a very fast-sailing vessel, with two masts, and usually of about one hundred tons burden. The name, as well as the model of this Dutch craft, was soon adopted in other countries. The French called it "Flibot;" the English, "Fly-boat;" and the Spaniards, "Flibote." Some of our writers have, unfortunately, altered the historical name of the "Half Moon" to the fanciful name of the "Crescent." Hudson's vessel was really called by her owners "de Halve-Maan," and not "de Wassende-Maan," of which latter phrase only is "Crescent" the proper English equivalent.

* Van Meteren, xxxi., 674; N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii. (second series), 368–370; Lambrechtsen, 9, 10, and in N. Y. H. S. Coll., i. (second series), 84, 85; Muilkerk, 18, 19. Robert Juet, of Limehouse, England, who wrote the Journal printed by Purchas, acted as Hudson's own clerk, but not as "under-schipper" of the Half Moon. Van Meteren expressly says that that officer was a Netherlander.

CHAP. I. 1609.

ning along the coast of Nova Scotia, arrived at Penobscot Bay, where he remained a week, cutting a new foremast and mending his tattered rigging. While there, he was visited by two French-built shallops full of Indians, some of whom even "spake some words of French," and proposed to traffic. But Hudson, suspicious of his visitors, kept a vigilant watch; while a part of his ship's company seized one of the shallops, with which they landed, and wantonly despoiled the cabins of the friendly natives. Fearing that the lawless conduct of his turbulent crew might provoke retaliation, Hudson set sail the next day to the southward, and kept at sea for a week, until he made the land again, and sent his shallop in to sound the shore. The next morning he anchored at the northern end of a headland, where his boat's crew landed, and found the natives rejoicing to see them. Supposing it to be an unknown island, Hudson named the region NEW HOLLAND, in honor of his patrons' fatherland. But after trying in vain to find an opening to the westward, he put about, and passing the southern headland, which he now perceived was the one which Gosnold had discovered in 1602 and named "Cape Cod," he stood off to sea again toward the southwest.

18 July. Hudson at Penobscot Bay.

26 July

3 August.

At Cape Cod.

18 August. In a fortnight Hudson arrived off the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, which he recognized as "the entrance into the King's River in Virginia, where our Englishmen are." But the temptation to meet his friend Smith, who, disgusted with the distractions in the colony at Jamestown, and maimed by accidental wounds, was preparing to return to England, did not divert Hudson from the great object of his voyage. Contenting himself with a few soundings, he stood again to sea, and passing northward along the coast of Maryland, he ran into a "great bay with rivers"—afterward called the "South River," and "New Port May" by the Dutch, and "Delaware" by the English—where the Half Moon anchored.*

At the Capes of the Chesapeake.

28 August. Hudson discovers and enters Delaware Bay.

* Van der Donck, p. 7, adds, and "took the first possession." This bay and river the Dutch called the South River, to distinguish it from the North or Hudson River; and also

Finding the navigation so difficult, that "he that will thoroughly discover this great bay must have a small pinnace that must draw but four or five feet water, to sound before him," Hudson stood out to sea again, and, running northward several days along a low sandy coast, with "broken islands," arrived, on the evening of the second of September, in sight of the "high hills" of Navesinck, then, as now, "a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." The next morning he sailed onward until he came to "three great rivers," the most northerly of which he attempted to enter, but was prevented by the "very shoal bar before it."* So, sending his boat before him to sound the way, he went in past Sandy Hook, and on the evening of the third of September, 1609, anchored the Half Moon in the bay, where the waters were alive with fish.†

2 Sept.

3 Sept

Anchors in Sandy Hook Bay.

For a week Hudson lingered in the lower bay, admiring the "goodly oaks" which garnished the neighboring shores, and holding frequent intercourse with the native savages of Monmouth, in New Jersey. The Half Moon was visited in return by the wondering Indians, who flocked on board the strange vessel, clothed with mantles of feathers and robes of fur, and adorned with rude copper necklaces. Meanwhile, a boat's crew was sent to sound the river, which opened to the northward. Passing through the Narrows, they found a noble harbor, with "very good riding for ships." A little further on, they came to "the Kills," between Staten Island and Bergen Neck, "a narrow river to the westward, between two islands." The lands

Hudson in New Jersey.

6 Sept

New Port May, after Cornelis Jacobsen May, of Hoorn. Many of our writers assert that Lord Delawarr touched at this bay, on his way to Virginia in 1610. But this is an error. On that occasion Lord Delawarr sailed by way of the West Indies, and approached Virginia from the southward. Indeed, there is no evidence that Lord Delawarr ever saw the waters which now bear his name, as will be shown in a note (D) in the Appendix.

* Two of these were, no doubt, the Raritan and the Narrows; and the third one, to the northward, with the shoal bar before it, probably Rockaway Inlet.

† "So we weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms ooze ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rays very great. The height is forty degrees thirty minutes." This statement in Juet's Journal agrees, very nearly, with the actual latitude of Sandy Hook, which is forty degrees twenty-eight minutes. Doctor Mitchill, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 41, however doubts the correctness of the accounts in the Journal respecting the abundance of salmon in the North River when first visited by Hudson, though he admits that that fish has been taken there.

CHAP. I. 1609.

on both sides were "as pleasant with grass, and flowers, and goodly trees, as ever they had seen, and very sweet smells came from them." Six miles up this river they saw "an open sea," now known as Newark Bay. In the evening, as the boat was returning to the ship, the exploring party was set upon by two canoes full of savages; and one of the English sailors, John Colman, was killed by an arrow shot in his throat. The next day Hudson buried, upon the adjacent beach, the comrade who had shared the dangers of his polar adventures, to become the first European victim of an Indian weapon in the placid waters he had now reached. To commemorate the event, Sandy Hook was named "Colman's Point." The ship was soon visited by canoes full of native warriors; but Hudson, suspecting their good faith, took two of the savages and "put red coats upon them," while the rest were not suffered to approach.

Death of John Colman.

7 Sept.

9 Sept.

Cautiously sounding her way through the lower bay, the Half Moon at length "went into the river" past the Narrows, and anchored near the mouth of the Kills in "a very good harbor for all winds." The native savages came at once on board, "making show of love;" but Hudson, remembering Colman's fate, "durst not trust them." The next morning twenty-eight canoes, "made of single hollowed trees," and crowded with men, women, and children, visited the yacht. But none were suffered to come on board, though their oysters and beans were gladly purchased. In the afternoon the Half Moon ran six miles further up; and the crew were enraptured by the loveliness of the surrounding country. "It is as beautiful a land as one can tread upon," said Hudson, "and abounds in all kinds of excellent ship timber."*

The Half Moon passes the Narrows. 11 Sept.

12 Sept.

The first of Europeans, Hudson now began to explore the great river which stretched before him to the north, opening, as he hoped, the way to the Eastern Seas. Slowly drifting upward with the flood-tide, he anchored over night just above Yonkers, in sight of "a high point of

Hudson begins to ascend the North River. 13 Sept.

* "Is soo schoonen landt als men met voeten betreden mach."—Hudson's Report, quoted by De Laet, cap. x.

land, which showed out" five leagues off to the north.* The next day, a southeast wind carrying him rapidly up Tappan and Haverstraw Bays, and beyond the "strait" between Stony and Verplanck's Points, Hudson sailed onward through the majestic pass guarded by the frowning Donderberg, and at nightfall anchored his yacht near West Point, in the midst of the sublimest scenery of the "Matteawan"† Mountains. CHAP. I. 1609. 14 Sept.

The next morning was misty until the sun arose, and the grandeur of the overhanging highlands was again revealed. A fair south wind sprung up as the weather became clear; and while the Half Moon was getting under way, the two savages who had been detained captives on board at Sandy Hook, watching their opportunity, leaped out of a port-hole and swam ashore, scornfully deriding the crew as the yacht sailed onward. A bright autumnal day succeeded the misty morning. Running sixty miles up along the varied shores which lined the deep channel, and delighted every moment with the ever-changing scenery, and the magnificent virgin forests which clothed the river banks with their gorgeous autumnal hues, Hudson arrived, toward evening, opposite the loftier "mountains which lie from the river's side,"‡ and anchored the Half Moon near Catskill landing, where he found a "very loving people and very old men." 15 Sept. The Half Moon at Catskill.

The friendly natives flocked on board the yacht, as she remained lazily at anchor the next morning, and brought the crew "ears of Indian corn, and pumpkins, and tobacco," which were readily bought "for trifles." In the aft- 16 Sept.

* The North River schippers afterward named this well-known landmark, just north of Nyack, in Rockland county, "*Verdrietig Hook*," or *Tedious Point*. It is about seven hundred feet high, and obtained its name because it was generally so long in sight of the slow-sailing sloops of former days. The name, formerly so expressive, is still retained; though our flitting modern conveyances hardly allow it now to tire the eye.

† The Indian name for the Highlands, according to Spafford, and Moulton, i., p. 240.

‡ The "Kaatsbergs," or Catskill Mountains, the most elevated range along the river, are about eight miles inland from the west bank, and extend northward from back of the town of Saugerties, in Ulster county, to the town of Durham, in Greene county. According to Captain Partridge's measurement, in 1818, "Round Top," the highest point in the chain, is 3804 feet above tide water; "High Peak," the next in altitude, is 3718 feet. "Pine Orchard," the famous summer resort of tourists, is a level tract of about seven acres, on the edge of a precipice about 2214 feet above the river, of which it commands a magnificent view for sixty miles.

CHAP. I. 1609. ernoon, Hudson went six miles further up the river, and anchored over night near the marshes which divide the channel, opposite the flourishing city which now bears his
17 Sept. name. Early the next morning he set sail again, and slowly working his way through the shoaling channel and among the "small islands" which embarrassed navigation, anchored, toward evening, about eighteen miles further up, between Schodac and Castleton.

18 Sept. Here the Half Moon remained at anchor all the next day. In the afternoon, Hudson went ashore "with an old savage, a governor of the country, who carried him to his house and made him good cheer." The visit is graphically described in the original Journal preserved by De Laet. "I sailed to the shore," says Hudson, "in one of their canoes, with an old man who was the chief of a tribe consisting of forty men and seventeen women. These I saw there, in a house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being built with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, and beans of the last year's growth; and there lay near the house, for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and some food was immediately served in well-made red wooden bowls. Two men were also dispatched at once, with bows and arrows, in quest of game, who soon brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste, with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night; but I returned, after a short time, on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of every description. These natives are a very good people; for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows; and, taking their arrows, they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire."*

Hudson lands at Schodac.

* Juet, in his account of the voyage, says that the person who went ashore with the

1609.

With the early flood-tide on the following morning, the Half Moon "ran higher up, two leagues above the shoals," and anchored in deep water, near the site of the present city of Albany. The people of the country came flocking on board, and brought grapes and pumpkins, and beaver and otter skins, which were purchased for beads, knives, and hatchets. Here the yacht lingered several days. The carpenter went ashore, and made a new foreyard; while Hudson and his mate, "determined to try some of the chief men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them," took them down into the Half Moon's cabin, and "gave them so much wine and *aqua vitæ* that they were all merry." An old Indian, stupefied with drink, remained on board to the amazement of his simple countrymen, who "could not tell how to take it." The traditions of the aborigines yet preserve the memory of this first revel,* which was followed, the next day, by another visit from the reassured savages, one of whose chiefs, addressing Hudson, "made an oration, and showed him all the country round about."

19 Sept. The Half Moon at Albany.

21 Sept.

Revel on board.

Every thing now seemed to indicate that the Half Moon had reached the head of ship navigation. The downward current was fresh and clear, the shoaling channel was narrow and obstructed; yet Hudson, unwilling, perhaps, to abandon his long-cherished hope, dispatched the mate, with a boat's crew, to sound the river higher up. After going "eight or nine leagues" further—probably to some distance above Waterford—and finding "but seven feet wa-

End of the upward voyage.

22 Sept.

"old savage," was the "master's mate," or *onder schipper*, who, according to Van Meteren, was a Dutchman. On the other hand, De Laet expressly states that it was Hudson himself, and he quotes, from Hudson's own Journal, the passage which I have inserted in the text. The place where Hudson landed is stated by De Laet to have been in latitude 42° 18′. This would seem to fix the scene of the event at about five or six miles above the present city of Hudson, which is in 42° 14′. But latitudes were not as accurately determined in those days as they are now; and a careful computation of the distances run by the Half Moon, as recorded in Juet's log-book, shows that on the 18th of September, when the landing occurred, she must have been "up six leagues higher" than Hudson, or in the neighborhood of Schodac and Castleton.

* "It is very remarkable that, among the Iroquois or Six Nations, there is a tradition, still very distinctly preserved, of a scene of intoxication which occurred with a company of the natives when the first ship arrived."—Rev. Dr. Miller's Discourse, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., p. 35; Heckewelder, in Moulton's N. Y., i., p. 551–254; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 71–73. See Note A, Appendix.

CHAP. I. 1609.

ter, and inconstant soundings," the exploring party returned late at night, and reported that they had "found it to be at an end for shipping to go in."*

Hudson returns down the river.

Hudson now reluctantly prepared to return. His ascent of the river had occupied eleven days; his descent consumed as many more. Bidding adieu to the friendly savages among whom he had tarried so pleasantly, and slowly descending the difficult channel for nine or ten leagues,

23 Sept.

24 Sept.

he ran aground again, the next afternoon, on the "bank of ooze in the middle of the river," opposite the present city of Hudson. Here he remained wind-bound for two days, which were occupied in wooding the vessel, and in visit-

26 Sept.

ing the neighboring shores. While the yacht was lying at anchor, two canoes full of savages came up the river six miles from Catskill, where the crew had "first found loving people" on their upward voyage. In one of these canoes was the old man who had reveled on board the Half Moon "at the other place," and who had followed by land the yacht's progress down the river. He now brought "another old man with him," who gave "stropes of beads" to Hudson, and "showed him all the country thereabout, as though it were at his command." The visitors were kindly entertained; and as they departed, made signs that the Europeans, who were now within two leagues of their dwelling-place, "should come down to them."

But the persuasions of the friendly old chief were of no

27 Sept.

avail. Weighing anchor the next day with a fair north wind, Hudson ran down the river eighteen miles, past the wigwams of the "loving people" at Catskill, who were "very sorrowful" for his departure, and toward evening anchored in deep water near Red Hook, where part of the

29 Sept.

crew went on shore to fish. The next two days were consumed in slowly working down to the "lower end of the long reach" below Pokeepsie, where the yacht was again visited by friendly Indians; and then proceeding onward,

* De Laet, in cap. vii., states that Hudson explored the river "to nearly 43° of north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth, that he found it necessary to return." As Albany is in 42° 39′, the boat must, therefore, have gone above that place "eight or nine leagues" further—the distance given in Juet's Journal.

Hudson anchored in the evening under the northern edge of the Highlands. Here he lay wind-bound for a day, in a very good roadstead, admiring the magnificent mountains, which looked to him "as if some metal or mineral were in them." 30 Sept.

Early the next morning a fair wind sprung up, and the Half Moon, sailing rapidly through the winding Highlands, anchored, at noon, near Stony Point. Here some of the "people of the mountains" came on board, wondering at the "ship and weapons." The same afternoon, a thievish native, detected in pilfering some articles through the cabin windows, was shot without mercy by the mate; and the stolen things were promptly recovered from the canoes of the frightened savages, who lost another life in their flight. This was the first Indian blood shed by Europeans on the North River. After this sanguinary atonement had been exacted, the yacht dropped down two leagues further, through Haverstraw Bay to Teller's Point, near the mouth of the Croton. 1 October. Indians killed near Stony Point.

The next day, a brisk northwest wind carried the Half Moon seven leagues further down, through Tappan Sea to the head of Manhattan Island, where one of the captive Indians, who had escaped from the yacht in the Highlands, on the upward voyage, came off from the shore with many other savages. But Hudson, "perceiving their intent," would suffer none of them to enter the vessel. Two canoes full of warriors then came under the stern, and shot a flight of arrows into the yacht. A few muskets were discharged in retaliation, and two or three of the assailants were killed. Some hundred Indians then assembled at the point near Fort Washington, to attack the Half Moon as she drifted slowly by; but a falcon-shot killed two of them, "whereupon the rest fled into the woods." Again the assailants manned another canoe, and again the attack was repulsed by a falcon shot, which destroyed their frail bark; and so the savages "went their way," mourning the loss of nine of their warriors. The yacht then "got down two leagues beyond that place," and anchored over 2 October. The Half Moon attacked near Fort Washington. Hudson anchors at Hoboken.

CHAP. I. 1609.

night "on the other side of the river," in the bay near Hoboken. Hard by his anchorage, and upon "that side of the river that is called *Manna-hata*," Hudson noticed that "there was a cliff that looked of the color of a white green."* Here he lay wind-bound the next day, and "saw no people to trouble" him. The following morning, just one month after his arrival at Sandy Hook, Hudson weighed his anchor for the last time, and coming out of the "great mouth of the great river" into which he "had run so far," he set all sail, and steered off again into the main sea.†

4 October.

Sails from Sandy Hook.

The Half Moon's company now held a council, and were of various minds. They were in want of stores, and were not on good terms with each other, "which, if they had been, they would have accomplished more." The Dutch mate wished to winter at Newfoundland, and then explore the northwest passage through Davis's Straits. But Hudson, fearing his mutinous crew, who had lately begun to "threaten him savagely," opposed this proposition, and suggested their immediate return to Holland. At last they all agreed to winter in Ireland. So they sailed eastward for a month, without seeing any land by the way, and on the seventh of November, 1609, arrived safely at Dartmouth, in Devonshire.

The Half Moon arrives at Dartmouth. 7 Nov.

Hudson sends a report to the Dutch E. I. Company.

Thence Hudson immediately sent over an account of his voyage to the Dutch East India Company, at Amsterdam, proposing to renew the search for the northwest passage in the following spring, after refitting the Half Moon in England, and superseding several of the most turbulent of her crew. But contrary winds prevented his report from reaching Amsterdam for some time. When at length the East India directors heard of Hudson's arrival at Dartmouth, they instructed him to return with his vessel to Holland as soon as possible. As he was about complying

* The mineralogist may spend an agreeable day in visiting this cliff, near the "Elysian Fields" at Hoboken. Hudson supposed it to be a copper or silver mine.

† See Juet's Journal of Hudson's third voyage, in Purchas, and in i. N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 102–146; and De Laet, in second series of same collections, i., 289–316. An interesting analysis of the Half Moon's voyage up and down the river, is in Yates and Moulton's History of New York, vol. i., p. 201–272.

with these orders early in the following year, he was arbitrarily forbidden to leave his native country by the English authorities, who were jealous of the advantages which the Dutch had gained by reason of Hudson's discoveries while in their service; and the Half Moon was detained for several months, quietly at anchor in Dartmouth harbor.* 1610. January.

The Dutch discoveries in North America.

The American territory, which had thus been discovered by the agents of the Dutch East India Company, though included within James's first Virginia patent of 1606, was actually unoccupied, and unpossessed "by any Christian prince or people." In the south, John Smith's exploring parties were visiting the upper waters of the Chesapeake, and far off in the north the arquebuses of Samuel Champlain were dealing death to the aborigines on the "Lake of the Iroquois," when, with extraordinary coincidence, Henry Hudson was about piloting the first European vessel through the unknown "River of the Mountains" which flowed between. No stranger but Verazzano seems to have passed the "Narrows" before those wondering mariners who navigated the Half Moon of Amsterdam up that majestic stream, to which the assent of the world has given the name of its illustrious explorer.† All above was new and undiscovered. The lethargy of uncivilized nature reigned throughout the undisturbed solitude. The wild game sprung from their familiar retreats, startled by the 1609.

* N. Y. H. S. Coll. (second series), ii., 370. "Et comme Hudson était prêt de partir avec la navire et ses gens, pour aller faire rapport de son voyage, il fût arreté en Angleterre, et reçût commandement de ne point partir, mais qu'il devait faire service à sa patrie; ce qu'on commanda aussi aux autres Anglais qui étaient au vaisseau. Ce que plusieurs trouverent fort étrange, de ce qu'on ne permettait pas au patron d'aller faire compte, et de faire rapport de son voyage et de qu'il avait fait, à ses maîtres, qui l'avaient envoyé en ce voyage; puisque cela se faisait pour le bien commun de toutes sortes de navigations. Ceci se fit en Janvier. 1610. On estimait que les Anglais le voulaient envoyer avec quelques navires, vers Virginia, pour rechercher plus avant la susdite Rivière." —Van Meteren, xxxi., 674, 675, edit. 1618. Emanuel Van Meteren, the author of this excellent History of the Netherlands, was for many years Dutch consul in England, and died in London, at the age of seventy-seven, on the 18th of April, 1612.

† It is stated, indeed, in the "Report and Advice" presented by the Chamber of Accounts of the West India Company, on the 15th of December, 1644, that New Netherland, "stretching from the South River, situated in thirty-eight and a half degrees, to Cape Malebarre, in the latitude of forty-one and a half degrees, was first visited by the inhabitants of this country, in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making fixed habitations, and only as a refuge in the winter."—Holland Documents, ii., 368. This statement, however, needs confirmation. See Appendix, note A.

CHAP. I. 1609. unusual echoes which rolled through the ancient forests, as the roar of the first Dutch cannon boomed over the silent waters, and the first Dutch trumpets blew the inspiring national airs of the distant Fatherland. The simple Indians, roaming unquestioned through their native woods, which no sounding axe had yet begun to level, and paddling their rude canoes along the base of the towering hills which lined the unexplored river's side, paused in solemn amazement, as they beheld their strange visitor approaching from afar, and marveled whence the apparition came.*

Thus the triumphant flag of Holland was the harbinger of civilization along the banks of the great river of New York. The original purpose of the Half Moon's voyage had failed of accomplishment; but why need Hudson repine? He had not, indeed, discovered for his employers the long-sought passage to the Eastern Seas; but he had led the way to the foundation of a mighty state.† The attractive region to which accident had conducted the Amsterdam yacht, soon became a colony of the Netherlands, where, for half a century, the sons and daughters of Holland established themselves securely under the ensign of the republic; transplanted the doctrines of a Reformed faith; and obeyed the jurisprudence which had governed their ancestors. In the progress of events, a superior power took unjust possession of the land; and nearly two hundred years have rolled by since the change came to pass. Yet the hereditary attributes of its earliest settlers have always happily influenced the destinies of its blended community; and many of the noblest characteristics of its Batavian pioneers have descended to the present day, unimpaired by the long ascendency of the red cross of Saint George, and only more brightly developed by the intermingling of the various races which soon chose its inviting territory for their home.

The picturesque shores, along which Hudson lingered with enthusiastic delight—and the magnificence of which

* See Appendix, note B.

† The population of the State of New York, in 1850, was 3,097,358; about equal to that of the United States when the Definitive Treaty of Peace was signed in 1783.

drew from him the bold eulogium, "it is as beautiful a land as the foot of man can tread upon"—have become the favorite seat of elegance and refinement, and have witnessed the resistless rise of "empire and of arts." The silent River of the Mountains is now the highway of a boundless traffic, and bears upon its bosom the teeming wealth which grand artificial channels, connecting it with the mediterranean seas of a broad continent, bring down to its tides, from coasts of vast extent and illimitable resources. Swift steamers now crowd those waters, where Fulton's native genius first

> —— "by flame compelled the angry sea,
> To vapor rarefied, his bark to drive
> In triumph proud, through the loud sounding surge;"

while the yet more "rapid car" rushes incessantly along the iron road which science, obeying the call of enterprise, has stretched along the river's bank. The rights and interests of millions are now secured by equal laws, ordained by freely chosen agents, and enforced by the common consent. And while, at the head of tide-water, the political affairs of the commonwealth are watched and administered, and the people declare their sovereign will, the ocean-washed island of Manhattan, at the river's mouth, is the cosmopolitan emporium of an eager commerce which whitens every sea.

CHAPTER II.

1609–1614.

CHAP. II.

The Dutch an independent nation when Hudson made discoveries in their service.

AT the time of Hudson's grand discovery, the United Netherlands had just taken the rank of an independent nation. For more than forty years they had maintained an unequal strife against the bigotry and despotism of Spain. The confederation of the Provinces, in 1579, had been followed, in 1581, by the noblest political act which the world had then ever witnessed—the declaration of their national independence. Queen Elizabeth, who had warmly espoused the cause of the revolted provinces the year before the Union of Utrecht, formally opened diplomatic relations with the States General in 1585, and even sent troops to their succor, under the command of her favorite, the Earl of Leicester. In 1604, James I. not only received ambassadors from the states, but, in conjunction with Henry IV. of France, agreed to use his best efforts to procure the recognition of their independence by Spain. A large number of the people of England, at the same time, were warmly in favor of an alliance with the Netherlands. The naturally unambitious character of the Dutch and the convenience of their country for trading, rendered them safe and profitable allies; while the difficulty of securing the English coast from their attacks, and the English merchant vessels from their privateers, would have rendered them equally mischievous and formidable enemies. Yet James himself, though he agreed to permit contingents of troops to be raised within his kingdom for their defense, heartily disliked the Dutch; and the more so, because he found that the English soldiers who served in the Nether-

lands, returned home filled with notions of popular rights and civil liberty which they had imbibed in the republican provinces.* But Providence had determined that the soldiery of England were to learn in Holland, during the reign of James, lessons in human freedom and government, which were soon afterward to receive a stern application in the reign of James's unfortunate son.

Three years more of varied war, in which the successes of Spinola's armies on land were splendidly overbalanced by the victories of the Dutch fleets at sea, and the King of Spain, wearied with an apparently interminable contest, which had baffled all his calculations, and nearly drained his treasury, sent ambassadors to the Hague early in 1607, to open negotiations for a peace with the Netherlands. But the Dutch were not yet unanimous for a cessation of hostilities. Since their triumphs over the Spaniards, they had begun to imbibe a spirit of ambition and conquest alien to their former sober national character; and, from being patient traders and brave defenders of their country against invasion, they had become adventurous and victorious aggressors. Perceiving these changes in the habits of the people, and fearing still greater and more inconvenient modifications, Barneveldt, the Advocate of Holland, and many other patriotic statesmen, ardently wished for peace. But the clergy, who mistrusted the bigotry of Philip, deemed an equitable treaty with Spain impracticable; and the stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Nassau, naturally opposed the termination of a war in which he was gaining both laurels and emolument as general-in-chief. A large party sided with Maurice, urging that war was more safe and advantageous for the provinces than peace, which would, at any rate, throw out of employment vast numbers of people; and many of the merchants feared that with the end of hostilities the trade and commerce, which had been transferred to Amsterdam, would return to more commodiously-situated Antwerp. Fortunately the counsels of peace prevailed, and the negotiations which were

* Davies, ii., 384, 385.

CHAP. II. 1609. opened by the Spanish ambassadors, requesting a temporary truce, received unexpected emphasis from Heemskerk's splendid victory over D'Avila, before Gibraltar, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1607. But Philip, though he agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty and independence of the provinces, refused to grant them, by treaty, a freedom of trade to India; while the states, on the other hand, were determined, at all hazards, to insist upon their right to a commerce in which they employed upward of one hundred and fifty ships and eight thousand men, and the annual returns of which were estimated at forty-three millions of guilders. With the acknowledgment of their political independence, they claimed the recognition of the consequence of independence—the free navigation of the seas. Upon this tender point, the progress of the negotiations was arrested.*

At length, after two years of discussion and vicissitude, the conferences which had kept Europe in suspense re-
9 April. sulted in the signing, at the Town Hall at Antwerp, on the ninth of April, 1609, of a truce for a term of twelve years, instead of a definitive peace. The fulfillment of the treaty was guaranteed by England and France; the United Netherlands were declared to be "free countries, provinces, and states," upon which Philip and the archdukes had no claim; mutual freedom of trade between the contracting parties was established; and, by a secret article, the King of Spain engaged to offer no interruption to the commerce of the Dutch with India. The truce, after being ratified by the archdukes at Brussels, and by the States General, who were specially convened at Bergen-op-Zoom, was pub-
15 April. licly proclaimed at Antwerp and the other chief towns of Flanders, amid demonstrations of universal joy, the ringing of bells, and salvos of artillery. The great bell at Antwerp, which had not sounded for many years, was rung by twenty-four men, and its glad peal was heard twelve miles off, at Ordam and Lillo. The priests chaunted "Te Deum

* Grotius, xv., 716; Van Meteren, xxviii., 608; xxix., 626–630; Watson's Philip II., iii., 217, 241; Davies, ii., 405–427.

Laudamus;" the inhabitants of the towns promenaded outside of the walls, like newly-liberated prisoners; and boat-loads of passengers came through the canals, from Zealand and Holland, to visit friends whom they had not seen for a long generation. But the now martial people of the Northern United Provinces tempered their triumph by a recollection of the sufferings which they and their fathers had undergone. The States General proclaimed a solemn fast; and the day was religiously celebrated in all 6 May.
the churches of the United Netherlands by hearty prayers "that the Provinces might be maintained and preserved in a firm union, amity, and correspondence, under a properly authorized government."*

By foreign nations, the publication of the truce was received with astonishment and admiration. They could scarcely persuade themselves that the haughty Spaniard could ever be forced to acknowledge the independence and sovereignty of his rebel subjects, and tacitly allow them a free trade to India. But no sooner had the ratifications of the treaty been exchanged, than the powers of Europe and Asia formed new estimates of the resources of the Dutch, and of the wisdom and energy of their counsels, and immediately began to vie with each other in courting their alliance and invoking their support. Soon after the signature of the treaty, the States General sent the Sieur de Schoonewalle on an embassy to England. The king received him at once "as ambassador of a free country 12 July.
and state," and immediately commissioned his Master of Requests, Sir Ralph Winwood, to reside in Holland as his ordinary ambassador. Thenceforward, the Dutch were universally esteemed "as a free and independent people. Having gained immortal honor by the magnanimity which they had displayed during the continuance of the war, they were now considered as having obtained the reward

* Corps Dip., v., 99–102; Grotius, xviii., 812; Van Meteren, xxx., 658. The proclamation by government authority, in this state, of days of fasting and days of thanksgiving, was a custom derived from Holland. Frequent instances in which the directors of New Netherland imitated the pious example of the Fatherland, will be found in the following pages.

CHAP. II. 1609. which their virtue merited, and were every where respected and admired. Their ministers at foreign courts were now received with the same distinction as those of other sovereign powers."* It is a somewhat singular coincidence, that the treaty was signed just three days after Hudson had sailed from the Texel on his voyage of discovery. So far, therefore, as England, France, and Spain were concerned, the nationality and sovereignty of the United Provinces were recognized with sufficient distinctness at the period of Hudson's voyage; and the Dutch were certainly, from that time forward, abundantly competent to take and enjoy any rights derived from discovery under the law of nations.†

Hudson's last voyage to the north, in English service.

Hudson himself never revisited the pleasant lands he had discovered and extolled. The hardy mariner, still intent on solving the problem of the northern passage to China, and prevented by the jealousy of English authority from leaving his native country to engage again in enterprises for the benefit of foreigners, re-entered the service of his early London patrons, and sailed from the Thames in "The Discovery," on his last and fatal voyage to the north, in the spring of 1610. Passing Iceland, where he saw the famous Hecla "cast out much fire," he doubled the southern Cape of Greenland, and penetrated through Davis's Straits into the vast and gloomy waters beyond. While Hudson's recent companions in the Half Moon were, under another chief, renewing a happy intercourse with the native savages along the River of the Mountains, the intrepid navigator himself was buffeting with arctic tempests, in fruitless efforts to explore the "labyrinth without

1610. 17 April.

* Van Meteren, xxxi., 662; Watson, iii., 278; Davies, ii., 427–439.

† Chalmers, Pol. Ann., 568, intimates doubts on this subject. But this biased annalist, though a standard authority on many points, must be read with great caution in all that he writes with reference to the early history of New York. His strong English prejudices constantly led him into serious misstatements in regard to the discoveries of other nations. The shores of New Jersey and New York had certainly not been "often explored" before Hudson's voyage. Cabot can not strictly and fairly be said to have "explored" a coast which he seems to have seen only occasionally. And what is the evidence that he took "formal possession" of any part south of Newfoundland? Of Europeans, Verazzano alone, who merely looked into the beautiful harbor of New York, was really the predecessor of Hudson. Holmes, i., 135, 136, follows Chalmers, and repeats his errors.

end" in which he had become involved. At length, after spending a dreary winter of suffering and privation on the frozen coast, he was basely abandoned by his mutinous crew on midsummer's day, 1611, in a forlorn shallop, in the midst of fields of ice, to perish miserably in that sullen and inhospitable Bay, the undying name of which perpetuates the memory of his inflexible daring.*

1610. 1611. Hudson's death.

The Half Moon having, as we have seen, been detained eight months in England, did not reach Amsterdam until the summer of 1610, and the directors of the East India Company, indisposed to continue efforts in a quarter which did not seem to promise the coveted passage to Cathay, and which was not strictly within the limits of their charter, took no further steps to make available the discoveries which their yacht had effected.†

The Half Moon returns to Amsterdam. 1610. 15 July.

But, meanwhile, if the glowing account of the country he had visited, which Hudson sent from England to his Dutch patrons, corroborated by his companions in discovery, on the Half Moon's return to Amsterdam, did not at once induce active efforts to transfer to those pleasant regions permanent colonies from the over-populated Fatherland, it did not fail to stimulate commercial adventure in a quarter which promised to yield large returns.

Dutch enterprise excited.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, in the midst of their war with Spain, the Dutch had opened a prosperous commerce at Archangel; and, in 1604, they had obtained from the Czar concessions of such a liberal character as to attract to that port from sixty to eighty Holland ships every year. From Archangel, their traders had intercourse with Novogorod and the great inland towns, and carried on a large traffic in the furs of ancient Muscovy. The wise simplicity of the first Russian tariff laid a duty of five per cent. on all imported goods, and allowed an

Their fur trade with Russia.

* N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 146–188.

† The subsequent career of the Half Moon may, perhaps, interest the curious. The small "ship book," before referred to, which I found, in 1841, in the company's archives at Amsterdam, besides recording the return of the yacht on the 15th of July, 1610, states that on the 2d of May, 1611, she sailed, in company with other vessels, to the East Indies, under the command of Laurens Reael; and that on the 6th of March, 1615, she was "wrecked and lost" on the island of Mauritius.

CHAP. II. 1610.

equivalent amount to be exported duty free. Whoever exported more than he imported, paid a duty of five per cent. on the difference.*

A new temptation was unexpectedly offered to the expanding commerce of Holland. Vast regions in North America, which Hudson had seen abounding in beaver and other valuable furs, and where native hunters, unrestrained by arbitrary regulations of excise, furnished ready and exhaustless cargoes, were now open to Dutch mercantile enterprise. The tempting opportunity was not neglected. Another vessel was immediately fitted out, and dispatched from the Texel in the summer of 1610, to the great River of the Mountains, with a cargo of goods suitable for traffic with the Indians. The new adventure was undertaken at the private risk of some merchants of Amsterdam,† who, perhaps, as directors of the East India Company, had read Hudson's report to his Dutch employers. The Half Moon had now just returned to Amsterdam after her long detention in England. A part of her old crew manned the new vessel, the command of which was probably intrusted to Hudson's Dutch mate, who had opposed his early return;‡ and the experienced mariners soon revisited the savages on the great river, whom they had left the autumn before. Tradition relates, that when the Europeans arrived again among the red men, "they were much rejoiced at seeing each other."§

Another ship sent to Manhattan.

15 July.

Tradition of the savages respecting her voyage.

Meanwhile, the occupation of Virginia by the English had become well known in Holland, and the States General, through Caron, their ambassador at London, had even made overtures to the British government "for joining with them in that colony." A proposition had also been made to unite the East India trade of the two countries. But the statesmen of England would not favor either of

Overtures by the Dutch to the English respecting Virginia.

* Richesse de la Hollande, i., 51; McCullagh's Industrial History, ii., 255.

† De Laet, book iii., cap. vii.; Albany Records, xxiv., 167. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the statements in Smith's History of New York, i., 2, 3, respecting Hudson having "sold the country, or rather his right, to the Dutch," &c., are utterly fabulous.

‡ Muilkerk, A., 19.

§ Hol. Doc., i., 211; Heckewelder, in ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., p. 73; and in Yates and Moulton, i., p. 254. See also Appendix, note C.

the Dutch projects. They feared, they said, "that in case of joining, if it be upon equal terms, the art and industry of their people will wear out ours."*

The Dutch attempt again to explore a northern passage to China.

The theory of a northern passage to China by way of Nova Zembla had continued, in the mean time, to be warmly supported by many learned men in Holland. Among these was Peter Plancius, of Amsterdam, who, like his contemporary Hakluyt, was distinguished no less as a clergyman than as a promoter of maritime enterprise. Plancius insisted that Heemskerk had failed in 1596, because he attempted to go through the Straits of Weygat, instead of keeping to the north of the island. In compliance with Plancius's opinion, the States General, early in 1611, directed that two vessels, the "Little Fox" and the "Little Crane," should be furnished with passports for voyages to discover a northern passage to China. But the ice arrested the vessels long before they could reach the 80th degree of latitude, to which they were ordered to proceed.†

1611. 21 Feb.

Christiaensen's first voyage to Manhattan.

About the same time, Hendrick Christiaensen, of Cleef, or Cleves, near Nymegen, returning to Holland from a voyage to the West Indies, found himself in the neighborhood of the newly-discovered river, which the Dutch had already begun to call the "Mauritius," in honor of their stadtholder, Prince Maurice, of Nassau. But deterred by the fear of losing his heavily-laden vessel, and remembering that a ship from Monichendam, in North Holland, had been cast away on that coast, Christiaensen did not venture into the river at that time, reserving the enterprise for a future occasion. On his arrival in Holland, Christiaensen, in company with another "worthy" mariner, Adriaen Block, accordingly chartered a ship, "with the schipper Ryser, and

Christiaensen and Block's joint voyage.

* Winwood's Memorial, iii., 239; Extract of a letter from Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood (English ambassador at the Hague), dated London, 15th December, 1610. "So soon as the Hector (now ready to hoist sail) shall be set forth of this haven towards Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates will hasten to the Hague, where he will confer with the States about the overture that Sir Noel Caron hath made for joining with us in that colony. Sir Noel hath also made a motion to join their East India trade with ours; but we fear that in case of joining, if it be upon equal terms, the art and industry of their people will wear out ours."

† Hol. Doc., i., 12; Van Meteren, xxxii., 715; Davies, ii., 294, 743; Neg. de Jeannin, iii., 294.

CHAP. II. accomplished his voyage thither, bringing back with him two sons of the chiefs there."*

1611. The reports which the comrades made on their return to Holland, and the personal presence of the two young savages, named "Orson and Valentine," whom they had brought over as specimens of the inhabitants of the New World, added a fresh impulse to the awakened enterprise of the Dutch merchants. Public attention in the Netherlands soon became alive to the importance of the newly-discovered regions in North America. A memorial upon the subject was presented to the Provincial States of Holland and West Friesland by "several merchants and inhabitants of the United Provinces;" and it was judged of sufficient consequence to be formally communicated to the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enckhuysen.†

Public attention in Holland awakened.

7 Sept.

1612. The experience which Christiaensen and Block had now gained, naturally recommended them for further employment. Three influential and enterprising merchants of Amsterdam, Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom, and Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen—of whom Hongers was a director in the East India Company—soon determined to avail themselves of the favorable opportunity thus offered to their enterprise. Equipping two vessels, "the Fortune" and "the Tiger," they intrusted the respective commands to Christiaensen and to Block, and dispatched them to the island of Manhattan, to renew and continue their traffic with the savages along the Mauritius River.

Ships sent from Amsterdam to Manhattan under Christiaensen and Block.

Other merchants in North Holland soon joined in the trade. The "Little Fox," under the charge of Captain John De Witt, and the "Nightingale," under Captain Thys Volckertsen, were fitted out by the Witsens and other prominent merchants of Amsterdam; while the owners of the

Other ships sent out.

1613.

* Wassenaar's "Historische Verhael," &c., viii., 85; Muilkerk, A, 21. Wassenaar's work has hitherto been unknown to our historians. In 1848, I was fortunate enough to procure a copy in London, from which a short "Memoir of the Early Colonization of New Netherland" was prepared and published in N. Y. H. S. Coll. (second series), ii., 355. A translation of some extracts from Wassenaar has just appeared in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 27–48. The precise date of Christiaensen's first voyage is not given.

† Hol. Doc., i., 14; Wassenaar, ix., 44.

ship "Fortune," of Hoorn—the city which was soon to give its immortal name to the southern Cape of America—dispatched their vessel, in charge of Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May, to participate in the enterprise of their metropolitan friends, on the Mauritius River.*

Commercial importance of Manhattan perceived.

The admirable commercial position of Manhattan Island soon indicated it, by common consent, as the proper point whence the furs collected in the interior could be most readily shipped to Holland. To secure the largest advantages from the Indian traffic, it was, nevertheless, perceived that inland depôts would become indispensable. Thus, cargoes of furs could be collected during the winter, so as to be ready for shipment when the vessels had been refitted, after their arrival out in the spring. Manhattan Island, at this time, was in a state of nature; herbage was wild and luxuriant; but no cattle browsed in its fertile valleys, and the native deer had been almost exterminated by the Indians. The careful kindness of the Dutch merchants endeavored to remedy, as well as possible, the want of domestic animals for the use of their solitary traders; and Hendrick Christiaensen, by his ship-owners' direction, took along with him, in one of his voyages, a few goats and rabbits to multiply at Manhattan. But these animals—the first sent from Holland to New York—were soon poisoned by the wild verdure, to which they were unaccustomed.†

Condition of the island.

The Dutch alone acquainted with the North or Mauritius River.

Up to this time, the Dutch traders had pursued their lucrative traffic in peltry, without question or interruption. No European vessels but theirs had yet visited the regions around the Mauritius River. Their ships returned to Holland freighted with large cargoes of valuable furs, which

* Hol. Doc., i., 39; Muilkerk, A, 24. The "Little Fox" was probably the same vessel which had been sent to Nova Zembla in 1611.

† Wassenaar, ix., 44. It seems from Wassenaar's account, that the native species of dogs, in New Netherland, was quite small; for when Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, one of the owners of Christiaensen and Block's ships, gave one of these captains a "large dog" to take out with him, the Indians, coming on board the ship, were very much afraid of the animal, and called him "the sachem of the dogs," because he was one of the largest they had ever seen. The translation in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 40, is inaccurate. Van Tweenhuysen gave the dog to his schipper; he was not a "schipper" himself, but a "reeder," or ship-owner, and he does not appear ever to have visited Manhattan.

CHAP. II. 1613. yielded enormous profits to their owners. From Manhattan, small trading shallops were dispatched into the neighboring creeks and bays of "Scheyichbi," or New Jersey, and up the Mauritius River, as far as the head of navigation. The Dutch had been the first, and, hitherto, the only Europeans to visit the Indian tribes in these regions, with all of whom they had continued to maintain a friendly and cordial intercourse. But while the Holland merchants promoted new explorations, they do not appear, as yet, to have directed the construction of permanent defenses; although it has been said that, "before the year 1614," one or two small forts were built on the river for the protection of the growing peltry trade.*

Loss of Block's ship, and building of a yacht at Manhattan.

By accident, Adriaen Block's ship, the Tiger, was burned at Manhattan, while he was preparing to return to Holland. Undismayed by his misfortune, the persevering mariner set about building a small yacht, out of the admirable ship timber with which the island abounded. This work occupied Block during the winter of 1613, and until the spring of 1614. To accommodate himself and his companions during their cheerless solitude, a few huts were now first erected near the southern point of Manhattan Island; and, in the absence of all succor from Holland, the friendly natives supplied the Dutch, through a dreary winter, "with food and all kinds of necessaries."†

First cabins built on the island.

* In a memorial to the States General, dated 25th of October, 1634, the West India Company say, that "under the chief command of your High Mightinesses, before the year 1614, there were one or two little forts built there, and provided with garrisons for the protection of the trade."—Hol. Doc., ii., 138. De Laet, however, who wrote in 1624—ten years before the company's memorial—distinctly states that one small fort was built "in the year 1614," upon an island in the upper part of the river. In another place he says it was built in 1615.—De Laet, book iii., cap. vii., ix. For various reasons, which will be exhibited further on, I think there was only one fort built; that it was on "Castle Island," near Albany; and that it was erected in 1614.

† De Laet, book iii., cap. x.; De Vries, 181; "Breeden Raedt aen de Vereeinghde Nederlandsche Provintien," &c., p. 14, 15. This latter very rare tract (for the use of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Campbell, the deputy librarian at the Hague) is now for the first time quoted in our history. The statement in the Breeden Raedt, of the Indians themselves, is that "when our people (the Dutch) had lost a certain ship there, and were building another new ship, they (the savages) assisted our people with food and all kinds of necessaries, and provided for them, *through two winters*, until the ship was finished." De Laet, in his later editions of 1633 and 1640 (book iii., cap. vii.), says, that to carry on trade with the natives, "our people remained there during winter." De Vries, p. 181, repeats the same statement. The account in the Breeden Raedt, that Block built his yacht *during the winter*, seems thus to be fully confirmed. That the vessel was built

1609.

The infant colony of Virginia had, meanwhile, suffered strange vicissitudes. Under the second charter of King James, which passed the great seal early in 1609, Thomas Lord Delawarr was appointed governor for life; Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant governor; Sir George Somers, admiral; and Christopher Newport, vice-admiral. An expedition, consisting of nine vessels, was equipped and dispatched for Virginia, with five hundred emigrants, a few days before the charter was actually sealed. Lord Delawarr himself did not leave England with the expedition; but he delegated the command, in the interim, to Gates, Somers, and Newport.*

Virginia affairs. 23 May.

15 May.

When near the end of their voyage, a hurricane separated the ship in which the three commissioners had embarked from the rest of the squadron, and wrecked it on Bermuda.† The remnant of the fleet reached Virginia toward the end of the summer; and to avoid anarchy, John Smith, who had now been two years in the colony, assumed the chief command, in the absence of the newly-commissioned officers, whose fate was yet unknown. But the new colonists consisted of "many unruly gallants, packed hither by their friends to escape ill destinies." Against every possible discouragement, Smith resolutely maintained his authority, and his influence introduced something like order among the unruly emigrants. At length, an accidental explosion of gunpowder, which mangled his person, disabled him from duty, and obliged him to return home for surgical aid. Disgusted at the opposition he had met with in the colony, which owed him so much, the "Father of Virginia" delegated his authority to George Percy, and embarked for England, a few weeks after Hudson had set sail for Europe with the news of his grand discovery.‡

Shipwreck on Bermuda.

11 August.

Smith returns to England.

October.

In the mean time, Gates and his companions, who had been cast away on Bermuda, had subsisted upon the nat-

during the winter of 1613, and was finished and used in the spring of 1614, seems also certain from Hol. Doc., i., 47, 53.

* Smith, i., 233; Purchas, iv., 1729.

† Strachey's account of this shipwreck in Purchas, iv., 1734, is supposed by Malone to be the foundation of Shakspeare's "Tempest." This opinion, however, has recently been controverted.

‡ Smith, i., 239; ii., 102.

CHAP. II. ural products of that fertile island, the luxuriance of which afterward won from Waller the matchless panegyric,

1609.

"Heaven sure has left this spot of earth uncurs'd,
To show how all things were created first."

Gates sails from Bermuda to Virginia.

During the autumn and winter, with admirable perseverance they constructed two small pinnaces out of the wreck of their old ship and the cedars which they felled on the island. After a nine months' sojourn in their delightful abode, they embarked in these vessels, in the spring of 1610, and in a few days arrived safely at Jamestown. But instead of a happy welcome, they met a scene of misery, and famine, and death. The four hundred and ninety persons whom Smith had left in the colony, had, in six months, through vice and starvation, dwindled down to sixty. In their extremity of distress, they all now determined to desert Virginia, and seek safety and food among the English fishermen at Newfoundland. Embarking in four pinnaces, the colonists bade adieu to Jamestown. "None dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed a day of happiness."*

1610.

23 May.

The "starving time" in Virginia.

6 June.

Arrival of Lord Delawarr.

But unexpected relief was at hand. After nearly a year's delay in England, Lord Delawarr embarked at Cowes on the first of April, 1610, and set sail for Virginia with three vessels laden with supplies. The squadron followed the old route, by the roundabout way of Terceira and Gratiosa; and, early in June, Lord Delawarr first made the land "to the southward of the Chesapeake Bay." Running in toward the shore, he anchored over night at Cape Henry, where he landed and set up a cross. The next morning he sailed up the Chesapeake to Point Comfort, where he heard the sorrowful tale of "the starving time." At that very moment, the pinnaces conveying the remnant of the dispirited colony were slowly falling down the James River with the tide. The governor instantly dispatched a boat with letters to Gates announcing his arrival. The next day, the pinnaces were met descending the river; and

6 June.

7 June.

8 June.

* Chalmers, 30; Bancroft, i., 137–140.

Gates immediately putting about, relanded his men the same night at Jamestown. CHAP. II.

1610.

Lord Delawarr soon arrived before the town with his ship; and, after a sermon by the chaplain, commenced the task of regenerating the colony. A council was sworn in; "the evils of faction were healed by the unity of the administration, and the dignity and virtues of the governor;" and the rejoicing colonists now began to attend to their duties with energy and good-will. To supply pressing want, Sir George Somers was promptly dispatched with Samuel Argall, "a young sea-captain of coarse passions and arbitrary temper," in two pinnaces, to procure fish and turtle at Bermuda.*

10 June.

19 June. Somers and Argall dispatched to Bermuda.

After being a month at sea, the pinnaces parted company in a fog; and Argall, despairing of rejoining his comrade, made the best of his way back to Virginia. Falling in with Cape Cod, he sailed to the southward, and in a week found himself again within twelve leagues of the shore. Early the next morning, he anchored "in a very great bay," where he found "a great store of people which were very kind." The same evening, Argall sailed for the Chesapeake, after naming the southern point of the bay in which he had anchored, "Cape La Warre." This Cape is now known as Cape Henlopen. The bay itself, which Hudson, in the Half Moon, had discovered just one year before, was soon commonly called by the English "Delawarr's Bay," in honor of the Governor of Virginia; but, notwithstanding received statements, there is no evidence that Lord Delawarr himself ever saw the waters which now bear his name.†

27 July.

19 August.

27 August. Argall anchors in "Delawarr's Bay."

Lord Delawarr never there himself.

Prosperity at length began to smile on Virginia. But Lord Delawarr, finding his health sinking under the cares of his office and the effects of the climate, sailed for England in the spring of 1611; and Gates having previously returned to London,‡ the administration of the colonial gov-

28 March. Delawarr returns to England.

* Lord Delawarr's letter of 7th of July, 1610, in MS. Harl. Brit. Museum, 7009, fol. 58, printed by the Hakluyt Society; Purchas, iv., 1754; Bancroft, i., 141.

† Argall's Journal, in Purchas, iv., 1762; Strachey's Virginia Britannia, 43; De Vries, 109, 110. See Appendix, note D.

‡ Winwood's Memorials, iii., 239.

CHAP. II. 1611. ernment was committed, during his absence, to Captain George Percy. Soon after Delawarr's departure, Sir Thomas Dale, "a worthy and experienced soldier in the Low Countries," to whom, at the request of the Prince of Wales, 20 January. the States General had just granted a three years' leave of absence from their service to go to Virginia,* arrived at 20 May. Jamestown, and assumed the government. Finding that the colony needed more assistance, he wrote at once to England. Lord Delawarr, on his return home, confirmed Dale's accounts; and, with unusual promptness, the council at London dispatched six ships to Virginia, with three hundred new emigrants and large supplies.

Administration of Gates. Sir Thomas Gates, who, like Dale, had served in the Netherlands, and, in 1608, had been allowed by the States General to resign the commission he held in Holland, "to take command in the country of Virginia, and to colonize the same,"† was now sent out with the new expedition, invested with full authority as lieutenant governor, and August. arrived safely at Jamestown in August. Under his careful administration, the English settlements on the Chesapeake rapidly prospered, and soon appeared to be firmly 1613. established. In the summer of 1613, Captain Argall, who had been sworn by Lord Delawarr one of the colonial council, while on a fishing voyage from Virginia to Nova Argall on the coast of Maine. Scotia, was overtaken by a storm, and driven ashore on the coast of Maine. Here he learned from the Indians that some French colonists had just arrived at the island of Mount Desert, a little to the eastward of the Penobscot. On this island, the Jesuit missionaries in the company, after giving thanks to the Most High, had erected a cross, and celebrated a solemn mass. The island itself they had His piratical proceedings against the French missionaries. named "Saint Sauveur." Ascertaining the weakness of the French, Argall hastened to their quiet retreat, and soon overpowered them by his superior force. De Thet, one of the Jesuit fathers, was killed by a musket-ball; several others were wounded; "the cross round which the faithful had gathered was thrown down;" and Argall returned

* Hol. Doc., i., 6. † Ibid., i., 5. See also *ante*, page 45, note.

to Virginia with eighteen prisoners, and the plunder of a peaceful colony, which the pious zeal of Madame de Guercheville had sent to America to convert the savages to Christianity.

Argall again at Maine and Nova Scotia.

Gates no sooner received the report of this piratical adventure of his subordinate, than, by the advice of his council, he determined to undertake a new enterprise against the French in Acadia, and destroy all their settlements south of the forty-sixth degree of latitude. Three armed vessels were immediately dispatched, under the command of Argall; who, returning to the scene of his former outrage at Mount Desert, set up the arms of the King of England, in place of the broken cross of the Jesuits. Argall next visited St. Croix, and destroyed the remnants of De Monts' former settlement. Thence he sailed to Port Royal. Meeting no resistance there, Argall loaded his ships with the spoil of the ruined town; and having thus effected all his purposes, he returned to Virginia about the middle of November.* 9 Nov.

Pretexts for his piratical proceedings.

The pretext under which Argall had been dispatched to gather inglorious laurels on the coasts of Acadia, was the alleged encroachment of the French settlers there upon the territory comprehended within James's sweeping grant, in 1606, to the London and Plymouth adventurers. Gates naturally leaned toward the most grasping interpretation of an instrument in which he was named first among the original grantees of an enormous monopoly. But James's patent, nevertheless, distinctly excepted from its purview all lands "possessed by any other Christian prince or people;" and the French had unquestionably been in quiet possession of the neighborhood of Acadia two years before the first English charter passed the great seal. By his second charter of 1609, James had also expressly restricted the Virginia Company's northern boundary to a line two hundred miles north of Point Comfort, or about the fortieth parallel of latitude. The predatory proceedings of Gates and Argall were, therefore, entirely unwarranta-

* Champlain, 101–109; Lescarbot; Bancroft, i., 148.

CHAP. II.

ble; and they were promptly resented by the court of France. As soon as intelligence of the outrage reached Europe, the French ambassador at London made a formal complaint to the English government. The privy council immediately demanded explanations from the Virginia Company; who excused themselves by stating in reply, that they had received no information from Virginia "of any such misdemeanors."*

1613. Complaints of the French ambassador at London.

1614. 23 January.

1613. November. Alleged visit of Argall to Manhattan.

On his return voyage from Acadia to Virginia, late in November, Argall is said to have "landed at Manhatas Isle, in Hudson's River," where, finding "four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor," he forced the Hollanders to submit themselves to the King of England and to the government of Virginia. But this favorite story is very suspicious; it is inconsistent with authentic state papers; it has been deliberately pronounced to be "a pure fiction;" and it certainly needs to be sustained by better authority than any that has yet been produced, before it can be received as an historical truth.†

1614. Progress of Dutch discovery.

In the spring of 1614, explorations began to be vigorously prosecuted around Manhattan, by the several trading vessels which had been dispatched from Holland. De Witt, sailing up the Mauritius River, in the "Little Fox," gave his name to one of the islands near Red Hook. May, in the "Fortune," coasting eastward, beyond the Visscher's Hook, or Montauk Point, visited a large "white and clayey" island, around which Gosnold had sailed twelve years before. This island, the Indian name of which was Capacke, the Dutch for awhile called "the Texel;" but it is now known as Martha's Vineyard.‡

By this time, it was perceived that, to secure the largest return from the peltry trade, a factor should reside permanently on the Mauritius River, among the Maquaas, or Mohawks, and the Mahicans, at the head of tide-water.

* Champlain, 112; Lond. Doc., i., 1, 3; N. Y. Colonial Manuscripts, iii., 1, 2.

† See Appendix, note E.

‡ De Laet, book iii., cap. viii. On Visscher's and Van der Donck's maps of New Netherland, there is an island in the North River, marked "Jan de Witt's Eylant," just north of Magdalen Island. Jan de Witt's Island is the small one just south of Upper Red Hook landing, or Tivoli; Magdalen Island is the larger one next below.

1614.

Hendrick Christiaensen, who, after his first experiment in company with Adriaen Block, is stated to have made "ten voyages" to Manhattan, accordingly constructed a trading house on "Castle Island," at the west side of the river, a little below the present city of Albany. This building, which was meant to combine the double purposes of a warehouse and a military defense for the resident Dutch traders, was thirty-six feet long, by twenty-six feet wide, inclosed by a stockade fifty-eight feet square, and the whole surrounded by a moat eighteen feet in width. To compliment the family of the stadtholder, the little post was immediately named "Fort Nassau." It was armed with two large guns, and eleven swivels or patereros, and garrisoned by ten or twelve men. "Hendrick Christiaensen first commanded here;" and, in his absence, Jacob Eelkens, formerly a clerk in the counting-house of an Amsterdam merchant.*

Christiaensen builds "Fort Nassau," at the upper part of the river.

It has been confidently affirmed that the year after the erection of Fort Nassau, at Castle Island, a redoubt was also thrown up and fortified "on an elevated spot," near the southern point of Manhattan Island. But the assertion does not appear to be confirmed by sufficient authority.†

No fort at Manhattan.

Adriaen Block had, meanwhile, completed the building of his yacht, which he appropriately named the *Onrust*, or "Restless." With this small vessel, about sixteen tons in burden, and the first ever constructed by Europeans at Manhattan,‡ Block proceeded to explore the bays and rivers to the eastward, into which the larger ships of the Dutch

Block completes his yacht, "the Restless."

* Figurative Map, from the archives at the Hague; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 27, 38; Wassenaar, vi., 144; viii., 85; De Laet, book iii., cap. ix.; De Vries, 113; Hol. Doc., ii., 136; Alb. Rec., xxii., 317; xxiv., 167; Smith's Hist. N. Y., i., 22. Castle Island was the first below Albany, and, after 1630, was known as Van Rensselaer's, or Patroon's Island. The rapid progress of improvement has, however, now nearly obliterated its former insular character, and "annexed" it to the thriving capital of our state.

† See Appendix, note F.

‡ The "Restless" was forty-four and a half feet long, eleven and a half feet wide, and of about eight lasts or sixteen tons burden.—De Laet, book iii., cap. x.; Hol. Doc., i., 53. Mr. Cooper, in his Naval History (i., p. 41), speaks of Block's yacht as "the first decked vessel built within the old United States." But the honor of precedence in American naval architecture must, fairly, be yielded to Popham's unfortunate colony on the Kennebeck. The "Virginia, of Sagadahoc," was the first European-built vessel within the original Thirteen States—if Maine be considered as part of Massachusetts. The "Restless, of Manhattan," was the pioneer craft of New York

CHAP. II. traders had not yet ventured. Sailing boldly through the then dangerous strait of "the Hell-gate,"* into "the Great Bay," or Long Island Sound, he carefully "explored all the places thereabout," as far as Cape Cod. Coasting along the northern shore, inhabited by the Siwanoos, Block gave the name of "Archipelagos" to the group of islands opposite Norwalk. At the present town of Stratford, he visited the "River of Roodenberg," or Red Hills, now known as the Housatonic, which he described as about "a bow-shot wide," and in the neighborhood of which dwelt the indolent tribe of Quiripey Indians. Passing eastward along the bay at the head of which New Haven now stands, and which, on account of the red sandstone hills in its neighborhood, the Dutch also soon called the "Roodenberg," Block came to the mouth of a large river running up northerly into the land. At its entrance into the Sound it was "very shallow;" and Block, observing that there were but few inhabitants near its mouth, ascended the river to the rapids, at the head of navigation. Near Wethersfield, he found the numerous Indian tribe of Sequins. At the latitude of 41° 48′—between Hartford and Windsor—he came to a fortified village of the Nawaas tribe, who were then governed by their Sagamore Morahieck. Here he heard of "another nation of savages, who are called Horikans," dwelling "within the land," probably near the lakes west of the upper part of the river, and who navigated the waters "in canoes made of bark." From the circumstance that a strong downward current was perceived at a short distance above its mouth, Block immediately named this beautiful stream the "Versch,"

1614.

Sails through Hell-gate into Long Island Sound.

Discovers the Housatonic.

Explores the Connecticut River.

* "Our people (the Dutch) call this *Inferni os*, or the Helle-gat," says the accurate De Laet. According to Block's account, as stated by De Laet, the Dutch likewise originally called the whole of what was soon more familiarly known as the "East River," by the name of the "Hell-gate River;" and the currents from that river and from the North River are described as "meeting one another near Nutten (Governor's) Island." A branch of the Scheldt, near Hulst, in Zealand, is called the "Hellegat," after which Block probably named the whirlpool through which he was the first known European pilot. Modern squeamishness has endeavored to improve this expressive historical appellation into "Hurl-gate." But while modern science has overcome the nautical terrors of old Hell-gate, it is to be hoped that a vicious modern conceit will not prevail to rob us of one of the few remaining memorial names of early New York.

or Fresh Water River. By the native savages it was called the "Connittecock," or Quonehtacut; and the aboriginal appellation survives to the present day, in the name of the river and the state of Connecticut.*

Block discovers the Thames River.

Continuing his course eastward from the mouth of the Connecticut, Block came to the "River of the Siccanamos," afterward called by the English the Pequod or Thames River, where he found the powerful tribe of Pequatoos or Pequods, who were "the enemies of the Wapanoos," in possession of the country. From there, stretching "over across the Sound," he visited the "Visscher's Hoeck," or "Cape de Baye," now known as Montauk Point, which he discovered to be the eastern extremity of "Sewan-hacky," or Long Island, "on which a nation of savages, who are called Matouwacks, have their abode." A little to the northeast of Montauk Point, he next visited a large island, to which the Dutch immediately gave the name of "Block's Island," in honor of their countryman.†

Visits "Block Island."

Thence, following the track of Verazzano, Block ran across to Nassau, or Narragansett Bay, which he thoroughly explored. The western entrance was named "Sloup Bay," and the eastern "Anchor Bay;" while "an island

* De Laet, viii.; Hol. Doc., vii., 72; Verbael van Beverninck, 607; Winthrop, i., 52. Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut (i., p. 31), affirms that "none of the ancient adventurers, who discovered the great continent of North America, or New England, made any discovery of this river. It does not appear that it was known to any civilized nation until some years after the settlement of the English and Dutch at Plymouth and New Netherland." Yet Hubbard (Mass. Coll., xv., 18, 170) distinctly states that the Dutch first discovered it; and if Trumbull had consulted the accurate details of De Laet, he would have found the clearest evidence that Block explored not only the river, but the whole coast of Connecticut, in 1614, or six years before the first Puritan English colonists landed at Plymouth Rock. Bancroft, ii., 273, following Hubbard, says that "the discovery of Connecticut River is undoubtedly due to the Dutch." It would have been safe to have added that Block was "its first European navigator."

† It has been usual to consider Block as the first discoverer of the island which still bears his name. But while we thus honor the memory of the explorer of Long Island Sound, we should not forget to do justice to his predecessor Verazzano, who, in 1524, after sailing along the Atlantic coast of Long Island (which he took to be the main land), for fifty leagues eastward from Sandy Hook, "discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the main land, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes." This island, which was undoubtedly Block Island, Verazzano named "Claudia," in honor of the mother of King Francis I. It is so laid down in Lock's map of 1582.—Hakluyt Society's "Divers Voyages," 55, 64; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 53; i. (second series), 46, 49. The editor of Hakluyt, however, though he seems unable to reconcile Verazzano's account with the supposition that "Claudia" was Martha's Vineyard, does not appear to have thought of Block Island.

CHAP. II.

1614. Explores the Narragansett Bay and Rhode Island.

of a reddish appearance" was observed lying within. This was soon known by the Dutch as "Roode" or Red Island, from which is derived the name of the present State of Rhode Island. Along the western shore of the bay dwelt the tribe of Wapanoos, whom Block described as "strong of limb and of moderate size," but somewhat shy, "since they are not accustomed to trade with strangers." Running out of the Narragansett, he stood across the mouth of Buzzard's Bay to the southward of the Elizabeth Islands, formerly visited by Gosnold, and sailed by the large "white and clayey" island, commonly called "Texel" by the Dutch, and "Capacke" by others, and which is now known as Martha's Vineyard. South of the Texel, Block observed another small island, which he immediately named "Hendrick Christiaensen's Island," in compliment to his early comrade. This island, which Gosnold had discovered, and named Martha's Vineyard, is now called "No Man's Land;" while, with a happier fate, Block Island, retaining to this day the name which the Dutch first gave it, preserves the memory of the hardy pioneer of Long Island Sound.

Visits Martha's Vineyard.

Sailing onward through the "Zuyder Zee," to the north of the island of "Vlieland," or Nantucket, Block passed near the "Vlacke Hoeck," or Cape Malebarre, and ran along the shore of Cape Cod, until he reached its northern point, which he named "Cape Bevechier." Thence he coasted along the "Fuyck," or "Wyck Bay," or "Staten Bay"—which names the Dutch gave to the waters now known as Cape Cod Bay—and explored the shore of Massachusetts as far north as "Pye Bay, as it is called by some of our navigators, in latitude 42° 30′, to which the limits of New Netherland extend." This Pye Bay is now known as Nahant Bay, just north of Boston harbor, and, at the time Block first visited it, "a numerous people" dwelt there, who were "extremely well-looking, but timid and shy of Christians," so that it required "some address to approach them."*

Block passes Cape Cod.

Visits Boston harbor and Nahant.

* De Laet, book iii., cap. viii.; *ante*, p. 54; ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 292-297. It is

1614.

On his return from Pye Bay to Cape Cod, Block fell in with the ship of Hendrick Christiaensen, which seems, meanwhile, to have been sent around from Manhattan to the northward. Leaving there his yacht, the Restless, which had already done such good service, in charge of Cornelis Hendricksen, to make further explorations on the coast, Block embarked in his old companion's ship, the Fortune, and returned with her to Holland, to report the discoveries which he and his fellow-navigators had made in the New World.*

Block leaves the Restless at Cape Cod, and returns to Holland.

In the mean time, the States General, anxious to encourage the foreign commerce of Holland, had granted, early in 1614, a liberal charter to an association of merchants, for prosecuting the whale fishery in the neighborhood of Nova Zembla, and the exploration of a new passage to China. Of this association, which was named "the Northern Company," Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, one of the owners of Block's ship, was an original director; and among his subsequent associates were Samuel Godyn, Nicholas Jacobsen Haringcarspel, and Thymen Jacobsen Hinlopen, whose names have also become historical in our annals.†

27 January. The "Northern Company" organized by the States General.

The importance of a similar concession of privileges in favor of the merchants, at whose expense new avenues of trade were now being explored in the neighborhood of Manhattan, was soon perceived; and the States of Holland were petitioned to recommend the general government to pass an ordinance which should assure to all enterprising adventurers a monopoly, for a limited time, of the trade

20 March.

clear that Block sailed beyond Cape Cod to Pye Bay, as he gives its distance from the Lizard by his observations. See also the "Figurative Map," or chart, found in the archives at the Hague (no doubt the one to which De Laet refers on page 294), upon which Plymouth harbor is marked as "Crane Bay," and Boston harbor as "Fox Haven," while Salem Bay is called "Count Hendrick's Bay" (Appendix, note G). The same designations are retained upon Visscher's and Montanus's maps, which also lay down "Pye Bay" as near Nahant. The latitude of Nahant is 42° 30′, which corresponds precisely with that of "Pye Bay," as given by De Laet.

* De Laet, book iii., cap. x.; Hol. Doc., i., 53–59. De Laet, after stating Block's exploration of the neighborhood of Cape Cod, in the Restless, adds, "whence he returned home with the ship of Hendrick Christiaensen, and left the yacht there on the coast for further use." The translation in N. Y. H. S. Coll. (second series), i., 301, is inexact. Muilkerk, A, 23, suggests that Cornelis Hendricksen was a son of Hendrick Christiaensen.

† Groot Placaatbook, i., 670; Wassenaar, vii., 95; viii., 95; ix., 124.

CHAP. II. with the lands they might discover. The States General accordingly passed the desired ordinance, declaring it to be "honorable, useful, and profitable," that the people of the Netherlands should be encouraged to adventure themselves in discovering unknown countries; and, for the purpose of making the inducement "free and common to every one of the inhabitants," granting and conceding that "whosoever shall from this time forward discover any new passages, havens, lands, or places, shall have the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages." The ordinance also required that reports of such discoveries should be made to the States General within fourteen days after the return of the exploring vessels, in order that the promised specific trading privileges should be formally passed, in each case, to the adventurers appearing to be entitled to them; and that if simultaneous discoveries should be made by different parties, the promised monopoly should be enjoyed by them in common.*

1614. 27 March. General ordinance for the encouragement of new discoveries.

September. Upon Block's arrival at Amsterdam with the details of the Dutch explorations on the coast of America, the merchants of North Holland, whose enterprise had been rewarded by such interesting results, hastened to appropriate to themselves the advantageous trade opened to them there, and to exclude all other rivalry. Uniting themselves into a company, they took the necessary steps to obtain the special privileges which were promised in the General Ordinance of the 27th of March. A skillful draughtsman was employed to construct an elaborately finished "Figurative Map" of their transatlantic discoveries, which was probably prepared under Block's immediate supervision, and from the data that he furnished.† The associates then deputed some of their number to go to the Hague, and lay before the States General an account of their discoveries in America, and to obtain the desired special and exclusive license to trade to those regions.

Amsterdam Trading Company formed.

October. The deputies, probably accompanied by Block, accord-

* Hol. Doc., i., 15, 19; Groot Placaatbook, i., 563.

† See Appendix, note G, for a description of this map.

ingly proceeded to the capital. Unlike other Dutch cities, the Hague owed its importance, not to commerce or manufactures, but to having early been made the seat of government of the United Provinces, and to the constant presence of the officers of state and the foreign ministers accredited to the republic. For four centuries the abode of the counts of Holland, it derives its name from the "Haeg" or hedge encircling the magnificent park which formed their ancient hunting ground, and the majestic trees in which, at this day, attract the admiration of Europe. On an artificial island in the centre of that beautiful town—its long façade bordering the quiet lake which fronts the Vyverberg—stands a straggling pile of buildings, of irregular forms and of various eras, surrounding a vast quadrangle, quaintly paved with small yellow bricks, and inclosing a lofty and venerable hall, the rival of Westminster, formerly hung round with trophies of the victorious confederacy, and in which were held the solemn and extraordinary meetings of the States General. Spacious galleries and corridors, now consecrated to the preservation of the archives of the Netherlands, stretch over long arcades and gilded apartments, the faded magnificence of which yet attests the former splendor of the republic, when her calm statesmen sat there in the days of her pomp and power. This is the "Binnenhof," or inner court—the ancient palace of the counts of Holland. Here the States General constantly held their ordinary meetings, in a superbly-decorated apartment facing the old Gothic Hall; their clerk or "greffier" occupying a small, meagerly-furnished adjoining closet, where ambassadors were frequently received, and the weightiest affairs of state transacted.

Deputies sent to the Hague.

The Binnenhof.

Hither came the deputies of the Amsterdam Company to tell their story of adventure and discovery, and to ask the reward promised to their successful enterprise. Around the oval council-table sat twelve "high, mighty lords" of the States General. One of the assembly was John van Olden Barneveldt, the Advocate of Holland. Spreading upon the council-board the "Figurative Map" of their

Interview with the States General.

CHAP. II. 1614. transatlantic discoveries, the petitioners related to the statesmen of Holland the adventures of their agents in the New World; and, detailing the "heavy expenses and damages" they had suffered during the current year "from the loss of ships and other great risks," they asked a special and exclusive license to trade to the regions which they had explored. The assembled statesmen listened to the narrative with interest and favor. Dutch commercial enterprise had now achieved the exploration of unknown and extensive regions in North America, which might soon become of great political importance to the republic. These regions were sparsely inhabited by various roving tribes of aboriginal savages, who had already shown kindness to the Hollanders. No Europeans but the Dutch traders were in possession of any part of the territory. Why should not the Amsterdam Company now receive their promised charter? The States General promptly complied with the prayer of their countrymen; and the greffier, Cornelius Aerssen, at once drew up the minute of a special trading license or charter, the original of which yet records, in almost illegible characters, the first appearance of the term "New Netherland" in the annals of the world. The formal instrument, bearing date the 11th of October, 1614, was immediately afterward duly sealed and attested; and thus the government of the United Provinces, by its solemn act, officially designated the unoccupied regions of America lying between Virginia and Canada by a name which they continued to bear for half a century, until, in the fullness of time, right gave way to power, and the Dutch colony of New Netherland became the English province of New York.*

11 October. New Netherland formally named by the States General

* Holland Documents, i., 42, 47. This special charter was brought to light by the researches made in the archives at the Hague, in 1841, by direction of the government of this state. De Laet, however, who wrote in 1624, refers to it in chapter vii., in general terms, and without giving its exact date, as granting an "exclusive privilege" of navigating to and trading at New Netherland. Yet Chalmers, in the teeth of De Laet's statements, asserts, that when the Dutch West India Company was finally established in 1621, "neither any plantation nor the name of New Netherland at that time had any existence."—Pol. An., 569. But the whole of the first part of this biased author's chapter relating to New York, as has already been intimated, abounds in gross misrepresentations, some of which have been too eagerly adopted by American writers.

Provisions of the New Netherland charter.

The special charter thus granted by the States General licensed the memorialists "exclusively, to visit and navigate to the aforesaid newly-discovered lands lying in America, between New France and Virginia, the sea-coasts whereof extend from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, now named NEW NETHERLAND (as is to be seen on the Figurative Map prepared by them), for four voyages within the period of three years, commencing on the first day of January, 1615, next ensuing, or sooner;" and it expressly interdicted all other persons, directly or indirectly, from sailing out of the United Provinces to those newly-discovered regions, and from frequenting the same within the three years reserved, under pain of confiscation of vessels and cargoes, and a fine of fifty thousand Netherland ducats to the benefit of the grantees of the charter.*

Views of the States General in granting the charter.

At the time the Dutch government perfected the New Netherland charter, the discovery and possession of Canada and Acadia by the French was notorious; and the patent which James I. had granted to the London and Plymouth Companies had likewise, for eight years, been known to the world. British colonists had already partially occupied Virginia, the title of England to which the Dutch never questioned. The States General themselves had officially recognized it, in permitting Gates and Dale to leave their service to go thither, and in making overtures to join with England in that colony. Upon the Figurative Map of New Netherland, referred to in the charter of 1614, New France was represented as extending northward of the forty-fifth degree, and Virginia southward of the fortieth degree. The Dutch discoveries were defined

* The charter sets forth the names of the grantees, and of their vessels and captains, as follows: "Gerrit Jacobsen Witsen, former burgomaster of the city of Amsterdam; Jonas Witsen, and Simon Monisen, owners of the ship the '*Little Fox*,' Captain Jan de Witt; Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom, and Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, owners of the two ships named the '*Tiger*' and the '*Fortune*,' whose captains are Adriaen Block and Hendrick Christiaensen; Arnoudt van Lybergen, Wessel Schenck, Hans Claessen, and Barent Sweetsen, owners of the ship named the '*Nightingale*,' whose captain is Thys Volckertsen, merchants of the aforesaid city of Amsterdam; and Pieter Clementsen Brouwer, Jan Clementsen Kies, and Cornelis Volckertsen, merchants of the city of Hoorn, owners of the ship named the '*Fortune*,' whose captain is Cornelis Jacobsen May."—Hol. Doc., i., 47. See also Address before N. Y. Historical Society, 1844, Appendix, p. 53; and O'Callaghan's New Netherland, i., 75.

CHAP. II. 1614.

in that charter, as lying between New France and Virginia, and the sea-coasts of New Netherland were declared to extend from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude. This intermediate region, which Block and his comrades had described as inhabited only by aboriginal savage tribes, was yet "unoccupied by any Christian prince or state." The Plymouth Company, by the patent of 1606, were merely authorized to begin a colony at any convenient place between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude; were promised all the land extending along the sea-coast, fifty miles on each side of "the first seat of their plantation," and one hundred miles into the interior; and were assured that they should not be molested by any British subjects. After the return of their dispirited colonists from the Sagadahoc, in 1608, that company had seemed to relinquish any further attempts to settle emigrants within the limits assigned to them by the patent; under which, in fact, no subsequent English colonization ever took place. Though British fishing vessels continued to resort to that neighborhood, the country itself was esteemed as "a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desart," and was declared to be "not habitable" by Englishmen.* In the same summer that Block was exploring Long Island Sound and the regions to the north and east, Smith was visiting the bays and coasts of Maine and Massachusetts; and the Crown Prince of Great Britain was confirming the name of "New England," which Smith had given to the territories north of Cape Cod, about the very time that the States General were passing their first charter of trading privileges to the "Directors of New Netherland." But New England, though it had a nominal existence, was yet uncolonized in any part. Its recent name had not even reached the ears of the Dutch statesmen at the Hague. They might justly have considered the territory which they now formally named "New Netherland" as a "*vacuum domicilium*," fairly open to Dutch enterprise and occupation. In granting

New England esteemed a "desart."

New Netherland a "vacuum domicilium" open to the Dutch.

* Hazard, i., 50–58; Smith, Gen. Hist., ii., 174; Mass. Hist. Coll., xxvi., 56.

the charter of 1614, the States General certainly exercised a distinct act of sovereignty over that territory by giving it the name of New Netherland. But while they specifically defined the boundaries of their grant as including the regions "between New France and Virginia," they only assured to the associated merchants, whose enterprise had been rewarded by important discoveries, a monopoly of the trade of that country against the competition of other Dutch subjects, without for the present asserting the right to exclude the rest of the world.

After the procurement of the New Netherland charter, Block's connection with American discovery ceased. Van Tweenhuysen, who had been one of the joint owners of "the Tiger," was anxious to secure the services of his enterprising captain for the newly-organized "Northern Company," and offered him the command of some vessels to be employed in the whale-fishery near Spitzbergen. Block accepted his patron's proposition, and sailed for the Arctic Ocean early in 1615.* He does not appear to have ever revisited the scenes of his successful adventures on the coasts of America. Of all the early followers of Hudson in the exploration of New Netherland, the honored names of only two are now commemorated by Block Island and Cape May; yet the annalist of commercial New York will ever gratefully record the "Restless" as the pioneer vessel launched by white men upon her waters, and as her first ship-builder, Adriaen Block.

Block sails to the Arctic Ocean.

* Wassenaar, viii., 95.

CHAPTER III.

1615–1620.

CHAP. III.

1615.

The New Netherland Company.

THE Holland merchants, who had obtained from the States General the exclusive right of trading for three years to New Netherland, though united together in one company to secure the grant of their charter, were not strictly a corporation, but rather "participants" in a specific, limited, and temporary monopoly, which they were to enjoy in common. No Dutch vessels might visit the coasts of America, between Barnegat and Nova Scotia, except those belonging to the grantees of the charter, who resided at Amsterdam and Hoorn, in North Holland. But these grantees were intrusted with no political powers for the government of New Netherland. The objects they had chiefly in view were traffic and discovery; and to promote these objects the States General had sealed their charter. Agricultural colonization was not their present purpose; and their few men in garrison at Castle Island were rather armed traders, holding formal possession of an unoccupied territory, than emigrants to subdue a wilderness.

Murder of Hendrick Christiaensen.

Not long after Christiaensen had completed Fort Nassau, the first murder recorded after Hudson's voyage occurred in New Netherland. The two young savages, Orson and Valentine, who had been carried to Holland, were soon afterward safely restored to their native country. They were described as "very stupid, yet adepts enough in knavery." Of the two, Orson seems to have been the most mischievous: "an exceedingly malignant wretch, who was the cause of Hendrick Christiaensen's death," is

Wassenaar's quaint record. No motive is assigned for the murder, which, however, the Hollanders speedily avenged; and the treacherous Orson "was repaid with a bullet as his reward."* CHAP. III. 1615.

Meanwhile, Jacob Eelkens continued actively employed in prosecuting a quiet traffic with the Mohawk and Mahican Indians about Castle Island, and in collecting valuable cargoes of furs, which, from time to time, were sent in shallops down the river to Manhattan, for shipment to Holland. Scouting parties were, at the same time, constantly engaged in exploring all the neighboring country, and in becoming better acquainted with the savage tribes which surrounded them; with all of whom it was the constant policy of the Dutch to cultivate the most friendly relations. Eelkens prosecutes the Indian trade.

While the sober spirit of commercial Holland was thus quietly searching out new avenues for trade along the coasts of Long Island Sound, and on the borders of the Mauritius River, the more impetuous spirit of chivalrous France was intrepidly exploring the waters of Lake Ontario, and invading the territories of the "Konoshioni," or Iroquois,† near the valley of Onondaga. After discovering the lovely inland waters which perpetuate his name, Champlain thrice revisited France; and having engaged some wealthy merchants of Saint Malo, Rouen, and Rochelle, to form an association for the colonization of Canada, he obtained, through the influence of the viceroy, Prince de Condé, a ratification of the contract by the king. Setting sail from Honfleur early in the spring of 1615, he soon reached Tadoussac, accompanied by four Recollet missionaries, who were the first ministers of Christianity settled in Canada.‡ On his arrival at Montreal, Champlain found The French on Lakes Ontario and Onondaga. 1614. 1615. 25 May.

* Wassenaar, viii., 85; ix., 44; Doc. Hist., N. Y., iii., 38, 41.

† The Five Confederated Nations of New York Indians. "Le nom d'IROQUOIS est purement François, et a été formé du terme *Hiro*, ou *Hero*, que signifie *j'ai dit*; et par lequel ces sauvages finissent tous leurs discours, comme les Latins faisoient autrefois, par leur *dixi*; et de *Koué*, qui est un cri, tantôt de tristesse, lorsqu'on le prononce en traînant, et tantôt de joie, lorsqu'on le prononce plus court. Leur nom propre est *Agonnonsionni*, qui veut dire *Faiseurs de Cabannes*."—Charlevoix, i., p. 271. According to Clinton and Schoolcraft, their name was Kenunctioni, or Konoshioni.

‡ Champlain, 181–240. Jesuit missionaries, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 52), were set-

CHAP. III. 1615. the Hurons and their allies preparing for an expedition against their ancient enemies, the Iroquois. Anxious to reconnoitre the hostile territory, and also to secure the friendship of the Canadian savages, the gallant Frenchman resolved to accompany their warriors. After visiting the tribes at the head-waters of the Ottawa, and discovering Lake Huron, which, because of its "great extent," he named "La Mer Douce," Champlain, attended by an armed party of ten Frenchmen, accordingly set out toward

1 Sept. the south, with his Indian allies. Enraptured with the "very beautiful and pleasant country" through which they passed, and amusing themselves with fishing and hunting, as they descended the chain of "Shallow Lakes," which discharge their waters through the River Trent, the expedition reached the banks of Lake Ontario.*

October. Crossing the end of the lake "at the outlet of the great River Saint Lawrence," and passing by many beautiful islands on the way, the invaders followed the eastern shore of Ontario, for fourteen leagues, toward their enemy's country. In the vicinity of the present village of Henderson,

Champlain lands in Jefferson county. in the county of Jefferson, the party landed, and the savages hid all their canoes in the woods near the bank of the lake. After proceeding about four leagues, over a sandy tract, Champlain remarked "a very agreeable and beautiful country, traversed by several small streams and two little rivers which empty into the lake." These rivers were the Big and Little Sandy Creeks, and the "beautiful country" was the northern edge of the present county of Oswego. Leaving the shores of the lake, the invaders continued their route inland to the southward, for twenty-five or thirty leagues. For four days they pressed onward, meeting no foes, and crossing in their way a number of rivulets, and a river forming the outlet of Oneida Lake; which Champlain described as "twenty-five or thirty leagues in circuit, in which there are beautiful islands,

tled in Maine and Nova Scotia several years before this; but Champlain now first introduced the Recollet, or Franciscan fathers, into Canada.

* "Le Lac des Entouhonorons," Champlain, 254; Bouchette's British America, i., 84.

and where our Iroquois enemies catch their fish, which are very abundant." Here the Canadians captured eleven Iroquois, who had come about four leagues from their fort to fish in the Oneida Lake. Among the prisoners were four squaws. Preparations were immediately made for the usual savage tortures; but Champlain humanely protesting against the cruelty of his allies, as "not the act of a warrior," succeeded in saving the lives of the women, though the men all suffered death. CHAP. III. 1615. 9 October.

In the afternoon of the next day the expedition arrived before the fortified village of the Iroquois, on the northern bank of the Onondaga Lake, near the site of the present town of Liverpool.* The village was inclosed by four rows of palisades, made of large pieces of timber closely interlaced. The stockade was thirty feet high, with galleries running around like a parapet, which were garnished with double pieces of wood, arquebuse-proof; and the fortification stood close by a "pond where water was never wanting." The Iroquois castle at Onondaga attacked.

Some skirmishing took place as soon as the invaders reached the Onondaga Fort; though their first design was not to discover themselves until the next morning. But the impatience of the savages overcame their prudence. They were anxious to see the effect of the fire-arms of their French allies; and Champlain, advancing with his little detachment against the Onondagas, quickly "showed them what they had never seen or heard before." As soon as the Iroquois heard the reports of the arquebuses, and felt the balls whistling about their ears, they nimbly took refuge within their fort, carrying with them their killed and wounded. The assailing party then fell back upon their main body, with five or six wounded; one of whom died.

* "This Iroquois fort was on the shore of Onondaga Lake; and it is highly probable that it was on the ground subsequently occupied by Sieur Dupuis, in 1665, and also by Count Frontenac in his expedition against the Onondagas, in 1696, and by Colonel Van Schaick in 1779." — Clark's Hist. of Onondaga, i., 256. The spot is marked on Champlain's Map very distinctly. Every geographical detail in Champlain's work seems to confirm the opinion of Clark and Marshall that the lake must have been the Onondaga; and that it could not have been the Canandaigua, as assumed in a note on page 16, iii. Doc. Hist., N. Y.

CHAP. III. 1615. Contrary to Champlain's advice, the invaders now retreated a cannon's shot from the fort. This provoked his earnest remonstrances; and his genius soon suggested a plan of attack, borrowed from the ancient modes of warfare. A movable tower, in which four French marksmen could be placed, was to be constructed, sufficiently high to command the palisades; and while the besieged Iroquois were thus securely picked off, the stockade itself was to be set on fire. The plan was promptly approved of by the Canadians, who commenced the work the next day, and labored with such diligence that the tower was completed in four hours. They then wished to wait for a reinforcement of five hundred men which they expected; but Champlain, judging that delay in most cases is prejudicial, pressed them to attack the fort at once.

2 October. The invaders, yielding to his arguments, followed his advice. The tower was carried, by two hundred men, to within a pike's length from the stockade; and four arquebusiers, well protected from arrows and stones, began to fire on the invested Iroquois. The besieged savages at first answered with warm discharges of arrows; but the fatal balls of the French marksmen soon drove them from their galleries. Champlain now directed the Hurons to set fire to the stockade. But instead of obeying, they began to shout at the enemy, and discharge ineffective flights of arrows into the fort. Ignorant of discipline, and impatient of control, each savage did as he liked. At length they lit a fire, on the wrong side of the fort, contrary to the wind, so that it produced no effect. The besiegers then began to pile wood against the palisades, though in such small quantity that it did little good. The noise now became overpowering. Champlain attempted to warn the savages against the results of their bad judgment; but the great confusion prevented him from being heard. Perceiving that he was only "splitting his head by crying out," he directed the remainder of his French party to fire upon the besieged. Many of the Iroquois were killed; but, observing the disorder of their assailants, they poured wa-

ter from the gutters in such abundance, that every spark of fire was soon extinguished. Meanwhile they discharged incessant flights of arrows, which fell upon the besiegers like hail. The combat lasted about four hours. Two of the Huron chiefs and fifteen warriors were wounded. Champlain himself was twice severely injured by arrows; and the repulsed besiegers retreated to their encampment. 1615. The Canadian invaders repulsed.

Here they remained inactive several days. No arguments of Champlain could induce the Hurons to renew the attack until their expected re-enforcement of five hundred men should arrive from Canada. A few skirmishes occurred; but whenever the Iroquois saw the French arquebusiers approaching, they promptly retreated within their fort. At length the invaders, tired of waiting for their re-enforcements, broke up the siege, contrary to Champlain's earnest remonstrance, and began their retreat. The gallant Frenchman, himself disabled by his wounds from walking, was placed in a frame of wicker-work, and carried for several days on the backs of the savages. The Iroquois pursued their enemies for half a league, but the retreat was conducted in such good order that the invaders suffered no loss. 16 October

In a few days the party reached the spot where they had hidden their canoes on the shore of Lake Ontario, and were overjoyed to find that they had not been discovered and destroyed by the Iroquois. Champlain was now anxious to return to Montreal by way of the Saint Lawrence, over the upper waters of which no European had yet passed. But his savage allies refused to furnish him with a promised guide and canoe; and he was obliged to accompany them home, an unwilling guest, and pass a dreary winter in the Huron country. The following spring Champlain set out on his return, and, after forty days travel, reached the French settlements toward the end of June. His countrymen received him with joy, as one risen from the grave; for the savages had long before reported him dead.* 20 October. Return of the expedition to Canada. 1616. 20 May. June.

* Voyages de Champlain, 240–306; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 10–17. See also an interest-

CHAP. III. 1616. Thus the French were the first Europeans who visited two of the magnificent lakes which partially bound the territories of New York. Almost contemporaneously with Hudson's exploration of the great River of the Mountains, Champlain had discovered those beautiful waters on our northeastern frontier which now bear his brilliant name. Six years later, the adventurous Frenchman, again the first of Europeans, was coasting along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, and penetrating the valley of Onondaga. But the progress of French discovery was the progress of French arms. The exploring voyages of Hudson and his followers were visits of peaceful agents of commercial Holland in search of new avenues for trade, and intent chiefly on its rewards. No predatory movements marked their onward way. Enterprising and patriotic, they were discreet and humane. If blood was early shed, it was shed in retaliation, or to repel attack. But the expeditions of Champlain were incursions of bold adventurers from gallant France, seeking trophies of victory in the unknown territories of the Iroquois. The placid waters of Lakes Champlain and Onondaga were alike stained by unoffending native blood; and the roar of the few French arquebuses which first echoed through the frontier forests of New Netherland, but preluded the advance, in after years, of serried battalions over northern New York, bearing to battle and conquest the triumphant lilies of the Bourbon.

Aboriginal tribes along the North River.

The valley of the "Cahohatatea,"* or Mauritius River, at the time Hudson first ascended its waters, was inhabited, chiefly, by two aboriginal races of Algonquin lineage, afterward known among the English colonists by the generic names of Mohegans and Mincees. The Dutch generally called the Mohegans, Mahicans; and the Mincees,

ing paper on this subject, by O. H. Marshall, of Buffalo, in N. Y. H. S. Proceedings for 1849, p. 96–103; and Clark's Onondaga, i., 251–256.

* The Iroquois name of the North or Hudson River, upon the authority of Mr. John Bleecker, of Albany, "the ancient Indian interpreter, now (1810) in the 79th year of his age." See letter of Dr. Mitchill to Dr. Miller, dated Albany, 3d March, 1810, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., p. 43. See also Schoolcraft, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, p. 94. The Mahicans called it the "Shatemuc;" while the Delawares and other southern tribes, according to Heckewelder, named it the "Mahican-ittuk," or place of the Mahicans.

Sanhikans. These two tribes were subdivided into numerous minor bands, each of which had a distinctive name. The tribes on the east side of the river were generally Mohegans; those on the west side, Mincees. They were hereditary enemies; and across the waters which formed the natural boundary between them, war-parties frequently passed, on expeditions of conquest and retribution. But however much the tribes of River Indians were at variance among themselves, they were sympathetic in their enmity against the powerful Iroquois, or the Five Confederated Nations, whose hunting-grounds extended over the magnificent regions, as yet unexplored by the Dutch, westward and northward from Fort Nassau.*

Long Island and Indians.

Long Island, or "Sewan-hacky," was occupied by the savage tribe of "Metowacks," which was subdivided into various clans, each having a separate appellation, and whose lodges extended from "the Visscher's Hook," or Montauk Point, to "Ihpetonga," or "the high sandy banks," now known as Brooklyn Heights. Staten Island, on the opposite side of the bay, was inhabited by the Monatons, who named it Monacknong, or Eghquaous.† Inland, to the west, lived the Raritans and the Hackinsacks; while the regions in the vicinity of the well-known "Highlands," south of Sandy Hook, were inhabited by a band or sub-tribe called the Nevesincks, or Navisinks, whose name denotes their intermediate position between the Atlantic and the Raritan Bay.‡ To the south and west, covering the centre of New Jersey, were the Aquamachukes and the Stankekans; while the valley of the Delaware, northward from the Schuylkill, was inhabited by various tribes of the Lenape race, who were collectively known to the Dutch as "the Minquas," and by their hereditary northern foes, the Iroquois, were named "Ogehage."§

New Jersey Indians.

Manhattans.

The "Island of the Manhattans" was so called "after

* Schoolcraft, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, 89–91.

† Alb. Rec., viii., 161; Smith's N. Y., i., 321; Clinton, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 41; Thompson's L. I., i., 87–95; Schoolcraft, 97, 98; *ante*, p. 57; *post*, p. 172.

‡ Schoolcraft, 105, 106. § Figurative Map, see Appendix, notes G and I.

CHAP. III. 1616.

the ancient name of the tribe of savages among whom the Dutch first settled themselves."* This tribe, which inhabited the eastern shore, was always "very obstinate and unfriendly" toward the Hollanders. On the west side of the bay, and of the river above Bergen Point, lived the Sanhikans, who were "the deadly enemies of the Manhattans, and a much better people."† North of the Sanhikans, on the broad bay between the Palisadoes and Verdrietig Hook, dwelt the tribe of Tappans,‡ whose wigwams extended back from Nyack toward the hilly regions of Rockland and Orange counties. This unexplored territory, the early imperfect maps of New Netherland transmitted to Holland, erroneously represented as an "effen veldt," or a level, open country.

Sanhikans.

Tappans.

The eastern bank of the river, north of Manhattan, and the valley of the Nepera or Saw-mill Creek, was possessed by the tribe of Weckquaesgeeks. The region above, as far as the Croton, or Kitchawan, was inhabited by another band called the Sint-Sings, whose chief village was named Ossin-Sing, or "the Place of Stones;" and the famous marble quarries now worked near "Sing-Sing," while they commemorate the name, vindicate the judgment of the aborigines.§

Weckquaesgeeks.

Sint-Sings.

The Highlands above were occupied by a band called the Pachami, beyond whom dwelt the Waoranacks. North of these, and in what is now the county of Dutchess, lived the tribe of Wappingers, whose name is still preserved in that of the picturesque stream which empties into the river near New Hamburg. Their chief locality was the valley of the Fishkill, or "Matteawan" Creek, the aboriginal name of which, according to the popular traditions of the country, signified "good furs," for which the stream was anciently celebrated. But modern etymology more accu-

Pachami.

Wappingers.

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 348; N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii., 375; O'Call., i., 48. The Dutch themselves named the island after the Indian tribe of "Manhattans." Heckewelder's traditionary account that the name of the island was derived from the "general intoxication" which is said to have occurred there, is considered in note A, Appendix.

† De Laet, book iii., cap. ix.; Figurative Map.

‡ According to Heckewelder, the name of Tappan is derived from "Tuphanne," a Delaware word, signifying "cold stream."—Moulton's N. Y., p. 227. § Schoolcraft, 101.

rately deriving the term from "metai," a magician or medicine man, and "wian," a skin, it would seem that the neighboring Indians esteemed the peltries of the Fishkill as "charmed" by the incantations of the aboriginal enchanters who dwelt along its banks; and the beautiful scenery in which these ancient priests of the wild men of the Highlands dwelt is thus invested with new poetical associations. A few miles north of the "Wahamanessing," or Wappinger's Creek, was a sheltered inlet at the mouth of the Fallkill, affording a safe harbor for canoes navigating the "Long Reach," between Pollepel's Island and Crom Elbow.* The aboriginal designation of this inlet was Apokeepsing, "a place of shelter from storms;" and the memory of this once famous harbor for the canoes of the river tribes is perpetuated in the name of the flourishing city of Pokeepsie. Still further north, near Red Hook landing, lived another clan of the Wappingers. Here tradition asserts a great battle was fought between the river Indians and the Iroquois confederates; and the bones of the slain were said to be yet visible, when the Dutch first settled themselves on the spot. The wigwams of the Wappingers and their sub-tribes extended eastward to the range of the Tachkanic, or Taconick Mountains, which separate the valley of the North River from that of the Housatonic.†

Pokeepsie.

On the west side of the river, northward from Verdrietig Hook and the Kumochenack, or Haverstraw Bay, the tribes were remarkably mixed and subdivided. Parts of the present county of Rockland, and nearly the whole of the county of Orange, were inhabited by the Waronawankongs, whose hunting-grounds extended along the Shawangunk mountain range.‡ Further north, and occupying

Waronawankongs.

* Pollepel's Island is the one in the middle of the river, just north of the Highlands. Its name is derived from its supposed resemblance to the convex side of a ladle, which in Dutch is "Pollepel." The abrupt bend in the river, between Pokeepsie and Hyde Park, formerly called "Krom Elleboog," or crooked elbow, is now known as Crom Elbow.

† Schoolcraft, 101–103.

‡ These mountains are said to have obtained their name from the predominating white or gray color of their rocks; the word "Shawan-gunk" being explained by the Indians of the country to mean "white rocks."—See Mather's Geology of N. Y., 355. Schoolcraft,

CHAP. III. the present counties of Ulster and Greene, were the Minqua clans of Minnisincks, Nanticokes, Minees, and Delawares. These clans had pressed onward from the upper valley of the Delaware, which the Dutch expressively named "the Land of Baca,"* and, following the course of the Nevesinck River and the valley of the "Great Esopus Creek," had at length reached the tides of the North River. They were generally known among the Dutch as the Esopus Indians. The doubtful etymology of this name is traced to "Seepus," a river; and the Esopus Creek, having long been celebrated as the aboriginal channel of communication with the upper waters of the Delaware, it was probably called "the Seepus," or river, by way of eminence.† The word was soon modified into "Sopus," or Esopus, in which form it has ever since been in use. At an early period, the Dutch are said to have erected a "Rondout," or small fort, near the mouth of the creek, which, from this circumstance, obtained its present name, the "Rondout." Part of the adjoining region was afterward named "Wiltwyck," or Indian village; but the familiar term Esopus continued in popular use long after the present legal designation of Kingston was adopted.‡

1616. Minnisincks. Esopus Indians. Rondout

The name of the Minnisinck tribe was derived from the island, or "Minnis," in the upper waters of the Delaware, where the self-denying missionary Brainerd afterward endured so many trials. Their wigwams, with those of the other clans of Esopus Indians, extended over the area of the present counties of Ulster and Greene, along the banks of the river, and through the valley of the Catskill,§ to Coxackie, or Kuxakee. This word, in their dialect, signified "the place of the cut banks," where the current, deflected against the western shore, had gradually worn away the land. Beyond the Minnisincks and Esopus Indians, the west side of the river, near Castle Island, was

however (p. 108), seems to derive their name from their position to the south, or "Shawanong" of the Catskills.

* Visscher's and Van der Donck's Maps.

† Schoolcraft, 108.

‡ Hol. Doc., xi., 86; see Appendix, note H.

§ This kill or creek, and the majestic mountain chain inland, were so named from the catamount or panther, which formerly abounded, and is now frequently found, in this wild and picturesque region.—Schoolcraft, 109, 110

inhabited by the fierce Maquaas, or Mohawks, whose hunting-grounds extended northward to the "Lake of the Iroquois," or Lake Champlain, westward through the valley of the Mohawk, and southward to the sources of the Susquehanna.

The Mohawks.

Above the Wappingers, on the east side of the river, the lodges of the Mahicans, or Mohegans, extended northward and eastward from Roelof Jansen's Kill, and occupied the whole area of the present counties of Columbia and Rensselaer. The ancient seat of their council-fire was near Schodac; and opposite to the present city of Albany, they had early fortified a village against the dreaded attacks of their hereditary enemies, the Mohawks.* Beyond the Mahicans dwelt the tribe of Horikans, whose hunting-grounds appear to have extended from the waters of the Connecticut, across the Green Mountains, to the borders of that beautiful lake which might now well bear their sonorous name.†

The Mahicans.

The Horikans.

From the time that Hudson first passed the Mahican villages at Schodac and Castleton, and Block visited the upper waters of the Connecticut, a friendly intercourse had been maintained between the Dutch and the native tribes on the east side of the North River. With the fierce Mohawks on the west side, upon whose territory they had built Fort Nassau, they were careful to keep on the best terms; and from them the Dutch learned that the Canadian French were in the habit of coming in boats from Quebec, to trade in the upper part of their territories, adjoining the Lake of the Iroquois, or Lake Champlain.‡ But the inland tribes, toward the south and west, had as yet been unvisited by Europeans; though Champlain had just carried death and

The Dutch on friendly terms with the Indians.

* Wassenaar, xii., 38; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 43.

† De Laet, viii., *ante*, p. 56; Visscher's Map; Van der Donck's Map; Map in Montanus. This charming lake—the Como of America—and which the French, in 1646, first called "Saint Sacrement," because they visited it on the festival of Corpus Christi, was named by General (afterward Sir William) Johnson, in September, 1755, "LAKE GEORGE, *not only in honor of his majesty, but to ascertain his undoubted dominion here.*"—London Documents, xxxii., 169. The reasons which, in 1755, prompted the British general to give *a new name* to the lake, should certainly not prevail at the present day; nor should they prevent the revival of the aboriginal term suggested by our own Cooper, "HORIKAN."

‡ De Laet, ix.; Parchment Map. See also note G, Appendix.

CHAP. III. 1616.

the terror of the French arms to the Iroquois castle at Onondaga.

Anxious to explore the unknown regions, of which only a vague idea had been gathered from the imperfect explanations of the Mohawks, three traders in the service of the New Netherland Company seem to have adventurously set out from Fort Nassau, on an expedition "into the interior, and downward, along the New River, to the Ogehage," or the Minquas, "the enemies of the northern tribes."* The route of the party is not accurately defined; but they, perhaps, followed the trail of the Esopus Indians to the sources of the Delaware, the waters of which they descended to the Schuylkill. At this point of their progress, they appear to have been taken prisoners by the Minquas; and the news reaching the Dutch on the Mauritius River, arrangements were promptly made to ransom the captives, as well as undertake a more thorough examination of the country where they were detained.

Exploring party from Fort Nassau.

Accordingly, the yacht "Restless," which Block, on his return to Holland, had left in charge of Cornelis Hendricksen, was dispatched from Manhattan southward, along the coast of New Jersey, to explore the "New River" from its mouth to its upper waters. The voyage was entirely successful. Sailing into the bay which Hudson had first discovered seven years before, Hendricksen explored the adjoining coasts, and discovered "three rivers, situated between the thirty-eighth and fortieth degrees of latitude."† The fertile land was full of majestic forest trees, "which in some places were covered with grape-vines;" and turkeys, partridges, harts, and hinds abounded along the pleasant shores. The climate of the country, which was "the same as that of Holland," delighted the crew of the Restless, as they trafficked with the natives for seal-skins and sables. Proceeding up the channel of the main river, beyond the confluence of the Schuylkill, Hendricksen opened

The yacht Restless explores the Delaware.

* Hol. Doc., i., 59; Paper Map. See Appendix, note I.

† These "three rivers" were probably the Delaware itself, the Schuylkill, and perhaps the Hoarkill, or Broadkill Creek, in the State of Delaware, upon which Lewiston now stands.

a friendly intercourse with the Minquas who inhabited its banks; and ransomed from these savages his three captive countrymen, giving in exchange for them "kettles, beads, and other merchandise."* CHAP. III. 1616.

Hendricksen the first explorer of the Delaware.

To Cornelis Hendricksen unquestionably belongs the honor of having been the first to explore the bay and river which now unjustly bear the name of Lord Delawarr. The light draught of the Restless enabled her to penetrate very easily where Hudson did not venture to pilot the Half Moon, and where Argall made no explorations.† Hendricksen seems to have coasted up along the western shore of the bay, and to have been the first European navigator who set his foot on the soil of Delaware and Pennsylvania. He probably ransomed the Dutch captives near the very spot where Philadelphia was founded, just sixty-six years afterward.‡ The river above now received the name of the "New," or "South River," to distinguish it from the Mauritius, which soon became better known as the North River. Before long, the southern cape of the bay was named "Cape Cornelius," after its "first discoverer;" and another point, about twelve miles to the southward, was called Cape Hinlopen, probably after Thymen Jacobsen Hinlopen, of Amsterdam, and also Cape Inloopen, because it seemed to vanish on being approached.§

1682.

South River.

Cape Cornelius.

Cape Hinlopen.

Hendricksen returns to Holland.

On the return of the Restless to Manhattan, Hendricksen proceeded to Holland, to assist his employers in obtaining a separate exclusive charter to trade to the newly-explored territory, which extended two degrees south of the limits assigned to New Netherland in the grant of October, 1614. The associated merchants dispatched him immediately to the Hague, accompanied by an Amsterdam notary, to report his discoveries to the States General, and procure for them the desired special trading privilege. Taking with him a manuscript map, he explained, orally,

18 August.

* Hol. Doc., i., 59. † See *ante*, pages 27 and 51, and Appendix, note D.

‡ Samuel Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, 579, 594.

§ De Laet, book iii., cap. ix.; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 303, 315; Wassenaar, ix., 124; *ante*, p. 59; see also Visscher's and Montanus's Maps. The name of Hinlopen seems to have been first applied to False Cape, just south of Rehoboth Bay; but it has since been transferred to the original Cape Cornelius. See Des Barre's chart; Breviat, 56, 91, 98.

CHAP. III. 1616. to their High Mightinesses the situation and nature of the newly-explored regions. The States General, however, requiring a formal report in writing, Hendricksen submitted, the next day, a short statement of his proceedings on the South River, and asked, on behalf of his employers, a special charter for trading there.*

9 August.

New charter for the South River refused.

But the Dutch government hesitated to comply with the application of the Amsterdam merchants for new special privileges. Their original trading charter of October, 1614, which specifically defined New Netherland as "situated between New France and Virginia," had yet a year and a half to run. The grantees of that charter now desired a similar monopoly for the territory between the thirty-eighth and fortieth degrees. But this region seemed to be within the acknowledged limits of Virginia, according to the boundaries which, the States General had themselves assigned to New Netherland. If, under these circumstances, they were now to pass the new special charter for which their subjects had applied, it might give rise to difficulties with James, which, in the present condition of public affairs, would be extremely embarrassing. The States General, accordingly, after two more deliberations upon the subject, softened their adverse decision by adopting the mild form of an indefinite postponement.†

3 Nov

The Amsterdam "Directors of New Netherland," finding that the States General were unwilling to countenance their project of seeming encroachment upon Virginia, now confined their attention more particularly to the regions drained by the North River. Fort Nassau, which Christiaensen had originally built on Castle Island in 1614, having been several times overflowed by the waters from the upper country, was almost swept away by a freshet

Fort Nassau destroyed.

* Hol. Doc., i., 53, 59. See also Appendix, note I.

† Hol. Doc., i., 63, 64. The year 1616 will ever be memorable in the annals of the world, as that in which William Cornelis Schouten, a merchant of Hoorn, in North Holland, first sailed around the southern promontory of America, which, in honor of his native city, he named "Cape Hoorn." Before Schouten's voyage, the only known passage to the Pacific was through the Straits of Magellan. Schouten also discovered the Straits of Le Maire, which he so called after Jacob le Maire, of Amsterdam, one of his partners. Staten Land was thus named, in honor of the States of Holland. Few, probably, of those who nowadays talk of "the Horn," know the origin of the name

on the breaking up of the ice, in the spring of 1617.* The company's traders were, therefore, obliged to abandon it, and seek a more secure position on the west bank of the river, at the mouth of the "Tawasentha," or Norman's Kill.† The new situation was well chosen. The portage path of the Mohawks, coming from the west, terminated about two miles above, at Skanektadé, "beyond the pine plains," or "beyond the openings," on the North River—the site of the present city of Albany.‡ It was important to keep the trading-house of the company as near as possible to the eastern termination of this great Indian thoroughfare; and, on the commanding eminence which the Mohawks called Tawass-gunshee, overlooking the river at the mouth of the Tawasentha, a new fortified post was erected by Eelkens. Here, tradition alleges, was soon afterward concluded, with the chiefs of the Five Confederated Nations of North American Indians, the first formal treaty of alliance between the red man and the Hollander; and which, after its renewal by Kieft in 1645, was observed with general respect, until the surrender of Fort Orange to the English. A new league of friendship was then entered into between Colonel Cartwright and the sachems of the Iroquois, which continued without violation on either side until the commencement of the Revolutionary war.§

CHAP. III.

1617.

New post on the Tawasentha.

1664. 24 Sept.

At the time of the treaty of the Tawasentha, the fairest regions of North America were inhabited by "the Romans of the Western World."‖ Around the elevated table-lands

* Wassenaar, vi., 144. Stuyvesant, in writing to the General Court of Massachusetts on 20th April, 1660, says that from the small fort which the Dutch originally built there, "an island near Fort Orange yet bears the name of Castle Island, *and the monuments of which can yet be shown;* which small fort was *three years afterward* seriously injured by high water and ice, so that at length it decayed entirely."—Alb. Rec., xxiv., 167.

† Moulton, 346. The original and beautifully-expressive Mohawk name of this stream was "*Tawasentha*," meaning *the place of the many dead.* It was an ancient Mohawk village, and the burial-place of many of the tribe.—Schoolcraft and G. F. Yates. The Dutch appellative of the "Norman's Kill" is said to have been derived from Andries Bradt, a native of Denmark, and therefore surnamed "the Norman," who settled himself there in 1630.—O'Call., i., 78, 433, 434.

‡ Schoolcraft, in Proc. N. Y. H. S., 1844, p. 91, 111; L. H. Morgan's "League of the Iroquois," 415.

§ Colden, i., 34; De Witt Clinton's Address, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 62; Smith's Hist. N. Y., i., 33; Moulton, 346; Schoolcraft, 91; O'Call., i., 78; Lond. Doc., i., 188; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 67, 68; *post*, p. 744.

‖ Volney, 476; Clinton, 44.

CHAP. III. 1617.

whence flow waters which discharge themselves through the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and the Saint Lawrence into the Atlantic, and through the Alleghany, the Ohio, and the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico, were then clustered five nations of warlike savages, whose forefathers, expelled from Canada by the Adirondacs, in early days, had penetrated into the centre of New York. There they multiplied; were subdivided into tribes or nations; and then formed themselves into a Federal Republic of independent cantons. Of the precise period of this confederation history has no record. But modern research into conflicting tradition places the event about the year 1539; forty-seven years after Columbus's first voyage; four years after Cartier ascended the Saint Lawrence to Hochelaga; and seventy years before Hudson discovered the North River.*

The Iroquois confederation.

The Iroquois, or Five Nations, preserving their several specific names of Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, when they formed their confederation, took the name of "KONOSHIONI,"† the "cabin makers," or "people of the long house." That long house reached from the banks of the North River to the shores of Lake Erie. The eastern door of the sky-canopied abode of the Iroquois was guarded by the Kayingehagas, or Maquaas or Mohawks;‡ the western door by the Senecas. Poetical tradition, recorded by one of their own people,§ deduces their origin, like that of the Athenian "Autochthones," from the "earth itself." In remote ages, they had been confined

Traditional origin of the Iroquois.

* Smith's Hist. N. Y., i., 64; Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, 118; Clark's Onondaga, i., 20; L. H. Morgan's "League of the Iroquois," 5–8. G. F. Yates thinks that the period of the Iroquois confederacy was still more remote.

† Clinton's Address; Schoolcraft's Notes. The common French orthography of this term is "Aquinoshioni," or *Agonnonsionni*, which, according to Charlevoix, i., 271, signified *Faiseurs de Cabannes;* see *ante*, p. 67, note. In their own language, the Five Nations also called themselves "Hotinnonchiendi"—that is, *La Cabanne Achevée;* Relation, 1653–4, p. 54. Morgan, p. 51, however, says that the Iroquois, after their league, called themselves "*Ho-de-no-sau-nee*," which signifies "the people of the long house."

‡ "We commonly call them Maquaas, but they call themselves *Kayingehaga*." Letter of Domine Megapolensis to the Classis of Amsterdam, 28th September, 1658; Moulton, 338. Morgan, p. 52, writes the word "Ga-ne-ga-ha-ga," meaning "the possessor of the flint." According to M. de Joncaire, the device of the Mohawks, in 1736, was a steel and flint. Paris Doc., viii., 187; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 22; Ibid., iii., 902, where the name is given as *Ganingehage*.

§ Cusick.

under a mountain, near the falls of the "Osh-wah-kee," or Oswego River, whence they were released by THARONHYJAGON, "the Holder of the Heavens." Bidding them go forth toward the east, he guided them to the valley of the Mohawk. Following its stream, they reached the Cahohatatea, or North River, which some of them descended to the sea. Thence, retracing their path, toward the west, they originated, as they passed along, the tribes of Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras.* But the Tuscaroras, wandering to the south, crossed the Alleghanies, and fixed their home on the banks of the Cautano, or Neuse River, in North Carolina; where Tharonhyjagon, leaving them to hunt and prosper, returned northward, to direct the confederation of the remaining Five Nations.† Such is one of the bold fables by which the traditions of the Konoshioni assert their aboriginal existence.

The several nations independent.

The several tribes or cantons were independent. As they grew in numbers and in valor, they began to quarrel among themselves; and, living in perpetual fear, they built fortresses for defense, or else continually shifted their villages. Finding that they were gradually wasting away, the wise men of the Onondagas proposed that the kindred tribes should no longer war against each other, but should unite in a common league for offense and defense against all other nations. The advice was adopted, and each Iroquois tribe or canton deputed representatives to a general council. By these plenipotentiaries the Confederation of the Five Nations was organized on the shores of the Onondaga Lake, where the great central council-fire was originally kindled, and for centuries permanently remained. When the league was formed, Atotarho, the dreaded

* In the Seneca dialect, the name of the Tuscaroras was *Dusgaoweh-ono*, "the shirt-wearing people;" that of the Senecas, *Nundawa-ono*, or "the great hill people;" that of the Cayugas, *Gueugweh-ono*, or "the people at the mucky land;" that of the Onondagas, *Onundaga-ono*, or "people on the hills;" and that of the Oneidas, *Onayoteka-ono*, or "the people of the granite stone."—Morgan, 51, 52. The name of the Mohawks has already been considered.

† Megapolensis, in Hazard, i., 525; Schoolcraft's Notes, 69–105; Clark's Onondaga, i., 21–30, 37–43; Morgan, 7.

CHAP. III. 1617.

chief of the Onondagas, was anxiously sought by the Mohawk embassy, which was specially deputed for the purpose. Atotarho was found sitting in a swamp, calmly smoking a pipe, and rendered invulnerable by living serpents which hissed around his body. Approaching the chief in awe, the embassy invested him with a broad belt of wampum, and solemnly placed him at the head of their league. The dignity which popular veneration thus spontaneously conferred on their great sachem always remained in the Onondaga tribe; and the name of "ATOTARHO," after his death, became the distinctive hereditary title of the most illustrious chief of the Iroquois Confederation.*

Atotarho.

Character and powers of the grand council.

The Confederation of the Five Iroquois Nations was simply a league for common defense, not a perfect political union.† The general council of sachems, elected according to the laws of each nation, exercised only a delegated power, and expressed only the popular will of their constituents. What these senatorial sachems in the grand council deliberately pronounced to be proper, the veneration of the constituent cantons supported and maintained. Thus, besides the union of the Netherland Provinces, the league of the Iroquois nations was early set before the American colonies as an example for their consideration.

Government of the several nations.

Each nation or canton was a sovereign republic, divided into clans; and each continued, notwithstanding the confederation, to be governed by its own political chiefs or sachems. The original clans, or families, into which each tribe was subdivided, were eight in number, and were distinguished from each other by different and peculiar devices or "Totems." The most important of these were the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. These totems, or family symbols, denoting original consanguinity, were

* Schoolcraft, 91; Morgan, 67, 68, calls him "To-do-da-ho."

† "The term 'Five Nations,' used by Colden, and in popular use during the earlier period of the colony, ceased to be appropriate after the Tuscarora revolt in North Carolina, and the reunion of this tribe with the parent stock subsequent to 1712. From that period they were called the 'Six Nations,' and continued to acquire increased reputation as a confederacy under this name, until the termination of the American Revolution in 1783, and the flight of the Mohawks and Cayugas to Canada."—Schoolcraft, 46; Morgan, 24, 44; Bancroft, iii., 245, 321, 322.

universally respected. The wandering savage appealed to his totem, and was entitled to the hospitality of the wigwam which bore the corresponding emblem. The oldest, most sensible, best-speaking, and most warlike men of the tribe were generally chosen to be its chiefs or sachems. "These commonly resolve, and the young and warlike men carry into execution; but if the common people do not approve of the resolution, it is left entirely to the judgment of the mob. The chiefs are generally the poorest among them; for instead of their receiving from the common people, as among Christians, they are obliged to give to them." The war chiefs derived their authority from their approved courage. Military service was demanded only by custom and opinion. But the penalty of a coward's name kept the ranks of the Iroquois war-parties always full. All able-bodied males above the age of fourteen were judged capable of taking the field; and no title was more honorable than that of warrior. To join in the war-dance was to enlist for an expedition. Each warrior furnished his own arms and provisions, and no cumbersome baggage impeded the rapid march of an Iroquois army.*

Sachems.

Military service.

Oratory distinguished the Five Nations as much as bravery and political wisdom. In all democracies, eloquence is one of the surest roads to popular favor and public honors. Among the Iroquois, oratory was as sedulously cultivated as at Athens or Rome. Their children were taken to the council-fires, where they listened to the words of the wise men as they talked of peace and war. The sublime scenery in which they lived constantly suggested rich images; and while the criticism of their sages restrained the luxuriance of youthful rhetoric to the standard of approved taste, their eloquence became a model which other Indian nations were proud to imitate. Thus peculiar and extraordinary by great attainments in government, in negotiation, in oratory, and in war, "the su-

Eloquence among the Iroquois.

* Paris Doc., i., 152; Megapolensis, in Hazard, i., 525, 526; Schoolcraft, 128, 130; Morgan, 62–103; Clark, i., 31–34.

CHAP. III. 1617.

perior qualities of the Iroquois may be ascribed as well to the superiority of their origin, as to the advantages of position, the maxims of policy, and the principles of education which distinguished them from the other red inhabitants of this Western World."*

The Mohawks pre-eminent.

Of all the confederated nations, the Mohawks were the bravest and the fiercest. No hunter warriors on the North American continent ever filled a higher measure of heroism and military renown. Their very name was a synonym for blood.† From their propinquity to the Dutch settlements, and their superior martial exploits, the name of this nation was frequently applied, by way of eminence, to the whole Iroquois confederation; among all the nations of which the Mohawks were held in the highest veneration. Standing at the eastern door of the "Long House," the Mohawk warriors were the chief agents in carrying to the sea the conquests of the Iroquois. Far across the hills of Massachusetts, and through the valley of the Connecticut, the dreaded name of Mohawk enforced an absolute submission; and their annual envoys collected tribute and dictated laws with all the arbitrary authority of Roman proconsuls. From their ancient fortresses, war parties of the Iroquois continually went forth to victory; and the tribes on both banks of the North River quailed before

* De Witt Clinton's Address, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 79. "Regret has been expressed that some one of the sonorous and appropriate Indian names of the West had not been chosen to designate the state. The colonists were but little regardful of questions of this kind. Both the Dutch in 1609, and the English in 1664, came with precisely the same force of national prepossession—the first in favor of Amsterdam, and the second in favor of New York—both connected with the belittling adjective "New." * * * * It would be well, indeed, if their descendants in America had been a little more alive to the influence of this trait. Those who love the land and cherish its nationalities, would at least have been spared * * the continued repetition of foreign, petty, or vulgar names, * * * while such names as Saratoga and Ticonderoga, Niagara and Ontario, Iosco and Owasco, are never thought of."—Schoolcraft, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, p. 95.

† "The word 'Mohawk' itself is not a term of Mohawk origin, but one imposed upon them, as it is believed, by the Mohegan or Mahican race, which inhabited the borders of the sea. Among this race the Dutch and English landed; and they would naturally adopt the term most in vogue for so celebrated a tribe. The Dutch, indeed, modified it to '*Maquaas*,' a modification which helps us to decipher its probable origin in *Manqua*, a bear. * * * The Mohawk sachems, who presented their condolence at Albany in 1690, on the taking of Schenectady, said, 'We are all of the race of the bear—and a bear, you know, never yields while one drop of blood is left. We must all be bears.'"—Schoolcraft's Notes, 73. Clark, i., 31, says, that the Mohawks furnished the "Te-kar-a-ho-gea," or war captain of the league. But this has been denied by Morgan.

their formidable foe. Long before European discovery, the question of savage supremacy had been settled on the waters of the Cahohatatea. CHAP. III. 1617.

Such were the famous Indian nations among which the Dutch first established themselves on the upper waters of the North River. Under the influence of that spirit of aggression, and thirst for aggrandizement which the consciousness of power excites, the Iroquois confederates soon reduced the neighboring tribes into vassalage; and exacted a universal tribute, from the Abenaquis on the Bay of Fundy, to the Miamis on the Ohio. The weaker nations trembled when they heard the awful name of the Konoshioni. Their war-cry sounded over the great lakes, and was heard in the Chesapeake Bay. They quenched the fires of the Eries, and exterminated the Susquehannas. The Lenapees, the Metowacks, and the Manhattans were subjugated. The terror of the Iroquois went wherever their war-canoes were paddled; and the streams which flowed from the summit lands around their grand council-fire at Onondaga, were the channels which conducted their warriors to triumphant expeditions among the neighboring tribes. Their invincible arms humbled every native foe, and their national pride grew with every conquest.* Empire of the Iroquois.

But when the progress of the French along the Saint Lawrence had introduced the knowledge of European weapons among the Hurons and Algonquins of Canada, the war-parties of the far-conquering Iroquois suffered severely in their encounters with enemies who were aided First humbled by Champlain.

* Smith's N. Y., i., 51–66; Bancroft, i., 134; ii., 416; iii., 245; Schoolcraft's Notes, 52; Morgan, 9–17. I can not forego the pleasure of extracting a few lines descriptive of the supremacy of the Iroquois, from Mr. Street's metrical romance, "Frontenac."

"The fierce Adirondacs had fled from their wrath,
The Hurons been swept from their merciless path;
Around, the Ottawas, like leaves had been strown,
And the Lake of the Eries struck silent and lone.
The Lenape, lords once of valley and hill,
Made women, bent low at their conquerors' will.
By the far Mississippi the Illini shrank,
When the trail of the TORTOISE was seen on the bank;
On the hills of New England the Pequod turned pale,
When the howl of the WOLF swelled at night on the gale;
And the Cherokee shook in his green smiling bowers,
When the foot of the BEAR stamped his carpet of flowers."

CHAP. III. 1617.

by the military skill of Champlain. The lesson which he had first taught to the Mohawks in 1609, had been repeated to the Onondagas in 1615. His unerring arquebuse had struck down the chiefs who were thought invulnerable in their arrow-proof native armor; and the terrified confederates had twice fled before their unusual foe.* Anxious to wipe off the disgrace of unexpected defeat, the Iroquois sought the alliance of those whose friendship might, perhaps, enable them to recover their ancient superiority; and the treaty of the Tawasentha was soon concluded between the chiefs of the aborigines and the representatives of the Amsterdam merchants, in all the solemn forms of Indian diplomacy. Besides the Iroquois, the Mahicans, the Mincees, the Minnisincks, and the Lenni-Lenapees were represented at this grand council, which the Mohawks, who were the prime movers of the treaty, invited the other tribes to attend. Under the supervision of the Dutch, a general peace and alliance was negotiated; and the supremacy of the Five Confederated Nations was affirmed and acknowledged by the other tribes. The plenipotentiaries of the Iroquois were five chiefs, each representing his nation, and each bearing a hereditary name, which, nearly a century before, had distinguished the delegates who formed the grand confederation. The belt of peace was held fast at one end by the Iroquois, and at the other by the Dutch; while in the middle it rested on the shoulders of the subjugated Mahicans, Mincees, and Lenni-Lenapees, as a nation of women. The calumet was smoked, and the tomahawk was buried in the earth, over which the Dutch declared they would erect a church, so that none should dig it up again without destroying the building and incurring their resentment.†

Treaty of the Tawasentha.

Thus the factors of the Amsterdam Company gained for the Hollanders the lasting friendship of the Iroquois. Their traders fearlessly visited the wigwams of the red men; and in exchange for the peltries of New Netherland,

Consequences of the treaty.

* Voyages de Champlain, 151, 163, 262.

† Moulton, 346; Schoolcraft, 91; Heckewelder, Morgan.

the Dutch, at first anxious to limit their payments to duffels and toys, before many years began to supply their Indian allies with weapons which had conquered a peace with Spain.* To both parties the treaty was advantageous. The tranquil monopoly of the fur trade filled the coffers of the Amsterdam adventurers; while the possession of European fire-arms eventually enabled the confederated nations to reassert and maintain their former supremacy over the neighboring savage tribes. But the introduction of these weapons was, in the end, fatal to the peace of the frontier. The Indian warrior soon became more expert with the firelock than the European who manufactured it. For more than a century, the confederated nations were alternately courted as allies and dreaded as enemies by the rival statesmen of England and France; and no sooner did the news of the battle of Bunker Hill reach London, than Lord Dartmouth communicated the king's orders to Colonel Guy Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New York, to "lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them to take up the hatchet against his majesty's rebellious subjects in America, and to engage them in his majesty's service."†

1617.

1775. 24 July.

On the first of January, 1618, the exclusive charter of the Directors of New Netherland expired by its own limitation. Year by year the value of the returns from the North River had been increasing; and the hope of larger gains incited the factors of the company to push their explorations further into the interior. Besides visiting, and, perhaps, establishing a post among the Esopus Indians, Dutch traders had partially explored the rich and extensive vale of Talpahockin, drained by the upper channels of the Delaware; and it has been asserted that a settlement was now commenced on the shores of the river opposite to Manhattan, at Bergen, in Scheyichbi, or New

1618. The New Netherland charter expires.

* This, however, was not the case until after 1630. In 1626, it would seem that the Mohawks had only bows and arrows, and other native implements, and did not yet possess the fire-arms of Europe.—Wassenaar, xii., 38; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 43.

† Letter of Lord Dartmouth to Colonel Guy Johnson, dated 24th July, 1775, in London Documents, xlv., 211; W. W. Campbell, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1845, Appendix, 167.

CHAP. III. 1618. Jersey.* But though the Dutch unquestionably had a just title to New Netherland by first discovery and subsequent possession, no systematic agricultural colonization of the country had yet been undertaken. The scattered agents of the Amsterdam Company still looked merely to peaceful traffic, and the cultivation of those friendly relations which had been covenanted with their savage allies on the banks of the Tawasentha.

Upon the expiration of their special charter, the merchants who had formed the United New Netherland Company applied to the government at the Hague for a renewal of their privileges, the value of which they found was daily increasing. But the States General, who were now contemplating the grant of a comprehensive charter for a West India Company, avoided a compliance with the petition. This circumstance, however, did not cause even a temporary abandonment of New Netherland, nor weaken the title of the Dutch to their American discoveries; though it may have delayed, for a short time, the development of the various resources of the territory. The government still continued to encourage trade and commerce on the North River. A few days after a renewal of the first New Netherland charter had been refused, Hendrick Eelkens, and other participants in the late company, petitioned to be allowed to send their ship, "the Scheldt," on a voyage to Manhattan, without any prejudice to or from their former associates; and the States General promptly complied with their prayer.†

4 October. Its renewal refused by the States General.

9 October.

Smith in New England.

Up to this period the Dutch were the only Europeans who had any accurate knowledge of the regions about the North and South Rivers, and of the coasts of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Long Island. English fishing vessels had, however, continued to resort to the coasts of Maine; and notwithstanding the failure of Popham's enterprise at the Sagadahoc in 1608, the active perseverance of Gorges had kept alive the drooping spirits of the old Plymouth Company. Early in the spring of 1614, John Smith, dis-

1614. 3 March.

* Moulton, 347. † Hol. Doc. i., 91, 92.

gusted with his undeserved treatment in Virginia, set sail, with two ships, for the regions allotted in James's charter of 1606 to the Plymouth or Northern Company. In an open boat, with eight men, he explored the coasts from Penobscot to Cape Cod, while the rest of his company remained employed in fishing. Returning to England in July, Smith left one of his ships behind, in charge of Thomas Hunt, to complete a cargo. But Hunt, perfidiously entrapping twenty-seven of the natives on board his vessel, carried them to Malaga, and sold them as slaves to the Spaniards. Hunt's baseness naturally excited against his countrymen the enmity of the savages. A ship which had been dispatched by Gorges and Lord Southampton, under the command of Captain Hobson, to settle a plantation, arriving soon after Hunt's departure, was attacked by the natives, and was forced to return to England, with Hobson and several of his crew wounded.

CHAP. III. 1614. 18 July.

On his return home after a profitable voyage, Smith presented a map of the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts to Prince Charles, who, in the warmth of his admiration, bestowed upon the adjoining country the name proposed by the enterprising explorer—"NEW ENGLAND." By a remarkable coincidence, Smith was exhibiting his map, and explaining his adventures to the son of King James, in London, almost at the very moment that Block was exhibiting the "Figurative Map" of New Netherland, and detailing the discoveries of the Dutch to the States General at the Hague. Thus the names of "New Netherland" and "New England" took their places, contemporaneously, in History.

New England first named by Prince Charles.

11 October. Smith and Block contemporaries in discovery.

The Plymouth Company, moved by Smith's representations, now attempted to plant again a small colony on the coast of recently-named New England. But the enterprise resulted in another disappointment. Smith, while on his way to America, was captured at sea by a French squadron, and detained a prisoner on board the admiral's ship. Escaping in an open boat, he reached Rochelle; whence, returning to London, he published, the next year,

1615. New England remains uncolonized.

CHAP. III. his "Description of New England." Not discouraged by repeated failures and difficulties, he then spent several
1616. months in vending copies of his book and map, and in
1617. constant efforts to excite the merchants and noblemen in the west of England to new adventures in America. Plans of colonization on a large scale were soon formed; Smith was appointed admiral for life; and the Plymouth
1618. Company applied to the king for a new charter, similar to the one which had proved so advantageous to Virginia. But, for two years, the proposition was strenuously and successfully opposed, not only by the Virginia Company, which desired to retain a monopoly of commerce, but also by private traders, who pressed the importance of preserving the freedom of the North American fisheries. Meanwhile New England remained uncolonized.*

1619. An English vessel was now to sail, for the first time,
Dermer's voyage. through Long Island Sound, and to visit the coasts which Block had thoroughly explored five years before. In the summer of 1619, Captain Thomas Dermer, "employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery and other designs in these parts," after dispatching to En-
26 May. gland, from the Island of Monhegan, near the Kennebeck, a vessel laden with fish and furs, set out on a voyage to Virginia, in a small, open pinnace, of about five tons bur-
June. den, "determining, with God's help, to search the coast along." In rounding Cape Cod, he "was unawares taken prisoner" by the Indians, from whom he ransomed himself by giving several hatchets. After passing Martha's Vineyard, Dermer "discovered land about thirty leagues in length, heretofore taken for main,†" where he feared he would be embayed; but, by the help of an Indian pilot, he reached the sea again at Sandy Hook, "through many crooked and straight passages." Near Throg's Neck, "a multitude of Indians let fly" at Dermer from the bank; but he came off victorious. In passing through Hell-gate,

* "A Brief Relation," &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., xix., 5–11; Gorges, "Brief Narration," in same, xxvi., 56–60; Smith, ii., 174–218; Bancroft, i., 269–271.

† Long Island, which Block, in 1614, had ascertained to be insular, and had laid down as such on the "Figurative Map" presented to the States General in that year.

"a most dangerous cataract among small rocky islands," he lost his anchor by the strength of the current, which hurried him on through the East River with such swiftness, that, without stopping at Manhattan, he passed, "in a short space," into the lower bay, which gave him "light of the sea." From Sandy Hook, Dermer coasted safely to Cape Charles, and the James River; whence he sent an account of his adventures to his friend Purchas at London.* Having finished his business in Virginia, "where he was kindly welcomed and well refreshed," Dermer put to sea again, early the next spring, "resolving to accomplish, in his journey back to New England, what in his last discovery he had omitted. In his passage, he met with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudson's River some years before that time, with whom he had a conference about the state of that coast, and their proceedings with those people, whose answer gave him good content." This "conference" was held, no doubt, with the Dutch traders who were then settled at Manhattan Island. Availing himself of the information which he thus obtained, Dermer "betook himself to the following of his business, discovering many goodly rivers, and exceeding pleasant and fruitful coasts and islands, for the space of eighty leagues from east to west; for so that coast doth range along," from the North River to Cape Cod. But, before he left Manhattan, Dermer took care to warn the Dutch, whom he found there in quiet possession, not to continue their occupation of what he claimed as English territory. Meeting, says Gorges, with "some Hollanders that were settled in a place we call Hudson's River, in trade with the natives," Dermer "forbade them the place, as being by his majesty appointed to us." The Dutch traders, however, replied that "they understood no such thing, nor found any of our nation there; so that they hoped they had not offended."†

CHAP. III. 1619. 7 Sept. 27 Dec. 1620

* Dermer's letter of 27th December, 1619, in Purchas, iv., 1778, 9, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., p. 352; Morton's Memorial, 56; Prince, 154; Holmes, i., 158.

† Smith, ii., 219; "A Brief Relation," &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., xix., 11; Gorges, "Brief Narration," in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxvi., 72; De Laet, book iii., cap. iv. It seems

CHAP. III. 1620. 30 June.

On reaching New England, Dermer transmitted to Gorges "a journal of his proceeding, with the description of the coast all along as he passed."* Upon the receipt of this journal, and the previous letter to Purchas, the Plymouth Company seem, most unjustly, to have considered Dermer as the original discoverer of Long Island Sound and of the adjacent coasts. But though Dermer appears to have been the first Englishman that ever sailed through the Sound, he had been preceded, several years, by Block and his Dutch associates; with the details and results of whose earlier enterprise he was made fully acquainted, in the "conference about the state of that coast" which he had with those Hollanders, whom, on his retur from Virginia, he found "settled" at Manhattan.

Dermer unjustly considered by the English as the first explorer of Long Island Sound.

The first account of his adventurous voyage to Virginia, which Dermer had sent to Purchas, from his winter quarters on the James River, seems to have quickened the efforts of Gorges and his associates to obtain from the king the new privileges for which they had so long pined. Constant appeals were addressed to the court for a new patent—"such as had been given to Virginia." The old Plymouth adventurers petitioned the king that the territory might be called New England, "as by the Prince his Highness it hath been named," and asked that its proposed boundaries should be settled "from forty to forty-five degrees of northerly latitude, and so from sea to sea through the main, as the coast lyeth."†

Patent for New England.

3 March.

At length, after two years entreaty, the king yielded, and the solicitor general was directed by the Privy Council to prepare a patent for the limits "between the degrees of

23 July.

clear that the Dutch, whom Dermer conferred with and "forbade the place," were those "settled" at Manhattan, though they do not appear, as yet, to have built any fort there. Dermer says nothing about ascending the river, while he speaks distinctly of his explorations eighty leagues eastward from the North River to Cape Cod. It likewise appears to me very probable that Dermer's account was the only foundation for "Beauchamp Plantagenet's" fabulous story of Argall's visit; see Appendix, Note E.

* Morton's Memorial, 56–60; Gorges, "Brief Narration," in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., xxvi., 63; Prince, 157. Holmes, i., 158, misled by Prince, erroneously asserts that Dermer was "the first person" who ascertained Long Island to be an island. Bancroft, in a note, ii., 273, corrects Belknap's similar error.

† London Doc., i., 6; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 3; Mass. Hist. Coll., xix., 11, 12.

forty and forty-eight."* The original charter of 1606 had fixed the northern boundary of British territory in America at the parallel of forty-five degrees; and to that line the prayer of the petitioners had been limited. Now, the English government boldly instructed their law officer to include in the new patent all that part of Canada comprehended between the forty-fifth and the forty-eighth degrees. While the details of the proposed instrument were yet under advisement, Gorges and his associates probably received Dermer's second journal. By this they were informed that the Hollanders were fairly "settled in a place" which the English called "Hudson's River, in trade with the natives;" and that, upon those Hollanders being forbidden the place as British territory, they had answered that "they understood no such thing," nor had they found any English subjects there. In truth, since the return of the Sagadahoc colonists, no English subjects had permanently occupied any part of what was called New England. On the other hand, it was certain that the Dutch were actually in quiet possession of the region "between New France and Virginia," and that they had been so for at least six years after the building of their fort at Castle Island in 1614, and the grant of the New Netherland charter by the States General. The applicants for the New England patent deprecated any further delay. The tedious forms of English official law were at length completed; and a royal charter, which included three degrees of latitude more than had been originally comprehended in the patent of 1606, or been petitioned for by the Plymouth adventurers, was finally engrossed. Late in the autumn, the important instrument duly passed the great seal, by which the Duke of Lenox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel, Southampton, and Warwick, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, and their associates and successors, forty in all, were incorporated by the king, as "the council established

30 June.

$\frac{3}{13}$ Nov

* London Doc., i., 8; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 4; Hazard, i., 99; Mass. Hist. Collection, xxvi., 64.

CHAP. III. 1620.

at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England in America."

The political powers granted to the new corporation were immense. Emigrants who might become inhabitants of New England were to be subject to the plenary authority of the Plymouth council. By the terms of the patent, the corporation was invested with the absolute propriety and exclusive jurisdiction of the territories thenceforth to be known as "New England in America," extending from forty to forty-eight degrees of northerly latitude, "and in length, by all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main land, from sea to sea." It was distinctly alleged, in the preliminary recitals of the instrument, that the king had "been certainly given to understand" that there were "no other the subjects of any Christian king or state, by any authority from their sovereigns, lords, or princes, actually in possession" of any of the lands or precincts "between the degrees of forty and forty-eight," whereby any right or title might accrue to them; and this bold allegation was made a leading inducement to the patent. Yet the French occupation of Canada, as far south as the forty-fifth degree of latitude, was notorious to the world; and Gorges and his associates, before their patent was sealed, must have received from Dermer the clearest evidence that the Dutch were "settled" in actual and quiet possession of New Netherland. The conveying clause, however—as if future embarrassment was anticipated—expressly provided that the premises intended to be granted "be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or estate," nor be within the bounds of Virginia.*

The Dutch continue to explore New Netherland.

Thus the weak-minded King of England attempted to affirm a dishonest dominion over nearly all the American territory north of Virginia. Meanwhile, the Dutch remained in possession of their original discoveries, and continued to explore New Netherland. Cornelis Jacobsen May, who had been among the first to visit the neighbor-

* See the patent at length, in Hazard, i., 103–118; and in Trumbull's Connecticut, i., 546.

1620.

hood of Montauk Point, in the "Fortune," came out again in a new vessel, the "Blyde Boodschap," or Glad Tidings. On this voyage he seems to have directed his attention chiefly to the coasts and rivers southward of Manhattan. Besides examining the regions which Hendricksen had explored four years before, May also visited the Chesapeake, and ascended the James River as high as Jamestown.* The bay at the mouth of the South River was soon called by the Dutch "New Port May;" and the point at the southern extremity of New Jersey still retains the name of "Cape May." Returning to Holland in the summer of 1620, May reported that he had discovered "certain new, populous, and fruitful lands" on the South River. The owners of the Glad Tidings accordingly applied to the States General for a special charter in their favor. At the same time, Hendrick Eelkens and his partners presented an opposing petition, alleging their prior discovery of the regions which May had only recently visited, and praying that the exclusive right to trade there might be granted to them. Upon this, the States General called both parties into their presence, and directed them to meet together and arrange their differences. These differences, however, appeared to be irreconcilable. After nearly three months' investigation, a committee of the States General reported that they had vainly attempted to adjust the conflicting claims; and their High Mightinesses peremptorily refused the prayers of both memorials.† But the importance of the regions around Manhattan was now becoming more fully appreciated at the Hague. In less than seven months from the rejection of May's ship-owners' petition, the long-pending question of a grand commercial organization was finally settled; and an ample charter gave the West India Company almost unlimited powers to colonize, govern, and defend New Netherland.

May at the South River.

Cape May.

29 August.

Special charter refused.

6 Nov.

West India Company chartered by the States General.

1621.

3 June.

* De Laet, xiii., p. 93.

† Hol. Doc., i., 104–106; Wassenaar, ix., 124.

CHAPTER IV.

1620.

CHAP. IV.

Prosperity of the Dutch republic.

THE United Netherlands now ranked among the foremost nations of the world. They had signalized the commencement of their newly-recognized sovereignty by establishing diplomatic relations with most of the neighboring courts of Europe; and distant powers had begun to
1610. seek their alliance. The King of Morocco early sent ambassadors to the states, and negotiated a liberal treaty;
1612. while the sultan opened to the Dutch the commerce of the Levant, which before had been monopolized by England and France. With Wurtemburg and Brandenburg a mutual freedom of trade was soon adjusted; and, in a memorial to King James, Raleigh bore eloquent testimony to the large policy of the early tariffs of the Netherlands, declaring that "the low duties of these wise states draw all traffic to them, and the great liberty allowed to strangers makes a continual mart." As sagacious as he was patriotic, Olden Barneveldt had consolidated the independence
1616. of his country by procuring from the weakness of James the restitution of the Brielle, Vlissingen, and Rammekens, which had been pledged to Elizabeth as a security for the repayment of her advances to the United Provinces. The surrender of these "cautionary towns"—a measure which excited murmurs and discontent in England, and astonishment in other nations—gave intense satisfaction to the people of the Netherlands, and added a new impulse to the commercial prosperity which seven years of peace had established and confirmed. The flag of the republic floated on every sea—from Japan to Manhattan, from Nova Zem-

bla to Cape Hoorn—her ports were crowded with richly-laden shipping; her warehouses were filled with the costly products of the East; and the markets, which formerly knew only the furs of Muscovy, had already become familiar with the peltry of New Netherland.* CHAP. IV. 1620.

But while Europe was watching with jealous interest the triumphant progress of the United Provinces, a cause was secretly at work within, which threatened more evil to the nation than all the might of foreign foes. During the greater part of the war with Spain, religious differences had, more or less, prevailed in the Netherlands. When the truce was finally signed, men's minds, relieved from the absorbing consideration of martial affairs, were soon eagerly engaged in fierce debates on articles of faith; and the theological controversy waxed as bitter in spirit as the political contest which had just been settled. Religious dissensions.

Early in the fifth century, Saint Augustine opened the famous controversy upon the "heresies" which the English monk Pelagius had just broached. Augustine maintained the doctrines of original sin, and the predestination of the elect to salvation. Pelagius denied them. The Churches of the East generally supported Pelagius; those of the West, Augustine. Luther, a disciple of Augustine, affirmed the doctrines of the patron of his order; and Calvin, following the great Father of the Reformation, with severe logic carried them out to their extreme consequences. Besides their distinctions in doctrine, the two Reformers differed also in their views respecting church government and the ceremonies of worship; the somewhat conservative opinions of the leader of the German Protestants, upon these points, contrasting strongly with the more thorough system of the Genevese theologian. Pelagianism. Calvinism.

Wessel Gansevoort and Rudolf Agricola, of Groningen, had already begun to teach evangelical faith. When the writings of Luther were printed in Friesland, and circulated in Holland, Erasmus, though at heart not opposed to many of the views of the German Reformer, The Reformation in Holland. 1518.

* Van Meteren, xxxi., 662; xxxii., 694, 707; Davies, ii., 446, 452; McCullagh, ii., 251

CHAP. IV. thought that the cause of truth would be better promoted
1518. by less violent proceedings. Interposing between the followers of Luther and the adherents of the Pope, Erasmus drew upon himself, for a time, the ill will of both parties. The mild impartiality of Adrian II., however, saw and admitted the necessity of correcting the abuses in the Church;
1522. and the Rotterdam scholar was invited to Rome to assist the Pontiff with his advice. But Erasmus, remaining in Holland, devoted his admirable talents to the cause of Reform in his own land. The seeds of truth, which had germinated there, could not be rooted out by all the efforts of the inquisitors of Charles V. and Philip II. The successive edicts of the kings of Spain but planted more deeply in the hearts of the people the emancipating principles of the Reformation. Persecution but confirmed their belief, and invigorated their zeal. The old nobility and the beneficed prelates, dreading a change which might damage their secular interests, generally adhered to the Pope;

The Reformed Dutch Church.

but the popular movement carried along with it the inferior clergy. Mind acted on mind, and prescription yielded to the irresistible impulse. A Confession of Faith, modeled after that of the Calvinistic Church of France, was adopted,
1561. in 1561, by the Protestants of the Netherlands, who thenceforward went by the name of "THE REFORMED."*

First preaching of the Reformed.

The first public meeting and preaching of the Reformed
1566. in Holland took place in a field near the city of Hoorn, on the fourteenth of July, 1566. The rumor of this bold step soon spread over the province, and Protestants at Haerlem, Leyden, and other towns, followed the example of their brethren at Hoorn. Ministers were presently settled in the chief cities; and the Reformed doctrine was openly preached in the grand cathedrals which the Vandal fervor

The Psalms translated.

of Iconoclasts had despoiled. The Psalms were translated into Low Dutch, and sung by great congregations. Thus, by degrees, the minds of the people were fully prepared for
1573. the important step which the states took, in the year 1573,

* Brandt's History of the Reformation, ii., 64, 84; v., 254; Davies, i., 354–356, 446; ii., 452–454.

of expelling the Roman Catholics from the churches. Yet this measure was carried with great difficulty, and after much opposition; and it was justified only by the considerations of pressing political necessity, and of the danger of trusting too much, during the war with Spain, to ecclesiastics who had sworn allegiance to the Pope, and who remained firm in that allegiance. The Reformed religion, as taught in Geneva and elsewhere, was publicly established in Holland about the close of the year. At the same time, and notwithstanding the acts of severity which they felt themselves compelled to use against the Papists, the people were of opinion "not only that all religions ought to be tolerated, but that all restraint in matters of religion was as detestable as the Inquisition itself."*

1573. Establishment of the Reformed religion.

Two years after the famous Union of Utrecht, in 1579, the Prince of Orange, on accepting the office of stadtholder, which was formally confirmed to him by the States of Holland, proclaimed that he would "maintain and promote the Reformed religion, and no other;" but "that he should not suffer any man to be called to account, molested, or injured, for his faith and conscience." In a few days, the noble manifesto of the States General announced to the world that the Dutch had openly rejected Philip as their king, and that the people of the Netherlands were absolved from all allegiance to their former sovereign. This obliged the stadtholder to issue a proclamation prohibiting the public exercise of the Romish religion; nevertheless, the same instrument declared that it was not intended "to impose any burden, or make inquisition into any man's conscience." While Calvinism was thus established as the national religion of Holland, the followers of all other modes of faith were freely allowed to conduct their worship in private houses, which were frequently as spacious as the churches themselves. Under this system, there was, in fact, an entire liberty in the use of diverse services. Hooft, the burgomaster of Amsterdam, in a public address to his colleagues, declared that magistrates should not "pretend

1581. 2 July. 26 July. 26 Dec. Freedom of conscience proclaimed.

1598. 26 Jan.

* Brandt, vi., 318; x., 549, 550; Davies, i., 526–530, 541.

CHAP. IV. 1598.

to build up living temples to the Lord by force, and by external arms;" for, in their conflict with Spain, the Dutch had openly maintained that "no princes nor magistrates had any authority over the consciences of their subjects in matters of religion."*

Toleration of other religions.

Thus religious freedom was, from the first, recognized as a universal right, and accompanied the spread of the Reformation in Holland. If Germany nursed the infancy of the Protestant faith, the Netherlands developed its true proportions, and defended its maturer growth. While the Dutch, with dauntless courage, were breasting the power of Spain, they habitually extended to every sect the same liberty in matters of belief which they had claimed of Philip as their own right. Though Calvinism was their established religion, Calvinism was not their exclusive religion. Battling against a foreign bigot, it was only natural that the people of the Netherlands should generally have repudiated bigotry at home. And this policy produced the happiest effects. Occasional instances of sectarian excess were not, indeed, wanting. Yet, by degrees, Papists learned to think that Lutherans and Calvinists might be in the way of salvation; Protestants forbore to call the Pope anti-Christ, and Romanists idolaters; the Calvinist and the Lutheran emulated each other in large Christian charity; and the Jew, stopping his wandering steps and forgetting his exclusiveness, rested in Holland, a faithful and patriotic citizen.

Holland an asylum for the persecuted.

The Low Countries soon became an asylum for fugitives from persecution in other lands; and the Dutch won the honorable distinction of European reproach for their system of universal religious toleration. Amsterdam was called "a common harbor of all opinions, of all heresies." Holland was stigmatized as "a cage for unclean birds." The Netherlands became notorious among the bigots of Christendom for such comprehensive liberality in conscience and opinion, that it was observed that "all strange religions flock thither." In-

* Brandt, xiii., 675–677; xvi., 825–834; Van Meteren, x., 209; Bentivoglio, ii., 2; Davies, ii., 65, 141.

deed, to such an unlimited extent was charity displayed toward all methods of religious belief, that a liberal-minded English statesman, contrasting the narrow sectarianism of his own land with the enlarged Catholic spirit of Holland, could not help declaring that "the universal Church is only there."* CHAP. IV. 1598.

This magnanimous system of toleration remained a constant and remarkable characteristic of the people of the Netherlands, except upon one memorable occasion, when the Dutch forgot, for a space, their cherished maxim. Yet, while religious differences grew warm among the Protestants of Holland, neither Gomarists nor Arminians, in their bitterest strife, thought of shutting the gates of the Low Countries against the persecuted of other lands; and the consequences of that famous theological controversy gave all parties among the Dutch so terrible a warning, that the suggestions of bigotry ever afterward remained unheeded. "It is certain," says De Witt, "that freedom of religion having always been greater in Holland than any where else, it hath brought in many inhabitants, and driven out but few."†

Calvinism of the Dutch clergy.

From the first, the majority of the ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church were Calvinistic. At the earliest synod which the clergy of Holland and Zealand held in 1574, at Dordrecht, upon their own call, and without the approbation of the States of Holland, it was agreed that the Heidelberg Catechism should be taught in all the churches, and that all the ministers should subscribe the Netherland Confession of Faith, and promise obedience to the Classes. The preaching of free will was soon considered to be heresy; it nearly produced a schism at Utrecht, 1593

* Davies, iii., 383; Bishop Hall, vi., 180; Baylie's Dissuasive; Owen Feltham. Andrew Marvell, in his "Character of Holland," has these quaint lines:

"Hence Amsterdam, Turk, Christian, Pagan, Jew,
Staple of sects and mint of schism grew;
That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
Opinion, but finds credit and exchange;
In vain for Catholics ourselves we bear—
The universal Church is only there."

† De Witt, i., 18.

CHAP. IV. which was healed only by the zealous exertions of Uytenbogart and Junius.*

1602. The Gomarists and Arminians.

When Jacobus Arminius was recommended for the Professorship of Theology at Leyden, made vacant by the death of Junius, in 1602, his appointment was opposed by Franciscus Gomarus, who filled another theological chair, and who hesitated to receive as a colleague a person whose orthodoxy was doubted. The scruples of Gomarus were, however, overcome; and the next year Arminius, upon promising to teach nothing but the "received doctrine" of the Church, became professor. At first his public preaching was unexceptionable; but in private, he attacked some of the prominent points of the established
1604. creed. At length, in the spring of 1604, he openly and boldly set forth doctrines at variance with those of Calvin respecting election and predestination. This aroused the warm opposition of his colleague Gomarus, who published a thesis in which the distinctive tenets of Calvinism were vehemently urged. The strife between the professors soon led to exasperating disputes between their pupils, who, as it often happens, surpassed their teachers in zeal and animosity, as much as they fell short of them in knowledge. The feud extended as the Arminian sentiments spread. The ministers of the churches took the one side or the other; and the controversy, which at first was carried on, in Latin, within the walls of the university, by degrees reached the ears of the people in furious vernacular from the pulpits.†

* Brandt, xi., 554; xiv., 713; xv., 786; Acta Synodi Dord. The form of ecclesiastical government established by the Reformed Church of the Netherlands resembled, in some respects, that of a representative republic. The spiritual and temporal affairs of each congregation were managed by its permanent minister, and by elders and deacons, elected for limited terms of service, by the members of the church. The minister, elders, and deacons formed the "Consistory" or governing council of each congregation. A "Classis" was composed of all the ministers, and of an elder delegated from each consistory within a certain district. It had large original and appellate jurisdiction; it examined and ordained candidates in theology; and, generally, decided in cases of discipline. Superior in authority were the "Synods," which were composed of ministers and elders deputed by the several classes within particular bounds. The supreme power of the Church was vested in a "General Synod," consisting of clerical and lay delegates from the several classes composing the particular synods. This system, substantially, prevails in the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America.

† Hist. Synod. Dord., translated by Dr. Scott, 99–106, edit. Philad., 1841. The charge

Another dispute arose, before long, respecting the Heidelberg Catechism and the Confession of Faith, which had been adopted by the synod held at Dordrecht in 1574. The Gomarists regarded these as unalterable formularies of belief; the Arminians demanded their revision. Things soon came to such a pass that the States of Holland interfered, and appointed a conference between the rival professors, to be held at the Hague, before their Supreme Council, assisted by four ministers. The meekness of Arminius gained him an advantage in debate over the sterner Gomarus, who injured his cause by violent denunciation. Upon the report of the council, Barneveldt recommended mutual forbearance to the disputants, promising that their differences should be reconciled by a national Synod. Little good, however, followed the conference. The classis of Alckmaer soon afterward resolved, that all the ministers within its jurisdiction should sign a declaration that the Catechism and Confession of Faith agreed, in every particular, with the word of God; and five ministers, who refused to subscribe, were forthwith suspended. The censured ministers appealed to the States of Holland, who required the classis to report its proceedings to them, and meanwhile to vacate its sentence of suspension. But the Synod of North Holland confirmed the action of its subordinate classis, and disregarded the reiterated injunctions of the states.*

CHAP. IV.

1606.

1608.

Thus the dispute finally assumed a political aspect. The Arminians, acknowledging the right of the civil power to decide points of religious doctrine, invoked its pro-

The dispute becomes political.

of uncharitableness has been made so constantly against Gomarus and his friends, that it is only justice to them to insert an extract from a posthumous tractate of Arminius himself, for the communication of which I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Forsyth, of Princeton. It shows that the synod's friendly overtures were peremptorily rejected by Arminius. "On the 30th of June, 1605, there came to me, at Leyden, three deputies of the Synod of South Holland, and declared, in presence of two deputies from the Synod of North Holland, that the Leyden students, in their examinations for licensure before several of the classes, were observed to give new answers upon some questions, contrary to the doctrines of the Church, and which answers the students declared they had learned from me. They therefore asked me to meet them in a friendly conference, in order to understand what there was in it, and how the thing could be remedied. Hereupon I gave them for answer, that I regarded such an expedient as unfit."—Verclaringhe Jacobi Arminii, p. 2. Leyden, 1610.

* Brandt, xvii., 67–90; Hist. Syn. Dord, 107–138; Davies, ii., 452–460.

CHAP. IV. tection and support. The Gomarists insisted that ecclesiastical authority belonged, solely and exclusively, to the
1608. consistories, the classes, and the synods of the Church. The municipal governments generally, and very naturally, sided with the Arminians, who had thus adroitly flattered them; but the Gomarists, who formed a large majority among the clergy and the people, retained the almost entire control of the judicatories of the Church. Other classes followed the example of that of Alckmaer, and required all their ministers to subscribe to the Catechism and Confession. And now, the truce with Spain having exempted the nation from the dangers of war, those minds which had been chiefly occupied by the great contest for civil and religious liberty were soon engaged in a vehement conflict on abstruse points of metaphysical theology. Every where the pulpits echoed denunciations against the
1609. Arminians, which even the death of their amiable leader
19 October. did not abate. To relieve themselves from misrepresenta-
1610. tions of their faith, the Arminians, the next year, presented a formal remonstrance to the States of Holland and West Friesland, setting forth the five prominent points of doctrine in which they differed from the Reformed Church,
The Remonstrants. and which soon obtained for them the name that, down to the present day, has distinguished them in Holland, "the Remonstrants."*

The chair of Divinity at Leyden, made vacant by the death of Arminius, was soon proposed to be filled by the appointment of the learned Conrad Vorstius, who, having been suspected of Socinianism, was even more obnoxious
Interference of King James. than his predecessor. The pedantic King of England, to whom the candidate for the professorship had given great offense by the publication of a theological treatise, could not resist the temptation to meddle as a polemic. He in-
1611. structed his ambassador, Winwood, to press the States General for the banishment of Vorstius; and even hinted, in a letter to their High Mightinesses, that the "arch her-

* Brandt, xviii., 92; xix., 130; Hist. Syn. Dord., 139–154; Davies, ii., 461–463; Mosheim, v., 444, 445.

etic" deserved a crown of martyrdom. The king's pertinacious demands were warmly opposed by Barneveldt, but strongly supported by Prince Maurice, the stadtholder, who thus conciliated the good-will of James. The States, unwilling to offend their powerful English ally, consented that Vorstius should retire; and Simon Episcopius was appointed in his place.*

The leading statesmen of the Netherlands could not avoid taking part in the religious dispute which, by this time, had begun to distract all ranks of their countrymen. Barneveldt and Grotius, desiring to curb the ambition of the stadtholder by the influence of the towns, naturally sided with the Remonstrants, whose views were generally favored by the municipal governments. But the clergy, excluded from political office, had generally been in active opposition to the civil authorities; and had always been zealous partisans of the stadtholders. Maurice, remembering this, and knowing that a large majority of the ministers of the Reformed Church were hostile to the tenets of Arminius, naturally sided with the Gomarists.

Barneveldt and Grotius side with the Remonstrants.

From the period of the truce with Spain, the prince had borne ill will against Barneveldt, whose influence in the governments of most of the towns was enough of itself to arouse the jealousy of a less ambitious politician. Soon after the stadtholder's splendid victory over the Spanish forces at Nieuport, some of the wisest patriots of Holland, among whom were Barneveldt and Grotius, began to entertain suspicions that Maurice would endeavor to use his popularity with the army as a means of enabling him to grasp more political power than would be consistent with the liberties of his country. When proposals were soon afterward made for an accommodation with Spain, the advocate, with many other enlightened Dutch statesmen, became as active promoters of a peace as, not long before, they had been ardent supporters of the war. The martial successes of the Dutch had begun to modify their sober

Prince Maurice and Barneveldt.

* Winwood's Memorial, iii., 317, 340; Hist. Syn. Dord., 155–182; Davies, ii., 463–467; Neal's Puritans, i., 259, Harpers' edition.

CHAP. IV. national habits, and honest patriotism feared a continu-
1611. ance of the tempting strife. The burdens of a war-tax had become almost insupportable, and industry was crippled, while gallantry alone was rewarded. But, above all, it was apprehended that a well-organized army, flushed with continual victories, and led by so ambitious a general as Maurice, might soon read to the Dutch Republic the lessons which prætorian cohorts had read to Rome. Barneveldt and his friends, therefore, eagerly desired a peace, and the truce of 1609 was signed. As stadtholder, Maurice was the commander of the military force of the republic; an end of hostilities would, he foresaw, deprive him of a large share of his authority and influence; he, therefore, opposed the truce. Finding himself thwarted on every side by Barneveldt, he did not disguise his hatred of the patriotic advocate; who, in turn, could not conceal his suspicions that the prince desired to prolong the war from motives of private interest and personal ambition. Hence arose a mutual antipathy, which soon deepened, on the side of the stadtholder, into a sentiment of intense animosity against Barneveldt, and which the sacrifice of its hated object at length could scarcely appease.*

Swayed by such feelings of jealousy and hatred, it was only natural that the prince should take a side, in the great religious controversy which was distracting the country, opposite to that upheld by those statesmen who had thwarted his political views. Other reasons besides his sympathy with the established clergy, and his inveterate personal
1616. detestation of the advocate, induced Maurice to espouse
Maurice sides with the Gomarists. with zeal the cause of the Gomarists, or Contra-Remonstrants; which, from the time of the stadtholder's open accession, daily gained ground. Sir Dudley Carleton, who had succeeded Winwood as English ambassador at the Hague, also used the influence of his high position very unscrupulously against the Remonstrants, and took every occasion to strengthen the prejudices which had already seriously affected the political standing of Barneveldt.

* Grotius, ix., 571; xv., 716; Davies, ii., 358, 406, 407, 469, 471.

One of Carleton's motives for this conduct was, no doubt, the chagrin of his sovereign for his weakness in yielding to the advocate's diplomatic skill in the negotiation for the surrender of the cautionary towns. The nobles, the states, and the municipal governments, which sided with the advocate, were libeled without stint; Barneveldt himself was vindictively attacked; and the King of England again inflamed the mischief by his officious personal intermeddling. Aware that the question of a national synod had now well-nigh replaced the other points in dispute, James, in March, 1617, wrote a long letter to the States General, in which he strongly urged the measure as the most effectual means of establishing the Reformed faith—the "only solid cement" of a good understanding between the two countries. The arguments of the king were warmly supported by his ambassador; a national synod was appointed to be held at Dordrecht; and Maurice, now become Prince of Orange by the death of his elder brother Philip, made a tour through the towns of the Netherlands to gain their unanimous consent to the measure.*

1616.

Continued interference of King James.

1617.

The Synod of Dordrecht assembled on the thirteenth of November, 1618. It sat for more than seven months, at a cost to the republic of a million of guilders. Foreign Churches were invited to commission delegates to the synod, and they all complied with the request. The Churches of the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Bremen, and Embden, and the King of Great Britain, as the head of the English and Scotch establishments, were all represented. The Reformed Church of France appointed delegates; but they were forbidden by Louis XIII. to go to Dordrecht, and the places appropriated for them were left vacant during the sessions of the synod. The head of the Church of England was represented by George Carleton, bishop of Llandaff; Joseph Hall, dean of Worcester; Samuel Ward, archdeacon of Taunton; and John Davenant, professor of Theology at Cambridge; while Walter Balcancall was delegated by the king in the name of the Church of Scotland.

1618.

The Synod of Dordrecht.

* Carleton's Letters, 87, 88, 123; Hist. Syn. Dord., 183–239; Davies, ii., 467–489.

CHAP. IV. 1618. After one hundred and fifty-four sessions—in the course of which the Heidelberg Catechism and the Confession of Faith were fully approved and ratified, and the Remonstrants pronounced innovators, disturbers of the Church and nation, obstinate and rebellious, leaders of faction, teachers of false doctrine, and schismatics—the business of this famous Assembly was closed on the ninth of May, 1619. 1619; and Bogerman, its president, dismissed the foreign members with the startling declaration that "its marvelous labors had made Hell tremble."*

9 May.

The Synod's proceedings severe.

That the proceedings of the Synod of Dort against the Arminians were inexorably severe, ought not to be, and can not be denied. They formed a singular and memorable exception to the characteristic system of toleration which so nobly distinguished Holland among the nations of the earth. It would be difficult to repeat similar proceedings at the present day. At the same time, it must be candidly admitted that the synod exercised upon the Remonstrants only that ecclesiastical discipline which any Church may lawfully exercise upon those under its jurisdiction, who reject or depart from its standards of doctrine. The Synod of Dort, in its supreme function, constitutionally declared that the Remonstrants, who formed a very small minority among the clergy, and whose followers were scarcely one in thirty among the body of the people, should not teach false doctrine and heresy within the pale of the National Church, and under its apparent sanction. It was in their claimed character of members of the established Reformed Dutch Church, that the Remonstrants received the censures of that Church. If they could not approve of its standards of religion, and could not teach in conformity to them, they should have resigned their livings and professorships, and have preached and taught elsewhere. Though the Dutch had a national religion, they had no Statute of Uniformity. Had the Remonstrants honestly and openly separated themselves from the Established Church, whose doctrine they could not maintain, they

* Brandt, xli., 611, "Een recht wonderbaarlyck werck 't welck de helle doet beven."

would undoubtedly have found, readily and at once, the same toleration which other sects enjoyed in Holland, and which, after they had been judicially pronounced schismatics, they did enjoy, and do notoriously enjoy, to this day.

The fate of Barneveldt was soon sealed. He had been arbitrarily arrested, by order of the Prince of Orange, in August, 1618, as he was entering the Assembly of the Provincial States of Holland. The arrest of their own advocate drew from the states an earnest remonstrance against such an open invasion of their privileges. But remonstrance was unavailing. The stadtholder was determined to gratify to the utmost his personal jealousy and revenge; and Barneveldt was illegally detained three months in prison, to insure the appointment of an adverse tribunal. After forty-eight interrogatories, the advocate was condemned to death, upon a series of political charges, the only capital one of which, and the one which before his trial his enemies had most vehemently urged—that he had treasonably corresponded with Spain—was entirely abandoned. On the morning of the thirteenth of May, 1619, in the seventy-second year of his age, Barneveldt was beheaded on a scaffold erected in the hollow square in front of the great hall of the States General. As he walked calmly to his place of execution, and looked around upon the buildings which had witnessed his triumphs as a statesman, the contrast of his unworthy doom with the glorious recollections of his career, wrung from him the memorable exclamation, "Oh God! what, then, is man!"* Popular tradition, though its truth is doubted, to this day asserts that the insatiate vengeance of Maurice demanded a sight of the blood of his venerable victim; and the visitor at the Hague is still shown a little window in one of the turrets, overlooking the quadrangle of the Binnenhof, from which the prince is said to have witnessed the execution of one of the truest patriots and most upright statesmen that ever fell a sacrifice to the violence of party rage, or the unscrupulousness of political ambition.

13 May. Death of Barneveldt.

* Davies, ii., 490–525; Van der Kemp's "Maurice," iv., 119–130, 317; Grattan, 241–2.

CHAP. IV. 1608. In the midst of the religious and political differences which were thus distracting all classes in the Netherlands, a number of English Puritans, weary of hierarchal oppression, and smarting under the vulgar insults of their bigoted king, resolved to emigrate to Holland.

At the command of Henry VIII., who, for opposing Luther, had received from Leo X. the title of "Defender of the Faith," the English clergy had been obliged to abjure the supremacy of the Pope. Yet the Anglican Church, under Henry, though forced to substitute the supremacy of the King for that of the Pontiff, retained, to a great extent, the peculiar doctrines and the gorgeous ceremonial of Rome. As the Reformation advanced, further changes became necessary; and, under Edward VI., Cranmer arranged the terms of a compromise, which produced the present Church of England. Like all compromises, the new establishment rejected extremes. A hierarchal constitution was retained, and those beautiful collects, which had "soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians," were translated into the English tongue; while Articles of Religion were adopted, and afterward twice deliberately revised and ratified, in which the most zealous Calvinist might find his own doctrines affirmed. Thus the Established Church of England took a middle position between the immutable Church of Rome and the Reformed Churches of the Continent.

1521. 1534. 1548. 1552. The Church of England. 1562. 1571.

But when the English version of the Bible was printed, and began to be generally read by the people, there were numbers of persons who thought that the founders of the Anglican Church had not gone far enough in their reforms. Those persons, regarding the Holy Scriptures with the veneration due to a divinely-inspired book, looked upon them as alone furnishing a complete manual in theology, in morals, and in political science. Relying, perhaps too confidently, upon their own interpretations, they judged that, by the standard of those Scriptures, the English Church was not a pure Church; and that, in retaining prelacy, ceremonies, and other "remains of anti-Christ"

1539.

she was attempting to serve both God and Baal. They found no warrant in the Bible for wearing the surplice; they thought that the Book of Common Prayer savored too much of the Missal and the Breviary; and they insisted that the interests of a pure religion demanded the extremest simplicity in all its external services. Hence they obtained the name of "PURITANS." The term eventually designated all those "who endeavored, in their devotions, to accompany the minister with a pure heart, and who were remarkably holy in their conversations."*

1539.

1564.

The Puritans.

Returning to England, after the accession of Elizabeth, from their exile on the Continent, where they had embraced the most rigid views of Calvin, the Puritan leaders seemed to believe that the Reformation would not be complete unless every thing that might suggest a single recollection of Romanism should be discarded. They rejected, as unscriptural, the claims of the bishops to ecclesiastical superiority. They abhorred priestly garments as badges of popery. They denounced the Prayer Book and "other popish and anti-Christian stuff" of the English establishment. They felt themselves called upon to reform the Reformation in England, and destroy all "relics of the Man of Sin." Forms and ceremonies, by degrees, became as important, in their eyes, as creeds and doctrines. Things indifferent became things essential. They seemed to think that a sour austerity on earth would win for them, more certainly, an eternal inheritance in heaven. They appeared to fancy themselves God's special and peculiar people, and more holy than their neighbors. They seemed to prefer the Old Testament and the argumentative Epistles of Paul, to the Gospels and the milder Epistles of John. In the end, many of them conceived that the same polity which God had ordained for Israel before the coming of the Messiah, should govern both Church and State under the Christian dispensation. More than most sectarians, they were sincere and vehement in their belief,

Views of the Puritans.

* Neal's Puritans, i., Preface, x, Harpers' ed.; Lingard, Baudry's ed., vi., 235, 248, 304; vii., 31–33, 103–108, 297–300, 360; viii., 70; Macaulay, i., 49–58; Bancroft, i., 275–285.

CHAP. IV. 1564. and severe and inflexible in their practice. More than most enthusiasts, they were intrepid and persevering in their fervid zeal. With intense earnestness, they labored to subject political power to the supreme control of an ascetic religion. Confident that they alone were right, they acted out their part with consistent energy. In a country which was not distinguished for toleration, they claimed for themselves immunities which, afterward, they seemed unwilling to yield to others. Eventually they grasped the authority for which they longed, and retorted upon their adversaries the wrongs of their old oppressors. Yet the controversy which the Puritans commenced was only "the wind by which truth is winnowed." Their spirit of inquiry and dissent added a significant impulse to the grand cause of civil liberty. Their earnestness may have carried them beyond just limits; but their very fanaticism was decreed to be one of the instruments of Providence in working out great good to man. And though we may not all applaud their singularities or justify their intolerance, we should not withhold our respect for the sincere fervor with which they advocated their system, the unfaltering constancy with which they endured persecution, and the firm will and stern resolution with which they maintained their principles.*

1582. The Puritans separate from the Church of England. Before long, the Puritans, who seem to have embodied rather the Saxon than the Norman type of the English character, began to separate themselves openly from the Church, whose government and ritual they condemned, but whose doctrines they could not wholly disavow. They refused to conform to the statutes of the realm; and the law was severely enforced. Penalties which the Puritans had advocated against the Roman Catholics were exacted from themselves. Brown, the leader of the Separatists,

* Those who desire detailed information respecting the Puritans, may consult Neal's History; Macaulay's Essay on Milton, in the Edinburgh Review, No. 84, for August, 1825; Hume, v., 87–92; Lingard, viii., 72, 132–308; ix., 31, 179, 351; Macaulay's England, i., 48–62, 74–82, 160–166; Bancroft, i., 274–306, 460–469; Hildreth, i., 153–156; Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," and "Chronicles of Massachusetts;" Winthrop; Morton; Hubbard; The Massachusetts Historical Collections; The North American Review; Coit's "Puritanism;" and Hall's "Puritans and their Principles."

recanted his opinions; and the backsliding apostate was again received into the bosom of the Established Church. Nevertheless, most of the Non-conformists earnestly maintained their ground. Opposition became one of their cardinal maxims. Persecution soon followed non-conformity. But persecution in England only confirmed the faith and brightened the zeal of the Puritans, as persecution in the Netherlands had confirmed the faith and brightened the zeal of the Reformed. 1582. Persecution.

The accession of James increased the severities of the hierarchy; and the Puritans, obstinate in their opposition to the rigorous law, began to look for an asylum in other lands. They had long heard that in Holland there was "freedom of religion for all men;" and thither some of them determined to fly. Early in 1608, a number of these self-exiled Non-conformists, under John Robinson, their minister, and William Brewster, their ruling elder, left the fens of Lincolnshire, and arrived at Amsterdam. In Holland they found "many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled, and guarded with troops of armed men. Also, they heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the different manners and customs of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from that of their plain country villages, wherein they were bred and born, and had so long lived, as it seemed they were come into a new world." The next year, they removed to the "fair and beautiful city" of Leyden, and organized their congregation under the ministry of Robinson. Here they throve apace, and at length "came to raise a competent and comfortable living." The Dutch allowed them full toleration, and showed them good-will and hospitality on every hand; and the emigrants repaid this kindness by the most decorous observance of the municipal law.* 1603. 1608. Emigration to Holland. 1609.

* Bradford, in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," 20–39. The treatment of the Puritans in Holland has been misrepresented by writers with English prejudices. Their condition was, unquestionably, necessitous—for they were fugitives; and their lives were toilsome—for their Dutch hosts were themselves eminently industrious. But, by their own showing, the Puritans had "good and courteous entreaty" in Holland, and "lived there many years with freedom and good content."—Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 52; ii., N. Y H. S. Coll. i., 361.

CHAP. IV.

1612. Sympathy with the Reformed Dutch Church.

The Puritan refugees in Holland found that their doctrinal opinions agreed, essentially, with those held by a large and controlling majority of the Dutch clergy and people. Robinson himself could not refrain from taking a part in the controversy which was then raging between the Gomarists and the Remonstrants. He published several polemical dissertations; and even disputed in public, at Leyden, with such ability, zeal, and "good respect," that he soon "began to be terrible to the Arminians" as a champion of Calvinistic orthodoxy.* The intolerance of the English hierarchy, and not the heterodoxy of the English Articles of Religion, had induced the Puritans to desert their native land. Their opposition was not so much to the doctrines of the Anglican establishment, as to the ceremonials of her worship, and the aristocratic exclusiveness of her domineering prelacy. In Holland they found an Established Church, whose canons of belief agreed, essentially, with those of the Church of England; whose chief difference regarded the details of ecclesiastical government.† As earnest and as venerable in her renunciation of Rome, the Reformed Dutch Church, in her Liturgy and her Articles of Religion, also rivaled her English contemporary in the orthodoxy of her faith and the stability of her forms. The most eminent pillars of the English establishment with Christian candor affirmed, that, in foreign Reformed countries, those Churches which did not recognize a Prelacy "lost nothing of the true essence of a Church."‡ When English prelates and English church-

* Bradford, in Young's Chronicles, 41.

† "Whatever doubts may be raised as to the Calvinism of Cranmer and Ridley, there can surely be no room for any as to the chiefs of the Anglican Church under Elizabeth." "The works of Calvin and Bullinger became text-books in the English universities." Toward the end of the reign of James I., Calvinism gradually became unpopular at court. In the reign of Charles I., Laud's influence became so great that "to preach in favor of Calvinism, though commonly reputed to be the doctrine of the Church, incurred punishment in any rank. Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, one of the divines sent to Dort, and reckoned among the principal theologians of that age, was reprimanded, on his knees, before the Privy Council for this offense. But in James's reign, the University of Oxford was decidedly Calvinistic; and I suppose it continued so in the next reign, so far as the university's opinions could be manifested."—Hallam, Const. Hist., cap. vii., and note.

‡ Bishop Hall, x., 340; Bishop Davenant's "Adhortatio ad fraternam Communionem inter Evangelicas Ecclesias restaurandam," 1640.

men went to Holland, they conformed, without scruple, to her established religion. At the command of James, a bishop, a dean, an archdeacon, and a professor of Theology in the Church of England, attended, as we have seen, a Synod at Dort, "of doctors not episcopally ordained, sat with those doctors, preached to them, and voted with them on the gravest questions of theology."* And so highly was that "honorable, grave, and reverend" Assembly esteemed, that the Dean of Worcester, after his elevation to the bishopric of Norwich, constantly wore the golden medal which the States General presented to the foreign delegates attending the Synod. Not only did the head of the English Church, and the most enlightened English theologians under James, thus distinctly recognize the validity of the ordination of the Reformed clergy abroad, but they readily admitted them to livings in the Church of England, without re-ordination by a bishop.†

1619. The Reformed Dutch Church.

In truth, the priesthood of the Netherlands was ordained by the imposition of as holy hands as was the priesthood of England, and it traced as unbroken a line of descent from the Apostles. But the Reformation in the Netherlands was essentially a spontaneous movement of the people. The political circumstances of the country encouraged the spread of the new doctrines. Yet there was not an entire unanimity. Among the laity, the nobles remained, generally, attached to the Papal Church; the advocates of the Reformed religion were, chiefly, the inferior gentry, the merchants, the artisans. In the body of the priesthood the same difference occurred. The richly-beneficed prelates adhered to the Pontiff; the more popular clergy revolted. Not so in England. There the movement began at the throne; and prelate and priest, with significant accord, obsequiously repudiated the supremacy of the Pope, and submissively acknowledged the supreme-

Its form of government.

* Macaulay, i., 76; Hallam, Const. Hist., vii., note. "I shall take leave of this venerable body with this further remark, that King James sending over divines to join this Assembly was an open acknowledgment of the validity of ordination by mere presbyters; here being a bishop of the Church of England sitting as a private member in a synod of divines, of which a mere presbyter was the president."—Neal's Puritans, i., 265.

† Bishop Hall, i., 32; x., 341; Lingard, ix., 147.

CHAP. IV. 1619.

cy of the King. The religion of the sovereign was established as the religion of the kingdom; but the hierarchy, under royal protection, continued, none the less than of old, to grow aristocratic, courtly, supercilious, and despotic. In the Dutch provinces, however, the plebeian priesthood, deserted by the patrician prelacy, was restrained to the Galilean platform of apostolic equality.*

Republican Episcopacy.

The Episcopacy of the Reformed Dutch Church, following the popular impulse, naturally resumed a republican form; and each minister of that Church claims to be, and, by its canons, he is, the "bishop" or "overseer" of his own congregation, in subordination, alone, to the classes and synods of his peers.† Before the Reformation, the faithful of Amsterdam had daily gathered around the four-and-thirty splendid altars which decorated the old cathedral church of Saint Nicholas. There the faithful worship now; but those altars have all disappeared. The bishop's throne no longer stands within the venerable choir. The only thrones which remain to the republican bishops of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church are thrones "not made with hands." But the monuments of the Admirals of Holland remain; and the magnificent brazen gates; and the wonderful windows of painted glass; and the organ continues to roll its notes through the ancient aisles of Saint Nicholas at Amsterdam, as deep-toned as through the arches of Saint Peter at Westminster.

The Democratic element, which the controlling influence of national circumstances, in spite of the individual leanings of many of the clergy, had thus, from the first, infused into the government of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, was its chief characteristic distinction from the Church of England.‡ But in almost every oth-

* "As for the ministers of God's word, they have equally the same power and authority wheresoever they are, as they are all ministers of Christ, the only universal Bishop, and the only head of the Church."—Article XXXI. of the Confession of Faith of the Synod of Dort.

† "The pastors are in Scripture called *Stewards of God and Bishops*, that is, overseers and watchmen, for they have the oversight of the house of God."—Liturgy of the R. D. C.: Form of Ordination.

‡ "There is witness enough of this in the late Synod of Dort. When the Bishop of Llandaff had, in a speech of his, touched upon episcopal government, and showed that

1619.

Sympathy between the Dutch and English Churches.

er respect, there was a remarkable and sympathetic similarity. Both adhered to Liturgies; both used the clerical gown; both preserved the Creeds of the Apostles, of Nice, and of Saint Athanasius. Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday were high holidays, alike in the Dutch and the English Churches. Their Articles of Religion were nearly identical. Their almost only difference was prelacy; for prelacy won no popular favor in tolerant but republican Holland. And to the present day, the same essential harmony in doctrine and in Liturgy continues to assimilate these two equally venerable Churches. Transplanted to the New World, the "Reformed Protestant Dutch Church" and the "Protestant Episcopal Church" have both preserved their time-honored forms of worship, and their almost coincident Articles of Religion. Social circumstances always bound them closely together; and they now differ in scarcely any important point, save the original disagreement respecting prelatic superiority.*

Cordiality of the Puritans.

The refugee Puritans at Leyden, finding the Established Church of Holland orthodox in its faith, and the government of the Netherlands tolerant in its policy, seemed to have secured, without effort, a happy home. It is not surprising that they should have entered into a cordial communion; and that Robinson himself should have declared "before God and men, that we agree so entirely with the Reformed Dutch Churches in the matter

the want thereof gave opportunities to those divisions which were then on foot in the Netherlands, Bogermannus, the president of that Assembly, stood up, and, in a good allowance of what had been spoken, said, '*Domine, nos non sumus adeò felices*,' 'Alas, my Lord, we are not so happy.'"—Bishop Hall, x., 151.

* The Reformed Dutch Church was the Mother Church of this state; and a spirit of liberal courtesy early prevailed between its ministers and those of the Episcopal Church. The Reverend Mr. Vesey, the first Rector of Trinity church, in the city of New York, was inducted into office in December, 1697, in the Dutch church in Garden Street. On that occasion, two Dutch clergymen, the Reverend Mr. Selyns, the pastor of the church, and the Reverend Mr. Nucella, of Kingston, assisted in the services. Mr. Vesey afterward officiated for some time in the Garden Street church, alternately with the Dutch clergymen, until the building of Trinity church was completed. When the Middle Dutch church was desecrated by the British, during the Revolutionary war, the vestry of Trinity church passed the following Resolution, in 1779: "It being represented that the old Dutch church is now used as a hospital for his majesty's troops, this corporation, impressed with a grateful remembrance of the former kindness of the members of that ancient church, do offer them the use of Saint George's church to that congregation, for celebrating Divine worship." The courteous offer was frankly accepted.

CHAP. IV. 1619.

of religion, that we are ready to subscribe to all and every one of the Articles of Faith of those churches, as they are contained in the Harmony of Confessions of Faith."*

The Puritans dissatisfied in Holland.

But there were elements in Puritanism which were not favorable to contentment. Its inflexible self-will surpassed ordinary pertinacity; its notions of religion and of government were, perhaps, beyond example dogmatical. Its own was the only standard of propriety. Rather than obey the law of their own land, the Puritans had endured its penalties. Beginning with opposition, they ended with authority. Persecution made them important in England; and persecution, in the end, elevated its subjects to the seats of their judges. In their asylum in Holland, the refugees enjoyed full toleration; yet they were, comparatively, unimportant and obscure. There they were treated with perhaps rather more consideration than were some other sects; for their Calvinism accorded with that of the established Dutch Church. Still, even that Church, though they themselves had pronounced her faith to be thoroughly orthodox, came to be regarded by them as scarcely a pure Church; for she used a Liturgy, and clung to the memory of holy days, the observance of which the Puritans denounced as idolatrous. Sunday, too, was less austerely observed in Holland than they thought it should have been. And, indeed, the Dutch delegates to the Synod of Dort had themselves lamented this evil. The Puritans, therefore, attempted to bring the Hollanders "to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's day as a Sabbath," and other things "amiss among them." But it could hardly have been expected that censorious, though well-meaning foreigners, themselves enjoying full toleration, should have had much encouragement in their self-imposed undertaking to modify the cheerful national habits of the warm-hearted people by whom they had been courteously sheltered. Few proselytes were made. The self-exiled Puritans began to grow "restless" and uneasy in their unmolested home. Time was thinning their num-

* Robinson's Apology, 6; Young, 40, 388, note; Neal, i., 244.

bers, and few came from England to strengthen them. The language of the Dutch was not their mother tongue. Fugitives from their native kingdom, they still cherished allegiance to the crown of Great Britain. Firm in their English nationality, they feared that a long sojourn in Holland would wear away their homogeneousness. Many of them had married Dutch wives, and, in a few generations, their posterity would become Dutch. Their youth were already enlisting as soldiers and sailors in the Dutch service. Besides, they were moved by "a great hope and inward zeal" to advance the kingdom of Christ in the "remote parts of the world." They considered, said Winslow, "how hard the country was where we lived; how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for England; how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England; how like we were to lose our language and our name of English; how little good we did, or were likely to do, to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received."*

CHAP. IV. 1617.

Notwithstanding they were enjoying "much peace and liberty"† in Holland, these considerations had great weight with the Puritans, and made them dissatisfied with their abode. The results of European discovery in America having now become generally known, they determined to seek another home in the New World. At first, they thought of going to Guiana, the fabulous wealth of which had been eloquently described by Raleigh. But upon maturer consideration, their desire was "to live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia," as near neighbors of "the English which were there planted," but entirely independent of the colony at Jamestown, which, under Argall's rapacious administration, was fast falling into disrepute. They were led to hope that the king would grant them, there, "free liberty, and freedom of religion." John Carver and Robert

The Puritans resolve to emigrate to America.

* Bradford, in Young, 45–48; Winslow, 381; Morton's Memorial, 18–21; Neal's Puritans, i., 269.

† Winslow, ut. sup.

CHAP. IV. Cushman were accordingly sent to London "to solicit this matter." They found the Virginia Company "very desirous to have them go thither," and willing to grant them an ample patent. But as to their suit with the king, "it proved a harder piece of work than they took it for." James, anxious enough to enlarge the dominions of England, consented to "connive at them, and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably." But he refused to tolerate liberty of religion "by his public authority under his seal;" and Carver and Cushman returned to Leyden, to report that all efforts to overcome the scruples of the king had been vain.

1617. Negotiations in London.

The report of their messengers damped for a time the ardor of the Puritans, and "caused some distraction." But further reflection led them to set a higher value on the king's informal promise of connivance. A royal charter of religious freedom need not be considered so essential, for "though they had a seal as broad as the house-floor, it would not serve the turn, for there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it." So Robert Cushman and William Brewster were sent on another mission to London, to make arrangements with the Virginia Company, and procure as good conditions as they could. But dissensions in the company hindered the agents' proceedings. At length, "a large patent" was granted them, under the company's seal, to settle themselves in the "northern parts of Virginia," southward of the fortieth parallel of latitude. By the advice of some friends, this patent was not taken in the name of any of their own company, but in that of Mr. John Wincob, "a religious gentleman, then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them." Wincob, however, never went. But the patent having been sent over to the Puritans at Leyden, "for them to view and consider," in connection with the propositions for their emigration made by Thomas Weston and others of London, they were "requested to fit and prepare themselves with all speed."*

1619. February.

Patent from the Virginia Company.

* Bradford, in Young, 52–76; Winslow, 382, 383; Prince, 155.

1620.

Condition of the Puritans in Holland.

Meanwhile, the Puritans, discouraged at the various difficulties which had embarrassed their negotiations in England, had been entertaining serious thoughts of emigrating to America under the auspices of the United Provinces. Their Holland hosts had treated them, from the first, with constant kindness. "Although it was low with many of them, yet their word would be taken among the Dutch when they wanted money, because they had found by experience how careful they were to keep their word, and saw them so painful and diligent in their callings, that they strove to get their custom and to employ them above others in their work, for their honesty and diligence." Nor did the state become "weary of them," or think of driving them out. It was "their own free choice and motion" which led them to seek a new home; and when the magistrates of Leyden heard of their purpose, they bore spontaneous testimony to the good conduct of their guests. "These English," said they, "have lived among us now this twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them."*

Their purpose to go to New Netherland.

It is not surprising that the Puritans, thus treated with good-will, toleration, and hospitality in the Fatherland, should have purposed to emigrate to New Netherland, if they could obtain sufficient encouragement from the Dutch government. Barneveldt was now dead, and one great obstacle in the way of the formation of a general Dutch West India Company was removed. But various questions of detail embarrassed the States General, and protracted the settlement of the question. The Amsterdam Trading Company, whose special charter had expired two years before, in the mean time continued to send their ships thither, and other merchants had begun to participate in the trade. Colonization, however, had been postponed, until the proposed powerful monopoly should be able to

* Bradford, 38, 39; Morton's Memorial, 21. Mr. George Sumner, in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxix., 42–62, labors to prove—what was clearly the case—that the condition of the Puritans at Leyden "was one of poverty and obscurity." But his attempt to exhibit the Dutch as wanting in hospitality and good-will, is not sustained by evidence, and is contradictory to the testimony of the Puritans themselves. See *ante*, p. 115, note.

CHAP. IV. undertake it with success. In this conjuncture, Robinson began to sound the Amsterdam merchants respecting the immediate formation of a colony on the North River. Being "well versed in the Dutch language," he represented to them that he was himself favorably inclined to go and settle in New Netherland, and that over four hundred families would go with him, not only from Leyden, but also from England, provided they could be assured that the government of the United Provinces would protect and defend them there from the assaults of other powers. They desired to go to New Netherland, said Robinson, "to plant there the true and pure Christian religion, to convert the savages of those countries to the true knowledge and understanding of the Christian faith, and, through the grace of the Lord, and to the glory of the Netherlands government, to colonize and establish a new empire there, under the order and command" of the Prince of Orange, and the High Mighty Lords States General.*

1620. The Puritans propose to emigrate to New Netherland.

The Amsterdam Company gladly listened to these overtures. They saw at once that so many families going in a body to New Netherland could hardly fail to form a successful colony; and, accordingly, they made "large offers" to the Puritans, promising to transport them free of cost to the North River, and to furnish every family with cattle.† The political part of the question, however, the Dutch merchants could not decide. They were ready to expend their capital in conveying the emigrants to New Netherland, and in supplying them with necessaries; but they had no authority to promise that the Dutch government would afford to the colonists that special protection, after their arrival there, which Robinson required for his followers as an indispensable condition. They, therefore, determined to apply directly to the general government at the Hague.

The Amsterdam merchants make offers to the Puritans.

The Prince of Orange was now at the zenith of his

* Holland Documents, i., 95; N. Y. Senate Documents, 1845, No. 111, pages 15, 16; Address before N. Y. H. S., 1844, Appendix, p. 54; O'Call., i., 84.

† Bradford, in Young, 42; Winslow, 385.

power. To him, as stadtholder, the Amsterdam merchants accordingly presented a memorial, setting forth their first discovery of, and continuous trade to, New Netherland, "situated between New France and Virginia, in the latitude of from forty to forty-five degrees," and detailing the overtures which the "English preacher at Leyden" had made to them to colonize that country with his Puritan followers, "provided that, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High Mighty Lords States General, they may be defended and preserved there from the attacks of other powers." The memorialists expressed their apprehension that the King of Great Britain would colonize New Netherland with English subjects, and "with violence render fruitless the discoveries and possession" of the Dutch in that country, and probably surprise their ships then trading there. They, therefore, prayed that "the aforementioned preacher and four hundred families may be taken under the protection of the United Provinces, and that two ships of war may be sent to secure, provisionally, the said lands to this government, since such lands may be of great importance whenever the West India Company shall be organized."*

CHAP. IV.

1620. 12 Feb. Application to the Dutch government.

The stadtholder expressed no opinion upon this memorial; he merely referred it to the States General. But the Twelve Years' truce with Spain had now nearly expired; and the statesmen of the Netherlands were meditating too large and ambitious designs to allow them to listen with favor to the petition of the Amsterdam Company. They had now in view the establishment of a grand commercial monopoly, whose concentrated capital and energy should not only direct the colonization of the Dutch discoveries in America, but should also assist the states in crushing the power of their hereditary enemy. To that company, when it should be organized, would properly belong the consideration of all the details con-

Views of the States General.

* Holland Documents, i., 95–99. The early New England chroniclers do not mention this application to the Dutch government, and its fate, though they speak of the "large offers" which were made to the Puritans in Holland.

CHAP. IV. 1620. Views of the States General.

nected with emigration. Besides, the memorial which placed Robinson's views before the States General, brought officially to their knowledge—what, indeed, by this time, had perhaps become notorious—that James was disposed to colonize the northern regions of America with English subjects; it also positively alleged, that he intended to dispossess the Dutch of their foothold in New Netherland. If such were really the king's intention, it would be folly for the States General to assist his design by aiding in the transportation thither of emigrants, whose liege services might soon be demanded by royal proclamation. The limits of New Netherland, as at first defined by the States General, extended from the fortieth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, from Virginia to Canada. There were unoccupied lands enough in Virginia, south of the fortieth degree, where the Puritans might settle themselves in peace and good neighborhood, between Jamestown and Manhattan, and thus preserve without inconvenience their national identity. But for them to occupy, under the express authority and with the formal protection of the Dutch government, any portion of New Netherland, might give rise to embarrassing international questions. And when that region should be colonized, it would be better that Dutch subjects, of undoubted loyalty, should themselves first plant there the laws and the venerated customs of the Fatherland.

The application for the Puritans refused. 26 Feb. 10 March. 10 April.

Such were probably some of the arguments which weighed with the States General in their consideration of the memorial of the 12th of February, 1620. The subject was several times before them during the two following months; and, finally, after repeated deliberations and consultations with the Board of Admiralty and the stadtholder, they resolved peremptorily to reject the prayer of the memorialists.*

11 April.

New negotiations in England.

Thus the hopes of the Puritans were again disappointed. Refused the solicited assistance of their government, the Amsterdam merchants, who had made the "large offers,"

* Hol. Doc., i., 94, 100–103.

were not in a position to carry out by themselves the conditions demanded by Robinson, the zeal of whose followers to leave their home at Leyden was by this time quickened by a growing feeling of apprehension. Throughout Holland there was now "nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war." Fearful that "the Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America,"* the Puritans once more turned their thoughts to England. About this time, they were informed, "by Mr. Weston and others," that James had determined to grant a large patent "for the more northerly parts of America, distinct from the Virginia patent, and wholly excluded from their government, and to be called by another name, to wit, New England."† The proposed patent, however, was still in its preliminary stages; but Weston and his associates in London urged the Puritans to go to New England, in hope of "present profit to be made by fishing on that coast." Embarrassments still hindered. Some of the London capitalists were vexed that they "went not to Guiana;" others would do nothing "unless they went to Virginia;" while many, "who were most relied on, refused to adventure if they went thither." In the midst of these difficulties, "they of Leyden were driven to great straits;" and the New England patent "not being fully settled," they determined "to adventure with that patent they had" from the Virginia Company.‡

The Puritans leave Leyden.

But the means provided by their London friends were not sufficient to convey them all at once. The congregation was, therefore, divided into two parts. The greater number and the least robust were to remain at Leyden with Robinson; the younger and abler-bodied were to emigrate, as pioneers, under Brewster. After a solemn fast and a stirring discourse from Robinson, the selected emigrants were accompanied to Delft-Haven, two miles

21 July.

* Bradford, in Young, 51.

† Hubbard, in Young, 80. The royal warrant to the solicitor general is dated 23d July, 1620; the patent itself did not pass the great seal until 3d November, 1620.—Lond. Doc., i., 8; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 4; Mass. Hist. Coll., xxvi., 64; Hazard, i., 99, 103.

‡ Hubbard, in Young, 81.

CHAP. IV. 1620.

below Rotterdam, by "the brethren that staid at Leyden." Embarking in the "Speedwell," a small vessel of sixty tons, they passed over to Southampton. There they found, "lying ready with all the rest of their company," a larger ship, the "Mayflower," of one hundred and eighty tons, which had come round directly from London. The two vessels, filled with passengers, soon set sail in company. But the leaky Speedwell belied her name; and the expedition put back into Plymouth. Dismissing here her battered consort, which returned to London with Cushman and a part of the company, the Mayflower recommenced her lonely voyage across the Atlantic, crowded with one hundred emigrants, who, in tears and sadness, had left "that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting-place near twelve years. But they knew they were Pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."*

5 August. The Pilgrims sail from Southampton.

6 Sept. From Plymouth.

Patent from the Virginia Company, under which they sailed.

The patent with which the Pilgrims sailed for America was, as we have seen, the one which they had obtained from the Virginia Company. It authorized them to settle themselves in the northerly parts of Virginia, which extended to the fortieth degree of latitude. North of that parallel, their grant would have availed them nothing. This they knew when they set sail; and they were also aware that the projected New England patent was yet under the advisement of the law officers of the British crown. With the proposed grantees of that patent they had not negotiated. After the government of the United Provinces had refused the prayer of the memorial, which had been presented in their behalf, they did not seem to have felt sufficiently encouraged to settle themselves, under Dutch authority, in New Netherland. Having by that memorial recognized and admitted the Dutch title to the territory, "situated between New France and Virginia," they would very justly have been considered as intruders, if they had

* Bradford, in Young, 77, 86–99; Winslow, 384, 396; Morton's Memorial, 21–32; Neal's Puritans, i., 269.

deliberately undertaken to establish an independent foreign colony there, without the patronage of the States General, which they had solicited. But the geography of the American coast, between Cape Cod and the Chesapeake, was, at that time, accurately known only by the Dutch, and by Dermer, whose accounts had not yet been made public. The intention of the Pilgrims, accordingly, seems to have been to sail, by the northern passage, directly to Manhattan, where they could gain the exact information which they needed respecting the precise position of their future home. And so they left Europe, "on a voyage," as they themselves described it in their famous compact on board the Mayflower, "to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia," beyond the limits of New England, on the shores of Delaware or Maryland, and outside the then claimed southern frontier of New Netherland.*

Their destination.

Historians have reiterated a tale that the Mayflower was taken to Cape Cod through the treachery of Jones, her master. The story was first broached by Nathaniel Morton, secretary of the New Plymouth colony, who, in his "Memorial," alleging "late and certain intelligence," charges "some of the Dutch" with having "fraudulently hired the said Jones * * * to disappoint" the Pilgrims in their intention to go "to Hudson's River." Morton was not a passenger by the Mayflower in 1620. He came to New Plymouth in 1623, when he was a boy only eleven years old. He did not publish his "Memorial" until 1669, nearly half a century after the alleged "plot," when most of the passengers in the Mayflower were dead, and when the coveted territory of New Netherland had been for five years subjected to British rule. If the secretary's "intelligence" had been *early*, instead of "late," it might, perhaps, have been called "certain." The Mayflower does not appear ever to have been in Holland; nor do Jones, her master, nor Coppin, her mate and pilot, seem to have had any communication with the Dutch. But Coppin had certainly been on the coast of New England at least once

Morton's Parthian slander.

* Bradford, in Young, 121; Morton's Memorial, 37; Bancroft, i., 309.

CHAP. IV. 1620.

before;* and in navigating the Mayflower by the northern passage, toward Cape Cod, he only followed his former track, and adhered to the usual English practice since Gosnold's time. Neither Bradford nor Winslow, in their contemporary histories, question the fidelity of the master or the pilot of the ship, both of whom seem to have been Englishmen, in the interest of their London employers; and the silence of Bradford and Winslow ought to be conclusive on a point which, if true, must unquestionably have had a conspicuous place in every faithful account of the "old colony." No allusion is made to the story in the early correspondence between New Netherland and New Plymouth in 1627. Dudley, in his letter to Lady Lincoln in 1631, is silent. If the tale had been true, the Dutch would assuredly have been taunted with it in 1633, and afterward, when the New Plymouth colonists quarreled with them about the title to the valley of the Connecticut. In short, Morton's Parthian "calumny" seems to be a sheer falsehood, too eagerly repeated by more recent writers. After a boisterous voyage of more than two months, and "long beating at sea," says Bradford, "they fell in with the land called Cape Cod; the which being made, and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful." A consultation was held, and the ship was tacked to the southward, "to find some place about Hudson's River, according to their first intentions." But they soon fell among the "perilous shoals and breakers" of Cape Malebarre, which embarrass the navigator to this day; and they bore up again for Cape Cod. Neither Dutch intrigue nor a bribed pilot had brought the Mayflower there—it was the Providence of God.†

The story "a calumny."

9 Nov.

10 Nov.

Finding that they were now far beyond "the northern

* Bradford and Winslow's Journal, in Young, 148, 159. "Robert Coppin, our pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbor on the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had been once." Young supposes the "other headland" to be Manomet Point, and the "great navigable river" to be the North River, in Scituate.

† Morton's Memorial, 34; Bradford, in Young, 100–103, 117; De Laet, iii., cap. iv., p. 80; Dudley, in Young's Mass., 308; Holmes's Annals, i., 161; Moulton, 352–357. Grahame, in his History of the United States (Am. ed.), i., 194; ii., 161, 162, records and embellishes the story. See, however, Dr. Young's admirable remarks at the "Old Colony" festival at Boston, December, 1844, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, App., p. 106.

parts of Virginia," and that, consequently, their patent from the Virginia Company, under which they had left Holland, expecting "to become a body politic," was "made void and useless,"* the emigrants, the day before they came to harbor, "observing some not well affected to unity and concord," and "some appearance of faction" among their company, signed an agreement, combining themselves together into "a civil body politic," for their "better ordering and preservation." This instrument, which the pressure of disaffecting circumstances made suddenly expedient, has, by degrees, become magnified into "the birth of popular constitutional liberty," and the exclusive claim is now distinctly set up that "in the cabin of the Mayflower humanity recovered its rights."†

Compact at Cape Cod.

11 Nov

No class of persons in the world has, perhaps, on the one hand, been loaded with more extravagant eulogy, and, on the other, been covered with more undeserved ridicule than the English Puritans, and their descendants in America. An incessant repetition of stereotyped panegyric may, indeed, be excused on those periodical occasions when a large posterity is accustomed to commemorate, with filial pride, the many worthy attributes of a devout, active, acute, independent, and resolute ancestry. The honest reputation of that renowned ancestry no candid mind can depreciate; and the real services which the Puritans rendered to the cause of civil liberty it is grateful to applaud. But there is danger lest zeal should outrun knowl-

* It may cause misapprehension to say that the passengers in the Mayflower left Europe "without any useful charter from a corporate body." The only reason why their "large patent" from the Virginia Company, with which they adventured, "was never made use of," as stated by Bradford, was, because they settled themselves—contrary to their intention when they sailed—out of the bounds of Virginia. Several years afterward, they obtained a charter from the New England Council, within the limits of whose patent they had accidentally established their plantation.

† Bradford and Winslow, in Young, 95, 120, 121; Morton's Memorial, 28, 37; Bancroft, i., 308–310. Young, in a note to his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," p. 120, says, "Here, for the first time in the world's history, the philosophical fiction of a social compact was realized in practice. And yet it seems to me that a great deal more has been discerned in this document than the signers contemplated. It is evident that when they left Holland, they expected 'to become a body politic, using among themselves civil government, and to choose their own rulers from among themselves.' Their purpose in drawing up and signing this compact, was simply, as they state, to restrain certain of their number who had manifested an unruly and factious disposition. This was the whole philosophy of the instrument, whatever may since have been discovered and deduced from it."

CHAP. IV. 1620.

edge, and lest ideal pictures, drawn by self-adulatory rhetoric, should gradually come to be received as faithful portraits of reality. And while naught should be set down in malice, no temptation to flatter self-conceit, nor anxiety to demonstrate hypotheses; no reluctance to oppose the most eloquent ability, nor fear of provoking cherished prejudice which unwelcome candor may offend, should ever warp those, who assume the responsible task of recording the annals of their race, from the duty of clearly exposing historical truth.

Example of the Dutch republic.

However ample may have been the true scope of their compact on board of the Mayflower at Cape Cod, it can not be denied, and it ought not to be concealed, that the Pilgrims, before they left their asylum in Holland, had seen, in her tolerant government, an early and illustrious assertion of the rights and the power of the people, and a noble protest against oppression and tyranny. While the fugitive Puritans, unmolested at Leyden, observed the popular principle of majorities triumphant, even in severe ecclesiastical decisions, they found that sublimest element of all in civil liberty—freedom of conscience—more fully realized in the United Netherlands than in any other country in the world. The same immunities which the Dutch had won from Spain were freely granted to the non-conforming refugees from England. In the Batavian Republic, too, they saw the happy working of that Federal system which afterward bound together the American colonies. And, in the Constitution of self-governing Holland, those refugees had before them the practical example of a representative administration, imperfect, indeed, but nevertheless a marvel of the age; founded on large principles of popular liberty; maintaining those principles with splendid success; and deserving the lasting gratitude of mankind for its earnest, consistent, and magnanimous vindication of the rights of humanity. All this was observed in the United Provinces, at a period when James I. was king of Great Britain, Louis XIII. king of France, and Philip III. king of Spain. Such lessons could not possi-

bly have been lost upon the Pilgrims; to their value they had themselves borne testimony, in soliciting encouragement to emigrate to New Netherland "under the order and command" of the Prince of Orange and the States General; and when they are found affirming, in New England, some of substantially the same principles as those which they had seen operative in the Dutch republic, and which at that time were developed no where else, it can not be just to monopolize for them the glory of having originated "popular constitutional liberty."*

Several weeks were spent by the emigrants in examining the concave shores behind Cape Cod. At last, a more advantageous harbor than any they had seen was found on the west side of the bay; and an exploring party landed at New Plymouth, on the spot which Block and Smith had visited several years before, and marked on their maps, and which Dermer, just five months previously, though without their knowledge, had indicated as a fitting place for "the first plantation."† In a few days the Mayflower was brought up from the Cape, and the

Landing at New Plymouth. $\frac{11}{22}$ Dec.

$\frac{16}{27}$ Dec.

> ———"band of exiles moored their bark
> On the wild New England shore."

Thus the Puritan pilgrims left their home at Leyden, and sought the New World under the banner of Saint George; and thus they came to plant on the bleak borders of eastern New England the institutions which it had once been their purpose to cultivate, under the protecting flag of Holland, in the genial regions of New Netherland.

* This subject will be further considered in subsequent chapters.

† Morton's Memorial, 56, 57.

CHAPTER V.

1621–1625.

CHAP. V. 1621. Dutch West India Company incorporated.

THE project for a general Dutch West India Company, which Usselincx had so early and zealously, yet unsuccessfully, urged upon the attention of the statesmen of Holland, at length obtained its accomplishment. It was the age of great monopolies and grasping charters. The East India Company had, since 1602, pursued a prosperous career; and its success had provoked emulation. The Twelve Years' truce with Spain had expired in the spring of 1621; and the United Provinces were warned to prepare for a renewed struggle with their mighty enemy. The obstacles which had hindered the consummation of Usselincx's views were not only now cleared away, but opposition was succeeded by encouragement; and the long-pending charter was hurried to completion, within three months after the termination of the Spanish truce.

3 June. Charter.

On the third of June, 1621, the States General passed a formal patent under their great seal, declaring that the welfare and happiness of the United Netherlands depended mainly upon their foreign trade and navigation, and that those great interests could be properly encouraged in distant regions only by the combined and united action of a general incorporated company. For these and other reasons, they accordingly ordained that, for the term of twenty-four years from the first of July, 1621, none of the inhabitants of the United Provinces should be permitted to sail thence to the coasts of Africa, between the tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope, nor to the coasts of America or the West Indies, between Newfoundland and

Extent of territory.

the Straits of Magellan, except in the name or by the consent of the West India Company, upon pain of forfeiture of ships and cargoes. At the same time, it was provided that such parties as had, before the granting of the charter, been engaged in commerce with those countries, "might continue their trade for the sale of their goods," and make their homeward voyages.

Political powers of the Company.

The West India Company was invested with enormous powers. In the name of the States General, it might make contracts and alliances with the princes and natives of the countries comprehended within the limits of its charter; build forts; appoint and discharge governors, soldiers, and public officers; administer justice; and promote trade. It was bound to "advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of those c untries, and the profit and increase of trade shall require." It was obliged to communicate to the States General, from time to time, all the treaties and alliances it might make, and also detailed statements of its forts and settlements. All governors in chief, and the instructions proposed to be given to them, were to be first approved of by the States General, who would then issue formal commissions; and all superior officers were held to take oaths of allegiance to their High Mightinesses, and also to the company.

Chambers.

The government of the company was vested in five separate chambers of managers; one at Amsterdam, managing four ninth parts; one at Middleburg, in Zealand, two ninth parts; one at Dordrecht, on the Maeze, one ninth part; one in North Holland, one ninth part; and one in Friesland and Groningen, one ninth part. General executive powers for all purposes—except that, in case of a declaration of war, the approbation of the States General was to be asked—were intrusted to a board of NINETEEN delegates. Of these, eight were to come from the Chamber at Amsterdam, four from Zealand, two from the Maeze, two from North Holland, and two from Friesland and Groningen; while one delegate was to represent the States Gen-

College of the XIX.

CHAP. V. 1621.

eral, for the purpose of "helping to direct the affairs of the company to the best advantage in the aforesaid meeting." The States General likewise promised to "defend this company against every person, in free navigation and traffic, and assist them with a million of guilders;" and also, in case of war, to "give them for their assistance" sixteen ships of war of three hundred tons burden, and four yachts of eighty tons, all fully equipped. These vessels, however, were to be manned and supported by the company, which was also obliged to provide and maintain an equal number. The whole fleet was to be under the command of an admiral appointed by the States General. All the inhabitants of the Netherlands, "and also of other countries," might become stockholders of the company during the year 1621; after which time no new members were to be admitted.*

Interest of the States General.

Thus the Dutch government, leaving to the East India Company the consolidation of a magnificent empire in Asia, gave to a new mercantile corporation almost boundless powers to subdue, colonize, and govern the unoccupied regions of Africa and America. New Netherland, though not specifically named in the charter, was clearly comprehended within its purview; and though the Dutch government did not formally guarantee any absolute title to the territory, it nevertheless expressly bound the company to promote the colonization of those "fruitful and unsettled parts." The charters of Henry for the colonization of Canada, and the patents of James for the settlement of Virginia and New England, were no more favorable to colonial freedom than was the grant of the States General to the West India Company. While that corporation might conquer provinces, and form alliances with native princes at its own risk, it was bound to submit the instructions of its governors to the approval of the states; and the paramount authority and appellate jurisdiction of the central government at home was affirmed and maintained by the

New Netherland included within the charter.

Powers and duties of the company.

* See charter at length in the Groot Placaatbook, i., 566; De Laet's Jaerlyck Verhael; Hazard, i., 121; O'Call., i., 399.

oath of allegiance to the States General, which was required from all superior officers of the company.

1621.

The leading objects of the incorporation of this armed commercial monopoly were, nevertheless, "the profit and increase of trade," and the humbling of the power of Spain and Portugal in Africa and America. How successfully these purposes were accomplished, the annals of the Netherlands proudly tell. Yet triumph eventually led to disaster; and the intoxication of brilliant success was followed, before long, by the mortification of overwhelming bankruptcy. And it was an evil day for New Netherland, when the States General committed to the guardianship of a close and grasping mercantile corporation, the ultimate fortunes of their embryo province in America.

Leading objects of the charter.

Various impediments, however, delayed for two years the final organization of the West India Company. The original charter was twice amplified in some points of detail; and the managers having adopted articles of internal regulation, which were formally approved by the States General on the twenty-first of June, 1623, closed their books of subscription, and prepared with energy to prosecute their designs.*

Organization of the D. W. I. Company.

1623. 21 June.

In the mean time, the merchants, who had lately formed the United New Netherland Association, continued to send separate trading ventures to the North and South Rivers. Hendrick Eelkens, Adriaen Jansen Engel, and Hans Joris Houten of Amsterdam, who, the year before, had so strenuously opposed the grant of any exclusive privileges to May's ship-owners, obtained from the States General a special license to send their vessel, the "White Dove," to "New Virginia," under the command of Captain Joris Houten. The next week, Dirck Volckertsen, Doctor Verus, Doctor Carbasius, and others, of Hoorn, in North Holland, some of whom were the owners of May's first ship, the Fortune, obtained a similar permission to send a vessel to trade "in the Virginias." A few days afterward,

Private ships sent to New Netherland.

1621. 15 Sept.

24 Sept.

* De Laet, Jaerlyck Verhael; Hazard, i., 149, 174, 181: O'Call., i., 408, 411.

CHAP. V. 1621. upon the petition of "Claes Jacobsen Haringcarspel, counselor and former schepen of Amsterdam, Peter Plancius,* minister of the word of God, Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, Hans Claessen and Company, trading to certain lands, coasts, and rivers discovered by them, lying between Virginia and New France, in the latitude of from forty to forty-five degrees, named New Netherland, and also to the adjacent lands and a great river, lying in the latitude of from thirty-eight to forty degrees," the States General 28 Sept. authorized them to dispatch two ships, to trade on the North and South Rivers.† These special licenses were granted under the proviso in the charter of the West India Company. But in order to prevent any interference with its privileges, the grantees of these special licenses were required to complete their voyages, and have all their vessels back in Holland, by the first day of July, 1622.

British patent for New England. Meanwhile, the King of England, notwithstanding the actual possession of Canada by the French, and New Netherland by the Dutch, had, as we have seen, asserted a claim of sovereignty over the regions lying between Vir- 1620. ginia and Newfoundland. The New England patent, by 3 Nov. which James granted to the council at Plymouth an absolute property in all the American territory extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, passed the great seal about a week before the Mayflower, with the first Puritan emigrants, arrived at Cape Cod. The monopoly conferred by the charter was immense. "Without the leave of the Council of Plymouth, not a ship might sail into a harbor

* Plancius was an eminent Calvinistic clergyman of Amsterdam, and a member of the famous Synod of Dort, where he was chosen one of the revisers of the new translation of the Bible. (Brandt, xxxiii., 53.) He was no less distinguished as a geographer; and, as has been stated (*ante*, p. 23, 45), was an earnest promoter of Dutch maritime enterprise. Plancius constructed the charts by which the first Holland ships sailed to the East Indies; he also counseled the expeditions to discover a new passage to China by way of Nova Zembla. In 1608 and 1609, Jeannin, the French ambassador at the Hague, wishing to induce his king to embark in the East India trade, frequently consulted Plancius, "from whom he procured the most light." (Wagenaar, Hist. Amst., iii., 219.) Witsen, one of the original grantees of the New Netherland charter of 1614, whose coat of arms is painted in a window in the old church of Saint Nicholas at Amsterdam, was no doubt an intimate friend of his liberal-minded pastor, whom we now find associated with Van Tweenhuysen and others, in sending an expedition to the North and South Rivers. Plancius died on the 25th of May, 1622.

† Hol. Doc., i., 109–113.

from Newfoundland to the latitude of Philadelphia; not a skin might be purchased in the interior; not a fish might be caught on the coast; not an emigrant might tread the soil." The only qualification which, even nominally, limited the enormous grant, was the proviso which excepted any territories "actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state." But the grant was so sweeping and exclusive, that its very extent impaired its value, by awakening the jealousy of Parliament. The next spring, after the patent was sealed, the House of Commons turned its attention to the "grievance;" and Sir Edward Coke, from the chair of the House, informed Gorges of the complaints "in respect of many particulars therein contained, contrary to the laws and privileges of the subjects, as also that it was a monopoly, and the color of planting a colony put upon it for particular ends and private gain." Before its dissolution, the House presented the patent as "the first" of "the public grievances of the kingdom;" and the French ambassador protested against it, as unwarrantably including Canada within its assigned limits.*

CHAP. V. 1621.

25 April.

28 Sept. Private traders to N. E. restrained.

The king, however, determined to maintain the monopoly which he had granted; and, at the solicitation of the Plymouth Company, the Privy Council directed the mayors of Bristol, and other sea-port towns in the south and west of the kingdom, to prohibit all persons from attempting to trade to New England "contrary to his majesty's said grant."† Domestic interference being thus prevented, the watchful jealousy of the grantees of the charter was awakened to the movements of the Dutch in New Netherland. The intelligence communicated by Dermer of what he had observed while at Manhattan, was now confirmed by the news which came from Amsterdam, of the equipment and dispatch of several private ships to New Netherland, in anticipation of the more definite arrangements of the West

October.

* Parl. Deb., 1620–1, 260, 318, 319; Commons' Journal, i., 591, 592, 640–669; Chalmers, 83, 100, 101; Gorges, Brief Narration, in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxvi., 66, 71, 72; Bancroft, i., 272, 327; Grahame's Hist. U. S., i., 199; ii., 161, 162, Am. ed.; Chalmers's Revolt of the Colonies, i., 25, 26.

† London Doc., i., 12; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 5.

CHAP. V. 1621.

India Company. Notwithstanding the proviso in their patent, the Plymouth Company resolved to lose no time in vindicating their claim of English title against the Hollanders, who, they alleged, "as interlopers, fell into the middle between"* Virginia and New England.

Complaints against the Dutch occupation of New Netherland.

Avarice and self-interest "rarely right" adjust the "wavering balance;" and the ethics of corporations are proverbially convenient and pliable. The policy of the Plymouth Company was, from the first, grasping and arrogant. Finding the king on their side, they determined to maintain the exclusive privileges which they had won from the crown. A formal complaint was, therefore, presented by the Earl of Arundel, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Samuel Argall, the superseded governor of Virginia, and Captain John Mason, against the "Dutch intruders" into New Netherland. Three days before the dissolution of Parliament, James accordingly directed the lords of his council to instruct Sir Dudley Carleton, the British ambassador at the Hague, to bring the subject to the special notice of the States General. The council at once addressed a dispatch to Carleton, in which the English government, for the first time, distinctly asserted the unlawfulness of the Dutch occupation of New Netherland. "Whereas," said their lordships, "his majesty's subjects have many years since taken possession of the whole precinct, and inhabited some parts of the north of Virginia (by us called New England), of all which countries his majesty hath, in like manner, some years since, by patent, granted the quiet and full possession unto particular persons; nevertheless, we understand that, the year past,† the Hollanders have entered upon some part thereof, and have left a colony, and given new names to the several ports appertaining to that part of the country, and are now in readiness to send for their supply

Letter of Privy Council to the British ambassador at the Hague. 15 Dec.

* Letter of Captain John Mason, in Lond. Doc., i., 47, and in N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 16, 17; Gorges, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll., vi., 72.

† This allegation certainly does not support Plantagenet's story of Argall's visit to Manhattan in 1613. If Argall had actually been there that year, and found "a pretended Dutch governor," &c., &c., he would hardly have joined in a representation to the king, in the autumn of 1621, which alleged that the Hollanders had settled themselves there only "the year past," that is, in 1620; see Appendix, Note E.

six or eight ships; whereof his majesty being advertised, we have received his royal commandment to signify his pleasure that you should represent these things to the States General in his majesty's name (who, *jure primæ occupationis*, hath good and sufficient title to those parts), and require of them that as well those ships as their further prosecution of that plantation may be presently stayed."* CHAP. V. 1621.

But the Plymouth Company, in their overreaching zeal, betrayed the Privy Council into serious errors in this important state paper. After the failure of the Sagadahoc colony, we have seen that no English subjects inhabited any part of the deserted territory north of Virginia, until the arrival of the Mayflower at Cape Cod. The intermediate region, between that Cape and the Chesapeake, was unexplored by the English, and was almost unknown to them, until Dermer sailed through Long Island Sound in 1619. Yet, in contradiction to Dermer's statements, that the Dutch were quietly "settled" at Manhattan in the spring of 1620, and that they had "had a trade in Hudson's River some years before that time," the Plymouth Company induced the Privy Council of England to affirm, at the close of 1621, that the Hollanders had "entered" into occupation there only "the year past." Fallaciousness of the English claim.

Carleton, on the receipt of the Privy Council's dispatch, proceeded to make inquiries on the subject, before he brought it to the notice of the States General. All he learned was, that about four or five years previously, two "particular companies of Amsterdam merchants" had begun a trade to America, between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, to which regions they had, "after their manner," given the names of New Netherland, North and South Sea, Texel, Vlieland, and the like, and had ever since continued to send there vessels of sixty or eighty tons burden, at most, to fetch furs, which was "all their trade." For this purpose, they had kept "factors there, continually resident," to trade with the savages. But Carleton could not learn that any colony 1622. January. Result of Carleton's inquiries in Holland.

* London Doc., i., 17, 47; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 6, 16, 17; Hubbard, 226.

CHAP. V. had as yet been planted there by the Dutch, or was "so much as intended."*

1622. Fortified with this partial information, the ambassador asked an audience of the States General, and presented a written memorial, in which he claimed that the "tranquil and plenary possession" of the whole country north of Virginia was vested, by patent, "in several private persons," subjects of the King of England, whose title, "by right of first occupation," he boldly affirmed was "not to be contradicted." And, in the name of the king, he peremptorily demanded that the States General should not only arrest the ships already equipped for voyages to the Dutch plantation, but should also expressly prohibit any further prosecution of the enterprise.†

Carleton's audience with the States General. 9 Feb.

9 Feb. When Carleton's memorial was read in the meeting of the States General, the deputies from the Province of Holland, professing to be ignorant of the circumstances, requested that it might be referred to them. But no report came from the Holland delegation. A month afterward, the ambassador having asked definite action, the States General directed Burgomaster Pauw, one of their members, to write to the "participants in the trade to New Netherland" for information. Carleton continuing to press the States for a decisive answer, they resolved that inquiries should be made "for what had been printed at Amsterdam on this subject." Here the whole question seems to have ended. The States General, engrossed with warlike preparations against Spain, knew little about New Netherland; which, besides, was now placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of the West India Company. It does not appear that any answer was ever returned to the British government, either through Carleton, or through Caron, the Dutch ambassador at London. Captain John Mason, it is true, in writing to Secretary Coke, ten years afterward, asserted that Caron had disclaimed, on the part of the States General, "any such act that was done

16 March.

27 April.

Result of Carleton's interference.

1632. 2 April.

* London Doc., i., 19; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 7.
† London Doc., i., 22; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 8.

by their people with their authority." But nothing to that effect has been found after recent diligent searches, both in the Archives at the Hague and in the State Paper Office at London.* 1622.

Futility of the British claim.

With respect to the claim of sovereignty over New Netherland, which James directed his ambassador to assert so boldly, it is remarkable that the Parliament of England, somewhat earlier in the same year, insisted that "occupancy confers a good title by the law of nations and Nature;"† and upon this principle the right of Spain, under the gift of Pope Alexander VI. was again denied, because, if admitted, it would have defeated the English title to Virginia and Bermuda. In this the Parliament only reaffirmed the position taken by Queen Elizabeth in 1580, when she refused to recognize the Spanish claim, and insisted that "prescription without possession is of no avail."‡ Under this rule, thus formally confirmed, it is clear that the "prescription" of England, by reason of Cabot's voyage, was entirely annulled, so far as regards those parts of North America which were not actually possessed or occupied by English subjects. 1621.

Law of nations respecting discoveries and possessions.

The British right to Virginia and Bermuda was, nevertheless, readily admitted by other European nations; among which it had become the established law, that occupation is the "primary mode of acquiring a title to unowned territory."§ This law was recognized and acted upon by France with respect to Canada, and by Holland with respect to New Netherland. The title of England to Virginia was never questioned by the Dutch; their government had distinctly admitted it in 1608 and 1610.‖ In the original trading charter granted by the States General in 1614, the regions which the Dutch had first explored, and named New Netherland, were unambiguously

* Hol. Doc., i., 117, 119; Lond. Doc., i., 31, 47; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 11, 16; Gorges, in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxvi., 72; Address before N. Y. H. S., 1844, p. 25, 26.

† Chalmers, 6; Parl. Debates, 1620–1, p. 250. ‡ *Ante*, p. 4.

§ Grotius, ii., 2. "Primus acquirendi modus qui juris gentium a Romanis dicitur, est occupatio eorum quæ nullius sunt." Chalmers, 6, however, states the law to be, "that the countries which each should *explore* shall be deemed the absolute property of the discoverer."

‖ Hol. Doc., i., 5, 6, 35, 38; Winwood's Mem., iii., 239

CHAP. V. declared to be between Virginia on the south and Canada
1621. on the north. The actual occupation of the coasts of Maine by the English as early as 1607—though it was soon discontinued for several years—gave England a sufficient title to that quarter; and the Hollanders never attempted to interfere with the British claim to the territory north of Cape Cod. But with respect to the regions between that Cape and Virginia, which they had themselves so thoroughly explored before any other Europeans, the Dutch insisted upon the validity of their own rights. When the Amsterdam Company built their Fort Nassau on the North River in 1614, it is quite certain that there had been no English "occupancy" of any portion of New Netherland south of Cape Cod, so as to confer a title according to the opinions of Queen Elizabeth and of Parliament. The English, in fact, until Dermer's voyage, were entirely ignorant even of the geography of that part of the coast. Holland vessels alone had explored it; Hollanders alone had occupied it. By British law, and by the law of nations, the Dutch title to New Netherland was complete. The New England patent of King James, so far as it interfered with the rights of the Dutch, might, therefore, according to the judgment of Queen Elizabeth, and of the Parliament of Great Britain itself, be at least as fairly derided, as was the Pontiff's earlier grant to the Spaniards.

The Dutch title to New Netherland complete.

1622. The Plymouth Company, however, if they did not succeed in obtaining from the States General a renunciation of the right of the Dutch to New Netherland, had influence enough to procure from King James a further measure of protection against the acts of British subjects. Complaints were made to the crown that "sundrie interlopers" into New England had committed "intolerable abuses," interfered with "some of the planters there," "ruined whole woods," traded promiscuously with the savages, supplied them with fire-arms, and overthrown the trade and commerce, which were "the principal hopes for the advancement of that plantation, next unto the commodities that coast affords for fishing." An order in council was prompt-

Proclamation against irregular traders to New England.

23 October.

1622.

ly made for the issuing of a royal proclamation against irregular traders to New England. A few days afterward, the king accordingly proclaimed and commanded that none of his subjects whatsoever, "not adventurers, inhabiters, or planters in New England, presume from henceforth to frequent those coasts, to trade or traffic with those people, or to intermeddle in the woods or freehold of any of the planters or inhabitants," except by the license of the Plymouth Company, or according to the orders of the Privy Council.* 6/16 Nov.

Special voyages to New Netherland.

Meanwhile, the Amsterdam ships had been quietly pursuing their voyages to New Netherland, under the special licenses of the Dutch government; and some of them delayed their return to Holland so long, that their owners were obliged to ask of the States General an extension of the time limited for their arrival home.† The trade in peltry was industriously prosecuted, not only on the North and South Rivers, but on the "Fresh" or Connecticut River; and Dutch shallops constantly visited the shores of Long Island Sound, and trafficked with the native Indian tribes as far east as Narragansett and Buzzard's Bays. Their favorite resort was Manomet, at the head of Buzzard's Bay, and within about twenty miles of the recent Puritan settlement at New Plymouth.‡ But the pioneers of New England, occupied with the pressing cares of their infant colony, were not yet prepared to interfere with the lucrative trade which their more ancient neighbors in New Netherland were now carrying on, almost at their very doors. With the native tribes the Dutch generally cultivated the most amicable relations. The treaty made on the banks of the Tawasentha continued to be faithfully observed with the Mohawks, the Mahicans, and the North River Indians, who were the immediate neighbors and allies of the Dutch. At Esopus, a large traffic was maintained with boats and shallops. But the more distant tribes were treated with less consideration. Jacob Eel-

18 June.

Peltry trade of the Dutch in Narragansett Bay.

Relations with the Indians.

* Lond. Doc., i., 32; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 11; Rymer Federa, xvii., 416; Morton's Memorial, 98; Prince's Annals, 218. † Hol. Doc., i., 120. ‡ Prince, 208.

CHAP. V.

1622.

Eelkens's base conduct.

kens, who had remained in superintendence of the trade near Castle Island, made frequent visits to the eastern coasts and rivers of New Netherland; and in the summer of 1622, having ascended the Connecticut to traffic with the Sequins, near the present town of Wethersfield, he treacherously imprisoned their chief on board his yacht, and would not release him until a ransom of one hundred and forty fathoms of wampum had been exacted. This outrage naturally alienated the eastern Indians; and the Sequin chief, refused to have any more dealings with the treacherous Eelkens, who was soon afterward discharged by his offended superiors from the post he had dishonored.*

Walloons in Holland.

The Fatherland was now preparing to send permanent emigrants to subdue the wilderness of New Netherland. Early in this year, while Carleton was engaged in obtaining the preliminary information which he desired before presenting his memorial to the States General, he had

January.

been applied to by some families of Walloons, settled at Amsterdam, for permission to emigrate to Virginia and establish a colony, to be governed by magistrates of their own election.† These Walloons, whose name was derived from their original "Waalsche," or French extraction,‡ had passed through the fire of persecution. They inhabited the Southern Belgic Provinces of Hainault, Namur, Luxemburg, Limburg, and part of the ancient Bishopric of Liege; and spoke the old French language. When the northern provinces of the Netherlands formed their political union at Utrecht in 1579, the southern provinces, which were generally attached to the Roman Church, declined joining the Confederation. Many of their inhabitants, nevertheless, professed the principles of the Reformation. Against these Protestant Walloons the Spanish government exercised the most rigid measures of inquisitorial vengeance; and the subjects of an unrelenting persecution

* Wassenaar, xii., 39; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 45; De Vries, 113.

† Lond. Doc., i., 24; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 9, 10.

‡ "Bordering on France, and speaking the French language, they were termed *Gallois*, which was changed, in Low Dutch, into *Waalsche*, and in English into *Walloon*."—Rev. Dr. De Witt, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1848, p. 75.

emigrated by thousands into Holland, where they knew that strangers of every race and creed were sure of an asylum and a welcome. Carrying with them a knowledge of the arts, in which they were great proficients, they were distinguished in their new home for their tasteful and persevering industry. To the Walloons the Dutch were probably indebted for much of the repute which they gained as a nation in many branches of manufactures.* Finding in Holland a free scope for the enjoyment of their religious opinions, the Walloons soon introduced the public use of their church service, which, to this day, bears witness to the characteristic toleration and liberality of the Fatherland. By degrees, the fame of the New World reached the ears of the artisans of Amsterdam; and some of the Belgian refugees applied to Carleton for formal encouragement to emigrate to Virginia. The ambassador, having no powers to make arrangements with them, communicated their application to the king, by whom it was ordered to be referred to the Virginia Company. But the conditions which the company offered did not appear to have been satisfactory to the Walloons; and the abortive negotiation ended.† Thus Virginia lost the advantage of having an ingenious, brave, and industrious race added to her, perhaps, too homogeneous population.

Walloons apply for license to go to Virginia.

Are not encouraged.

What Virginia lost New Netherland gained. Cosmopolitan Amsterdam was to impress its character upon cosmopolitan Manhattan. In the New World, a metropolis soon arose, giving a home to emigrants from all climes and of all races; and where the lavish gifts of beneficent nature are enjoyed in common by the multifarious, enterprising, and prosperous inhabitants who crowd its busy streets. The city which Amsterdam originated can never forget the magnanimous policy and liberal example of its sagacious founder.

The Provincial States of Holland, ascertaining that several families of Walloons had applied to Carleton for permission to emigrate to Virginia, thought that "they should

The States of Holland favor the Walloons. 20 April.

* McCullagh, ii., 267.

† London Doc., i., 29; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 10.

CHAP. V. 1622. rather be secured for the West India Company;" and the subject was referred to the directors of that corporation, to consider "what could be therein done for their service." 21 April. The directors promptly reported that the emigration of these Walloons would be "very advantageous" to the company; and that immediate measures should be taken to secure them, and to give them employment, until the company should be formally organized, and be able to send them out as colonists. The views of the directors were approved by the Provincial States, and the attention of the magistracy of Amsterdam was officially directed to the subject.*

1623. 21 June. Final organization of the West India Company. At length, after two years of preliminary preparation, the West India Company obtained the assent of the States General to its articles of internal government, in June, 1623, and began to prosecute with energy the objects of its incorporation. The same month, three pioneer ships, the Orange Tree, the Eagle, and the Love, were dispatched to the West Indies, "to maintain the course of traffic, and in the hope of realizing their first returns."†

New Netherland made a province. The colonization of New Netherland, however, became the first care of the company. That somewhat indefinite territory was formally erected into a Province, and "honored" by the States General with a grant of the armorial distinction of a count.‡ As soon as the stock of the company was secured, and the several boards of directors were chosen, the College of the XIX. assigned the particular management of the affairs of the province to the Chamber at Amsterdam. Among the prominent members of that chamber were Jonas Witsen,§ one of the grantees of the original trading charter of 1614, Hendrick Hamel, Samuel Godyn, Samuel Blommaert, John de Laet, the historian, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, Michael Pauw, and Peter Evert-

Assigned to the care of the Amsterdam Chamber.

* Hol. Doc., i., 118; Res. Hol. and West Friesland; Muilkerk, Bydragen, B. 11.

† De Laet, Jaerlyck Verhael; Hazard, i., 174–178; Wassenaar, v., 91.

‡ Hol. Doc., iv., 39. The Provincial seal of New Netherland was a shield bearing a beaver, proper, surmounted by a count's coronet, and encircled by the words "Sigillum Novi Belgii."

§ Jonas Witsen died at Amsterdam in October, 1626: Garret Jacobsen Witsen died in January of the same year.—Wassenaar, x., 116.

sen Hulft, whose names are identified with the first European possession of the five states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut.*

The West India Company takes possession of New Netherland.

Aware of the jealousy of the English government, the West India Company did not delay arrangements to secure their title to New Netherland by more extended actual occupation. "By virtue of their charter," and before their final organization, they "took possession of the country" in the year 1622;† and trading vessels were promptly sent out, bearing instructions to the officers at Manhattan, and on the North River. The voyages of the Dutch ships, at this time, generally occupied about seven or eight weeks. On clearing the channel, they laid their course for the Canary Islands; whence they stretched across the Atlantic toward Guiana and the Carribees, and then ran obliquely toward the northwest, between the Bahamas and the Bermudas, until they made the coasts of Virginia.‡ By steering this circuitous southern course, they avoided the severe gales of the North Atlantic, and had the opportunity of refitting, when it was necessary. But their voyages were sometimes protracted by the temptation to linger at anchor; and the yacht Mackarel, which sailed from the Texel in June, consumed so much time among the Carribee Islands in unsuccessful fishing, that she did not arrive at Manhattan until the middle of December, which was "somewhat late," remarks the quaint chronicler.§

Circuitous voyages of the Dutch ships.

16 June.

12 Dec.

A new fort projected on the North River.

The situation of the redoubt on the Tawasentha proving inconvenient, arrangements were now made to build, on the west bank of the river, a few miles further north, a larger and more permanent fortification, "with four angles," and to be named "Fort Orange," in honor of the stadtholder. At the same time, preparations were made for the permanent occupation of the genial valley of the South River; and by order of the Amsterdam Chamber,

* Moulton, 369; De Laet, Jaerlyck Verhael. † Hol. Doc., ii., 370.

‡ Wassenaar, vi., 144. Guiana was frequently called by the Dutch "de Wilde Custe," and the Carribees "de Wilde Eylanden."—De Vries, Voyages, p. 120, 137; Otto Keye's Kurtzer Entwurff, &c.

§ Wassenaar, vii., 11; De Laet, App., 3; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 36.

CHAP. V.

1622. A fort on the South River also projected.

some of the traders from Manhattan selected a position on its east bank, at a spot which the natives called "Tekaacho." It was near the present town of Gloucester, in New Jersey, at the mouth of the Timmer Kill, or Timber Creek, then called "Sassackon." Here, among the remnants of the once formidable Lenni-Lenape tribes, a few Dutch traders projected the first European fort on the shores of the Delaware.*

1623. First permanent agricultural colonization of New Netherland.

The spring of the year 1623 was the era of the first permanent agricultural colonization of New Netherland, under the authority of the West India Company. Anxious to commence their colony with willing and active emigrants, the Amsterdam Chamber equipped the "New Netherland," a ship of two hundred and sixty tons burden, and embarked on board of it a company of thirty families. The greater part of these colonists were Walloons, who, disappointed in their first application to Carleton, now emigrated to America under the auspices of the West India Company. The superintendence of the expedition was intrusted to the experienced Cornelis Jacobsen May, of Hoorn, who was to remain in New Netherland as the First Director of the colony; while Adriaen Joris, of Thienpoint, went out as second in command.†

Cornelis Jacobsen May and Adriaen Joris superintend the expedition.

March.

The New Netherland sailed from the Texel in the beginning of March; and, shaping her course by the Canary Islands and the coast of Guiana, arrived safely, in the beginning of May, at the North River. At the mouth of the river, a French vessel was found lying at anchor, whose captain wished to set up the arms of the King of France, and take possession in the name of his sovereign. But "the Hollanders," faithful to the States General and to the Directors of the West India Company, whose designs they were unwilling to see frustrated, "would not let him do it." The yacht Mackarel having just then returned from up the North River, where she had been trading with the

May. Colonists arrive in the province.

* Wassenaar, vii., 11, 12; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 35, 36; Moulton, 366–368; Mickle's Reminiscences, 3; S. Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, 13; Appendix, Note K.

† Wassenaar, vii., 11; xii., 38; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 35, 43; Hol. Doc., ii., 368; Alb. Rec., xxiv., 167.

Indians, was armed at once with a couple of pieces of cannon, and under her convoy the Frenchman was forced to sea. Unwilling to be balked in his pertinacious loyalty, the French captain immediately sailed to the South River, and attempted the same experiment; "but he was foiled in a similar manner by the settlers there."*

1623.

Designs of the French balked.

This affair having been satisfactorily accomplished, eight men were left at Manhattan "to take possession" for the West India Company. Several families, together with a number of sailors and men, were also detailed for service and colonization on the South River, and to the eastward of Manhattan. The New Netherland then went up the North River to Castle Island. When she had proceeded "as far as Sopus, which is half way," her draft of water was found to be a serious impediment. The ship was, therefore, lightened "with some boats that were left there by the Dutch, that had been there the year before, a trading with the Indians upon their own accounts, and gone back again to Holland." By this means, they at length "brought the vessel up."†

The West India Company takes possession of Manhattan.

Colonists sent up the North River.

On the west shore of the river, just above Castle Island, "a fort with four angles, named Orange," which had been projected the previous year, was immediately "thrown up and completed." The colonists forthwith "put the spade in the earth," and began farming operations so vigorously, that, before the yacht Mackarel returned to Holland, their corn "was nearly as high as a man, so that they were getting along bravely." About eighteen families settled themselves at Fort Orange, under Adriaen Joris, who "staid with them all winter," after sending his

Fort Orange built.

* Wassenaar, vii., 11; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 35.

† Depositions of Catelina Trico, in Deed Book, vii., and in N. Y. Col. MSS., xxxv.; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 49–51. These depositions were made in 1685 and 1688, in which latter year the deponent was eighty-three years old. Trico states that she was born in Paris, and that she came out to New Netherland in the year 1623, in the "ship called the Unity (Eendragt?), whereof was commander Arien Joris, belonging to the West India Company, being the first ship that came here for the said company." There is a slight discrepancy between Trico's testimony and Wassenaar's account, which states the name of the ship as the "New Netherland." Wassenaar's account was contemporaneous, and it is confirmed by Hol. Doc., ii., 370; on the other hand, the depositions of Trico were sworn to when she was eighty-three years old, and they describe events which happened sixty-five years before, when she was only eighteen years of age.

CHAP. V. ship home to Holland in charge of his son. As soon as the colonists had built themselves "some huts of bark" around the fort, the Mahikanders, or River Indians, the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, with the Mahawawa or Ottawawa Indians, "came and made covenants of friendship" with Joris, "bringing him great presents of beaver or other peltry, and desired that they might come and have a constant free trade with them, which was concluded upon." For several years afterward, the Indians "were all as quiet as lambs, and came and traded with all the freedom imaginable."*

1623.

New alliance between the Dutch and the Indians.

Jacob Eelkens superseded.

Eelkens, whose base conduct the year before, in imprisoning the Sequin chief on board his yacht, had produced general disgust, was no longer employed by the company; and Daniel van Krieckebeeck was installed as Deputy Commissary at Fort Orange. The new commander, whose name, "for brevity's sake," the colonists soon contracted into "Beeck," became very popular among them, and executed his functions so satisfactorily, "that he was thanked." The management of the fur trade along the river, and in the neighborhood of Manhattan, was intrusted, after Eelkens's supersedure, to Peter Barentsen, who, for several years, performed his duties to the mutual satisfaction of the Indians and of the company.†

Daniel van Krieckebeeck commissary at Fort Orange.

Peter Barentsen superintendent of the Indian trade.

After the construction of Fort Orange, the colonists "also placed upon the Prince's Island, formerly called the Murderer's Island, a fort, which was named by them 'Wilhelmus;' open (plat) in front, with a curtain in the rear, and garrisoned by sixteen men for the defense of the river below."‡

Fort "Wilhelmus."

* Wassenaar, vii., 11; Trico's Deposition, in N. Y. Col. MSS., xxxv.; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 35, 51. Wassenaar says that Fort Orange was built *on* the island. In this he is inaccurate. Fort Nassau, which was swept away and abandoned in 1617, was on Castle Island. "Fort Orange was built on the alluvion ground now occupied by the business part of the city of Albany. The site was that on which stands the building lately known as the 'Fort Orange Hotel,' formerly the mansion of the late Simeon De Witt."—D. D. Barnard's Address before the Albany Institute, 1839. The Fort Orange Hotel was destroyed in the great fire of 1847.

† Wassenaar, vii., 11; xii., 38, 39; De Vries, 113; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 36, 44, 45.

‡ I limit the text to the exact words of Wassenaar, vii., 11 (and translated in Doc. Hist.

The pertinacious attempt which the French captain, who had been convoyed out of the waters of Manhattan, made to set up the arms of France on the South River, though it had been promptly thwarted by the Dutch traders whom he found there, showed the necessity of a permanent post to protect the rights of the Dutch. May, whose previous voyages to that region had made him well acquainted with the country, now hastened to construct a log-fort, on the point at the mouth of the "Timmer Kill," which had been previously selected. This post, like the first Dutch establishment on Castle Island, was named "Fort Nassau," in compliment to the family of the Prince of Orange. About three weeks after the arrival of the New Netherland at Manhattan, four couples, who had been married at sea, on their voyage from Holland, together with eight seamen, were sent in a yacht to the South River, "by order of the Dutch governor," to settle themselves there. The new home of the pioneers was on the east, or Jersey shore, near Gloucester, about four miles below the present city of Philadelphia.*

Fort Nassau built on the South River.

June.

First European colonists settled there.

A few of the New Netherland's passengers, consisting of "two families and six men," it is said, were sent, directly the ship arrived at Manhattan, to the Fresh or Connecticut River, to commence the actual occupation of that part of the Dutch province. A small fort, or trading post, the "Good Hope," is said to have been also now projected and begun; but it was not finished until 1633, ten years afterward.†

May.

The Fresh or Connecticut River occupied by the Dutch.

Another portion of the colonists, who came out in the New Netherland, consisting chiefly of Walloons, soon settled themselves at a "bogt," or small bay, on the west

Walloons settled on Long Island, at the Waal-bogt.

N. Y., iii., p. 35), without adding any suggestions of my own as to the position of Fort "Wilhelmus." The subject, however, is considered in note K, in the Appendix.

* Wassenaar, vii., 11; Vertoogh Van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 71–207, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 272, 280; Hol. Doc., ii., 370; viii., 73; De Vries, 102; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii., 375; Depositions, in iii., Doc. Hist. N. Y., 49, 50, 51; Moulton, 366; Ferris, 19; O'Call., i., 100; Mulford's N. J., 49; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 12, 13; Appendix, note K.

† Deposition of Catelina Trico, in N. Y. Col. MSS., xxxv., and in iii., Doc. Hist. N. Y., p. 50; Vertoogh van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 71–207, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 276, 277. Trico says, that "as soon as they came to Mannatans, now called New York, they sent two families and six men to Harford River."

CHAP. V. shore of Long Island, nearly opposite to "Nechtonk," or Corlaer's Hook, on Manhattan. This settlement, which
1623. was just north of "Marechkawieck," or Brooklyn,* before long became familiarly known as the "Waal-bogt," or Walloon's Cove. The colonists throve apace. Other emigrants followed the first adventurers from Holland; and here, in the month of June, 1625, Sarah Rapelje was born —the first ascertained offspring of European parentage in the province of New Netherland. These early colonists are not to be confounded with the Waldenses, who subsequently emigrated from Amsterdam. The descendants of the Walloons soon spread themselves over the country in the vicinity of the Waal-bogt; and the names of many of the most respectable families on Long Island to this day attest their French and Belgian origin.†

C. J. May, First Director of New Netherland

Cornelis Jacobsen May was now formally installed in his office as the First Director of New Netherland, under the Dutch West India Company. His administration,
1624. however, lasted only one year. In Holland, it was hoped that the colony, so prosperously begun, would, with proper management, go on thriftily. Whoever was placed as commander over the colonists, should exercise his authority "as their father, and not as their executioner; leading
May's administration. them with a gentle hand. For he who governs them as a friend and associate, will be beloved by them; but he who shall rule them as a superior, will overthrow and bring to naught every thing, yea, will stir up against him the neighboring provinces, to which the impatient will fly. 'Tis better to govern by love and friendship than by force." During May's brief directorship, Fort Orange was completed on the North River, and Fort Nassau on the South River. The fur trade was more systematically prosecuted;

* The name of this beautiful and prosperous city is a corruption of its original Dutch appellation, "Breuckelen," which was derived from that of the pretty village about eighteen miles from Amsterdam, on the road to Utrecht. The Walloons, as has been stated (*ante*, p. 146), derived their name from their "Waalsche," or French origin. In the progress of years, their old "Waal-bogt" has become Englished into the present "Wallabout."

† Benson's Memoir, 94; Moulton, 370, 371; Alb. Rec., xi., 332; Dr. De Witt, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, p. 55, and 1848, p. 75; Holgate's American Genealogy.

and the West India Company were soon gladdened with the favorable intelligence which reached them from their infant colony. On his return to Amsterdam, Joris reported that "all was in good condition" in New Netherland, where the colonists were "getting bravely along," and cultivating friendly relations with the savages. All trade now inuring to the exclusive benefit of the West India Company, the cargo of valuable furs which Joris brought back to Holland, as a first year's remittance from New Netherland, on its public sale at Amsterdam, added over twenty-eight thousand guilders to their treasury.* December.

West India Company arrests De Vries's ship at Hoorn.

Meanwhile, the attention of the directors of that corporation had been drawn to a supposed infringement, under their own eyes, of their close monopoly. David Pietersen de Vries, an enterprising mariner of Hoorn, having made several voyages to the Mediterranean and the banks of Newfoundland, procured a commission from the King of France, and, in partnership with some Rochelle merchants, bought a small vessel, for the purpose of going to the fisheries, "and to the coast of Canada, to trade in peltries." The directors of the West India Company, learning the circumstance, sent a committee to Hoorn, and seized the ship, which was lying there ready to sail. De Vries protested that the end of his proposed voyage was beyond the limits of the company's charter; but he protested in vain. The jealousy of the directors was aroused; they were determined to prevent any vessels but their own from sailing out of Holland to the coasts of North America. De Vries, however, was not disheartened. He appealed to the States General, and laid before them his commission from the King of France, countersigned by Admiral Montmorency. The government at the Hague promptly interfered. A letter was addressed to the College of XIX., warning them not to engage, in the beginning of their career, in needless disputes with neighboring European powers, especially with the French; and advis- 24 March. 6 April. The States General interfere.

* Wassenaar, vii., 11; viii., 85; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 36, 37; Hol. Doc., ii., 368; De Laet, App., 29; Budartius, in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 131, 132.

CHAP. V.

ing them to arrange the affair amicably with De Vries, whose proposed voyage was to Canada, and beyond the bounds of

1624. De Vries's ship released.

the company's charter. The directors, after great delay, reluctantly freed the vessel from arrest, enjoining De Vries "not to go within their limits." But the voyage was entirely frustrated by their vexatious proceedings; and De Vries, in the end, sold his ship to the Dordrecht Chamber. The jealous directors refused to make any compensation for the losses De Vries had suffered, who declared to them that he had undertaken his enterprise only with the patriotic design "to make our Netherlands nation acquainted with those regions; since our trade subsists by the sea."*

1625. The "Orange Tree," on her way to New Netherland, arrested in Plymouth. 28 Jan. 8 Feb.

English jealousy, which had slumbered for three years since Carleton's first application to the States General to restrain the Hollanders from trading to New Netherland, was now again aroused. Information was communicated to the Privy Council that a Dutch ship, the "Orange Tree" of Amsterdam, had arrived at Plymouth, on a voyage "to a place in America which is comprehended in a grant made by His Majesty, upon just consideration, to divers of his subjects." The Lords of the Council, therefore, immediately directed Gorges and the authorities at Plymouth to arrest the ship, and send the captain, "with his commission and the plat which he hath," up to London. No other result, however, than the detention of the Orange Tree, appears to have followed the action of the Privy Council. James I. was drawing near the end of his days; and though, personally, he was never cordially disposed toward the Dutch, the foreign relations of England had lately become so critically situated, that he had found it

1624. 15 June.

expedient to form an alliance with the States General.† Under these circumstances, he wisely judged it impolitic

* Hol. Doc., i., 126, 129, 133; Voyages of D. P. de Vries, 41, 42. I quote from the original work of De Vries, published at Alckmaer in 1655. This very rare book, in its complete form, has never before been consulted by any of our writers, who, relying upon the wretched version from the Du Simitière MSS. at Philadelphia (published in ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 250–273), have been betrayed into grave errors, which it will be my duty to notice and correct. A faithful translation of De Vries, by Mr. H. C. Murphy, will soon be published by the New York Historical Society.

† Lond. Doc., i., 34; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 12; Wassenaar, v., 91; Corps. Dip., v., 2, 458; Clarendon State Papers, i., 41; Aitzema, i., 691.

to offend, in any way, the powerful commercial company which it was his evident interest to conciliate.

1625.

Publication of De Laet's "New World" at Leyden.

Early in the year 1625, the attention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces was attracted to the publication, at Leyden, of a black-letter folio History of the "New World, or Description of the West Indies," by John de Laet, one of the most influential directors of the West India Company. This work, which was dedicated to the States General, was composed from "various manuscript journals of different captains and pilots," whose names occur in the course of the descriptions; and from this circumstance its historical authority is nearly equal to that of an original record. Among others, Hudson's own private journal is largely quoted from. This journal was probably handed to De Laet by the Amsterdam directors of the East India Company, to whom it had been transmitted from England. It is a very remarkable coincidence, that authentic extracts of Hudson's own report of his adventures should thus have appeared in Holland, in the same year that Purchas was publishing at London, in his "Pilgrims," the formal log-book in which Juet, the mate of the Half Moon, recorded the discovery of New Netherland. Besides Hudson's private journal, De Laet appears to have had in his possession the original reports of Block, Christiaensen, and May. Until the recent reference to the earlier "Historical Relation" of Wassenaar—which contains a general statement of interesting events in Europe and America from 1621 to 1632—the work of De Laet was thought to contain the first published account of the Dutch province. Its authority is deservedly very high; and had English and American writers consulted its accurate pages, less injustice would, perhaps, have been done to the Hollanders who explored the coasts of New Netherland, and piloted their adventurous yachts along the shores of its bays and streams, years before a British vessel ascended the North or South Rivers, or passed through Long Island Sound.*

Purchas's "Pilgrims" in London.

Wassenaar's "Historische Verhael" published at Amsterdam.

* There are four editions of De Laet's "New World." The first was published by the

CHAP. V. 1625.

The capacity of New Netherland for cultivation and production being now favorably known to the public, the West India Company determined to prosecute vigorously the work of colonization. The yacht Mackarel was again dispatched to Manhattan, with a cargo of "necessaries" for the use of the colonists already there. But when only two days out from the Texel, the vessel was captured in a fog by some of the enemy's privateers, and carried a prize into Dunkirk.* This mischance, however, was soon repaired. Peter Evertsen Hulft, one of the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, promptly undertook to convey to the colony, at his own risk, such necessary articles as might be provided. Two ships, each of two hundred and eighty tons burden, were accordingly fitted out in the same spring, and loaded with one hundred and three head of cattle, among which were stallions and mares, bulls and cows, for breeding, as well as swine and sheep. The animals were carefully provided for on shipboard, almost as well as on shore. "Each beast," says the exact Wassenaar, "had its own separate stall," arranged upon a flooring of sand, three feet deep, which was laid upon a deck specially constructed in the vessel. Under this deck each ship carried three hundred tuns of fresh water, for the use of the cattle. Hay and straw were provided in abundance for the voyage; and all kinds of seeds, and plows and other farming implements, were sent on board for the use of the colony. Hulft also added a third ship to the expedition, "that there should be no failure" in carrying out the enterprise he had undertaken. Along with these three vessels went a fast-sailing yacht or "fluyt," fitted out by the directors of the company on their own account. These vessels carried out six entire families, besides several free

25 April.

27 April.

Hulft sends three ships to New Netherland at his own risk.

April.

A yacht also sent by the company.

Elzeviers of Leyden, in Dutch, in 1625; the second, also in Dutch, revised and enlarged, in 1630; the third, in Latin, in 1633; and the fourth, in French, in 1640. Translations of extracts from the third book of De Laet have been published in the second series of N. Y. H. S. Collections, i., 289–315; ii., 373. De Laet also wrote a "History of the West India Company," which was published by the Elzeviers in 1644; but it has not been translated. While I was in Holland in 1841, efforts were made to ascertain the fate of De Laet's papers, and procure the original documents from which he wrote. But in vain.

* Wassenaar, ix., 37; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 361.

emigrants ("vrye persoonen"); so that forty-five new settlers were thus added to the population of New Netherland. "This colony has a great scope, lying close by the track of the Spaniards from the West Indies," said the sagacious merchants of Amsterdam, as the little squadron sailed gayly into the Zuyder Zee.*

July. Success of the voyage. First cattle landed on Nutten Island. Transferred to Manhattan.

The voyage was entirely successful; only two of the beasts died at sea. On their arrival, they were first landed at "Nutten," or Governor's Island; but that spot furnishing no sufficient pasture, they were taken, a day or two afterward, by shallops and barges, to Manhattan. There they eventually throve very well on the rich grass, "as beautiful and long as one could wish," which abounded in the valleys. But, being at first allowed to run wild, about twenty in all died, from eating some poisonous herbage, which covered the fallow soil with its rank luxuriance. In the same summer and autumn, the Amsterdam directors were gladdened by the arrival of two vessels from New Netherland, "loaded mostly with peltries," and bringing news of the "great contentment" of the adventurers.†

July. November.

William Verhulst succeeds May as second Director of New Netherland.

Strengthened by this last arrival, the growing colony now numbered over two hundred souls; and Cornelis Jacobsen May, who had administered its simple government during the year 1624, was succeeded by William Verhulst, as the second Director of New Netherland. Verhulst's administration, like that of his predecessor, lasted, however, only one year; at the end of which, he returned to Holland. He seems to have visited the South River in person, to examine into the state of affairs there; and his name was for a long time commemorated by "Verhulsten Island," near the bend of the Delaware at Trenton. Upon this island, which is described as being "near the falls of that river, and near the west side thereof," the West India

1626. November.

Verhulsten Island, near the Trenton Falls.

* Wassenaar, ix., 40; xii., 37; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 38, 39, 42.

† Wassenaar, ix., 123; x., 82; xii., 37; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 41, 42; Benson, 94. De Laet, cap. ix., says that the Dutch originally gave what is now known as "Governor's Island," opposite the Battery, in New York harbor, the name of "Nutten Island, because excellent nut-trees grew there."

CHAP. V. 1625. Walloons settled there.

Company established a trading house, "where there were three or four families of Walloons." These families, however, did not remain very long in their lonely frontier home.*

Death of Maurice, prince of Orange. 23 April.

The year 1625 was marked by two important public events in Europe, which incidentally influenced the affairs of New Netherland. After thirty years of active military service, Maurice, Prince of Orange, the "Fabius of the Netherlands," died at the Hague. Equal to the most celebrated captains of any age or nation, Maurice appeared to far less advantage in his political capacity, as the stadtholder of the United Provinces. Many a deed of glory illustrates his splendid military career; but the eye of posterity will never cease to look with reproach upon that darkest spot which blots his checkered escutcheon—the blood of Olden Barneveldt. Upon the death of Maurice, the States General conferred the vacant offices of captain and admiral general on his brother, Frederick Henry, who succeeded him as Prince of Orange, and who was also, soon afterward, created Stadtholder by a majority of the provinces. The new prince, who far excelled his brother in prudence, moderation, and capacity for government, entered upon the administration of affairs under circumstances which, though discouraging, gave promise of brighter days. Religious hostilities were soon restrained to the precincts of the consistories; and the voice of patriotism, which for awhile had been stifled by the clamor of polemical discussion and the vehemence of party strife,

Succeeded by his brother, Frederick Henry.

* Wassenaar, xii., 37, 38; xvi., 13; xviii., 94; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 42, 43, 47, 48 Van der Donck's Map of N. N.; Deposition of Peter Laurensen, in Deed Book, vii., and in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 50. Laurensen's deposition was made before Governor Dongan, on the 24th of March, 1685. He says that "he came into this Province a servant to the West India Company, in the year 1628; and in the year 1630 (1631?), by order of the West India Company, he, with seven more, were sent in a sloop with hoy saile to Dela ware, where the company had a trading house, with ten or twelve servants belonging to it, which the deponent himself did see there settled. And he further saith, that at his return from Delaware River, the said vessel stopped at the Horekill, where the depo nent did also see a settlement of a brick house, belonging to the West India Company And the deponent further saith, that upon an island near the falls of that river, and near the west side thereof, the said company, some three or four years afore, had a trading house, where there were three or four families of Walloons. The place of their settlement he saw; and that they had been seated there, he was informed by some of the said Walloons themselves, when they were returned from thence."—G. Thomas' W. Jersey, p. 14.

once more aroused men of all sects and all opinions to unite in defense of their Fatherland.*

1625.

The death of James I., which happened about a month before that of Maurice, led the government at the Hague and the directors of the West India Company to hope that the hostilities, which had just broken out between England and Spain, would be vigorously prosecuted by Charles I., and would assist the military operations of the republic against the common enemy. They were not disappointed. In revenge for the failure of the Prince of Wales's intended marriage with the Infanta, James had been hurried into a war with his former ally. Still further to humble her, he had, in 1624, entered into a defensive alliance, for two years, with the Dutch; and had agreed to allow the States General to levy six thousand men within his kingdom, and at his cost, upon condition that their expenses should be repaid at the conclusion of a peace between the United Provinces and Spain. Within six months after his accession, Charles I. took a still more decided step. He concluded, at Southampton, a treaty with the States General, by which he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Dutch, to continue as long as the King of Spain should prosecute his designs "against the liberty and rights of the United Provinces," and occupy the Palatinate with his troops. The allies bound themselves to equip fleets for the purpose of destroying the Spanish commerce in the East and West Indies; and the treaty expressly stipulated that the ports of the two countries should be reciprocally open to the war and merchant vessels of both parties.† The king, however, accompanied his ratification of the Treaty of Southampton with a protest that it should not prevent his demanding proper satisfaction for the injuries which the Dutch were alleged to have done the English at Amboyna, the year before. A few weeks afterward, Charles dispatched the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Hol-

27 March. Death of King James I.

Accession of Charles I.

$\frac{7}{17}$ Sept. Treaty of Southampton between the English and Dutch.

17 October.

* Davies, ii., 557, 566.

† Corps. Dip., v., 2, 458, 478; Clarendon State Papers, i., 41, 53; Aitzema, i., 691, 1226; Lond. Doc., i., 36; Hol. Doc., ix., 292; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 13.

CHAP. V. land as ambassadors extraordinary to the States General,
1625. charged with instructions to negotiate a still closer alliance; to "remember" the States General "that the only foundation and principal cement of their estate being their unity, they must by all means conserve that;" and to assure them of the king's sincere desire to interpose, "by way of mediation, in all differences within their state," and continue in "every office and duty of a good neighbor, friend, and ally."*

These circumstances favorably affected the rising fortunes of New Netherland. Great Britain and the United Provinces were now allies. The West India Company, presuming that the same causes that had induced Charles to open his ports to their vessels, and postpone retaliation for the alleged barbarities at Amboyna, would prevent his interfering with their design to found a stable colony in America, immediately commissioned Peter Minuit, of Wesel, to succeed William Verhulst, in the chief command in New Netherland, as its Director General. Minuit left Amsterdam, accordingly, toward the end of December, in the ship "Sea-Mew," Captain Adriaen Joris. The ship sailed from the Texel on the ninth of January, 1626, and arrived at Manhattan on the fourth of the following May.†

Peter Minuit succeeds Verhulst as Director General of New Netherland. 19 Dec.

1626.

4 May. Arrives at Manhattan.

* Rymer Federa, xviii., 77, 209.

† Wassenaar, xii., 39; xvi., 13; De Laet, App., 4; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 46, 47.

CHAPTER VI.

1626–1629.

CHAP. VI.

1626.

Provincial government of New Netherland under Peter Minuit.

THE College of Nineteen of the West India Company, immediately on its organization, intrusted, as we have seen, to the Amsterdam Chamber the particular management of its North American Province. Sworn to the double allegiance which the charter required, Director PETER MINUIT, on his arrival at Manhattan, commenced an administration which was to be a faithful reflection of the peculiar commercial policy of his immediate principals. Their will, as expressed in instructions, or declared in ordinances, was to be the supreme law of New Netherland: in cases not thus specifically provided for, the civil law, and the statutes, edicts, and customs of the Fatherland were to be paramount.*

4 May.

Council.

To assist the director, a council was appointed, which was invested with all local, legislative, judicial, and executive powers, subject to the supervision and appellate jurisdiction of the Chamber at Amsterdam. Criminal justice was administered by the council to the extent of fine and imprisonment, but not to the taking away of life. If any person was capitally convicted, "he must be sent, with his sentence, to Holland."† Next in authority to the director and council was the chief commissary or "Koopman," who was the book-keeper of the company's affairs, and also acted as Secretary of the Province. Subordinate to these was the "Schout,"‡ whose responsible

Schout.

* Moulton, 369. † Wassenaar, xii., 38; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 43.

‡ According to Grotius, this term is an abbreviation of "Schuld-rechter," a judge of crimes.—Grotius, Inleydinge, 127; Davies, i., 77.

CHAP. VI. office combined the double duties of Public Procurator and Sheriff. He was not a member of the council, but
1626. their executive officer; and, besides his other ordinary functions, he was specially charged with the due inspection and enforcement of the revenue regulations of the Colonial Custom-house. During Minuit's direction of affairs, his council consisted of Peter Byvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wissinck, Jan Janssen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos, and Reynert Harmenssen. The schout, or sheriff, was
Provincial secretary. Jan Lampo, of Cantelberg. Isaac de Rasieres was bookkeeper and provincial secretary for about two years, and was then succeeded by Jan van Remund.

Minuit's administration began vigorously. Up to this period, the Dutch had possessed Manhattan Island only by right of first discovery and occupation. It was now determined to superadd a higher title, by purchase from
Purchase of Manhattan Island from the aborigines. the aborigines. As soon as Minuit was installed in his government, he opened negotiations with the savages; and a mutually satisfactory treaty was promptly concluded, by which the entire island of Manhattan, then estimated to contain about twenty-two thousand acres of land, was ceded by the native proprietors, to the Dutch West India Company, "for the value of sixty guilders," or about twenty-four dollars of our present currency.* This event, one of the most interesting in our colonial annals, as well deserves commemoration, as the famous treaty, immortalized by painters, poets, and historians, which William
1682. Penn concluded, fifty-six years afterward, under the great elm-tree, with the Indians at Shackamaxon.

A short time after Minuit sailed, another ship, the "Arms of Amsterdam," was dispatched from Holland, having on board Isaac de Rasieres, a protégé of Samuel Blommaert, one of the leading directors of the West India
1626. Company. De Rasieres reached New Netherland in July,
27 July. and immediately entered on his duties as "opper koop-

* Hol. Doc., i., 155; Mr. S. Lawrence's Report to the Senate of the State of N. Y., 3d February, 1844, No. 42, p. 4, 5; Mr. G. Folsom's Report to the Senate, 5th May, 1845, No. 111, p. 5, 6.

man," or chief commissary, and secretary of the province under Director Minuit.* As yet, no arrangements had been made for a regular clergyman; but his place was, to a certain extent, supplied by two "Krank-besoeckers," or "consolers of the sick," Sebastian Jansen Krol and Jan Huyck, whose particular duty it was to read to the people, on Sundays, "some texts out of the Scriptures, together with the Creeds."† François Molemaecker was also employed in building a horse-mill, with a spacious room above to serve for a large congregation; and a tower was to be added, in which the Spanish bells captured at Porto Rico, the year before, by the West India Company's fleet, were intended to be hung.‡

Comforters of the sick.

The island of Manhattan having now become, by purchase, the private property of the West India Company, no time was lost in providing for its permanent security. A large fort, "with four angles," and to be faced with solid stone, was staked out by the engineer, Kryn Frederycke, on the southern point of the island.§ "This point," suggested De Rasieres, "might, with little trouble, be made a small island, by cutting through Blommaert's valley, so as to afford a haven, winter and summer, for sloops and ships." Its commanding position was well appreciated; and its future destiny prophesied. "It ought, from its nature, to be a Royal Fort, so that it could be approached by land only on one side; as it is a triangle bounded by the two rivers. Three angles are indicated by nature. The most northern is opposite to, and commands within the range of a cannon shot, the Great Mau-

Fort commenced on Manhattan Island.

Commanding situation of the Battery appreciated.

* De Rasieres's Letter, in ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 343.

† In the Church of Holland, it is the duty of the "Krank-besoeckers," or "Ziekentroosters," to visit and pray with the sick. See also Liturgy of the R. D. Church, part vi. The translation of Wassenaar, in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 42, erroneously renders "met de gelofsen," "*with the comment.*" The "Geloof" really means "the Creed;" which the "voorleezers," or clerks, in the churches in Holland, to this day, read from the "Doophuÿsje," or baptistery, under the pulpit. Until a recent period, this custom was kept up in the Reformed Dutch churches in this country.

‡ Wassenaar, xii., 38; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 42, 43.

§ Wassenaar, xii., 38; xvi., 13; Hol. Doc., ii., 370. Moulton, 367, affirms, that the fort "was a mere block-house, surrounded with red-cedar palisades." The circumstance that, in 1790 and 1791, several cedar palisades were dug up under the ruins of the old fort, seems to be the only authority for this statement.

CHAP. VI. 1626.

ritius River and the land. The southernmost, on the water level, commands the channel between Nutten Island and the fort, together with the Hell-gate; the third point, opposite to Blommaert's valley, commands the low land. The middle, which ought to be left as a landmark, is the height of a hillock above the surrounding land, and should always serve as *a Battery*, which might command the three points, if the streets should be arranged accordingly."*

Houses at Manhattan.

The "Comptoir," or counting-house of the company, was kept in a stone building, thatched with reeds. Some thirty other "ordinary houses," constructed chiefly of the bark of trees, were clustered along the east side of the river, "which runs nearly north and south." Each colonist had his own house. The director and the koopman and secretary lived together. As soon, however, as the fort should be built, it was intended that all the settlers should betake themselves within its walls, so as to be secure from any sudden attack of the savages.†

The fort named "Fort Amsterdam."

In advance of its completion, the post was named "Fort Amsterdam."‡ While it was in progress of building, an event occurred which, though its criminal authors may have escaped detection and punishment, was destined to cause much of the misery which afterward visited the province. A Weckquaesgeek Indian, with his nephew, "a small boy," and another savage, came down from the abode of their tribe in West Chester, bringing with them some beaver-skins to barter with the Dutch at the fort. The beaten trail of the savages, coming from the north and east to Manhattan, was along the shore of the East River, from which, just north of what is now called "Kip's Bay," it diverged to the westward, and passed near the swampy ground forming the "Kolck," or pond of fresh water, until recently known as the "Collect." When the Indian trading-party reached this pond, they were met by three farm-servants, in the employ of Commander Minuit, who robbed

Murder of a Weckquaesgeek Indian near the Kolck.

* De Rasieres's Letter, in ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 345, 346.

† Wassenaar, xii., 38; xvi., 13; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 42, 47.

‡ Wassenaar, xvi., 13.

1626.

the Weckquaesgeek of his peltries, and then murdered him. The atrocious deed seems to have remained for a long time unknown to the Dutch authorities; and its actual perpetrators probably escaped punishment. But the young savage, who witnessed his uncle's murder, vowed that, when he grew up, "he would revenge himself on the Dutch." And, in after years, the duty which Indian justice inexorably imposed was awfully executed.*

Such were the "rude beginnings" of Manhattan. Its first settlers brought with them the characteristics of their Fatherland. "They were as busy and industrious as in Holland." One traded with the natives, southward and northward; another built houses; a third cultivated the land. Each farmer had his homestead upon the company's land, and was also furnished with cows, the milk of which was his own profit.† "The island of the Manhatas," wrote De Rasieres to his patron Blommaert, "is full of trees, and, in the middle, rocky. On the north side, there is good land in two places, where two farmers, each with four horses, would have enough to do, without much clearing or grubbing at first. The grass is good in the forests and valleys; but when made into hay, it is not so nutritious for the cattle as the hay in Holland, in consequence of its wild state; yet it annually improves by cultivation. On the east side there rises a large level field, of about one hundred and sixty acres, through which runs a very fine fresh stream;‡ so that that land can be plowed without much clearing. It appears to be good. The six farms, four of which lie along the River Hell-gate, stretching to the south side of the island, have at least one hundred and twenty acres ready to be sown with

Description of Manhattan by De Rasieres.

* De Vries's Voyages, 164; Journal van N. N., Hol. Doc., iii., 105; v., 314. The "Versch Water," or *Fresh Water*, mentioned by De Vries as the scene of this murder, was the large pond formerly about midway between Broadway and Chatham Street, known as "het Kolck," or "the Pond." From this Kolck a stream, over which there was a bridge, near the corner of Chatham and Roosevelt Streets, flowed into the East River. The "Kolck" was afterward Anglicized into "Collect;" and Judge Benson affirms that, as it *collected* the waters from the adjacent high grounds, "an etymologist not long since chose to imagine the true original name to have been an English one."—Memoir, &c., p. 83.

† Wassenaar, xii., 38; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 43.

‡ The Kolck.

CHAP VI. winter seed, which, at the most, may have been plowed eight times."*

1626. Affairs at Fort Orange.

While every thing was thus thriving at Manhattan, the settlers at Fort Orange, who, independently of ten or twelve sailors in the company's service, forming the garrison, now numbered eight families, were quietly pursuing their farming operations, and maintaining the most friendly relations with the neighboring savages. This was the most northern point at which the Hollanders had traded; and Commissary Krieckebeeck, who had now been for three years in command of the post, had hitherto given general satisfaction, both to the colonists and the natives. The superintendence of the fur trade, however, after Eelkens's supersedure, was conducted by Peter Barentsen, who, from time to time, went up the river, and along the coasts to the eastward, visiting all the neighboring waters in his shallops, and bringing back large cargoes to Manhattan. Barentsen soon became very popular among the various savage tribes to the north and east, from the Mohawks and Mahicans to the Wapenoos around Narragansett Bay, and "traded with them for peltries in great friendship." The chief of the Sequins, inhabiting the valley of the Connecticut, and "to whom all the clans of the north coast were tributary," whom Eelkens had treacherously imprisoned on board his yacht in 1622, for a long time would have no intercourse with the Dutch. Barentsen at length succeeded in making a treaty with the chief; who, however, "would trust no one but him."†

An event now occurred which affected very materially the prosperity of the settlement at Fort Orange. The stockaded village of the Mahicans was situated on the east side of the river, nearly opposite the Dutch fort; and a constant intercourse was kept up between the two parties. Since the Treaty at Tawasentha, the Mohawks and Mahicans had lived in harmony with each other, and with

* De Rasieres's Letter, in ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 345. The name of "Hell-gate," which is now confined to the whirlpool near Hallett's Cove, was, as has been stated (*ante*, p. 56, note), applied by the Dutch to the East River generally.

† Wassenaar, xii., 39; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 45.

the Dutch settlers, who had continued to observe a strict neutrality. Peace, however, was now interrupted; and a war party of the Mahicans crossing the river, asked the Dutch commander to join them, with six of his men, on a hostile expedition against the Mohawks. Krieckebeeck inconsiderately assenting, accompanied them a few miles into the interior from Fort Orange, where they met the Mohawks, "who fell upon them so vigorously with a discharge of arrows," that the whole party was put to flight, and many of them killed. Among the slain were Krieckebeeck and three of his men, one of whom, Tymen Bouwensen, "was eaten by the savages after he had been well roasted." The bodies of the commander and his other two men were buried side by side. Three of the party, two of whom were Portuguese, and one a Hollander from Hoorn, escaped. One of the Portuguese was hit in the back by an arrow as he was swimming for his life.* A leg and an arm of the slain were carried home by the victorious Mohawks, to be distributed among their wigwams, "as a proof that they had overcome their adversaries."

CHAP. VI.

1626. Commander Krieckebeeck attacks the Mohawks.

Is slain.

A few days after this occurrence, Peter Barentsen arrived at Fort Orange in his trading shallop. The Mohawks immediately justified their conduct. "We have done nothing," said the red men, "against the whites—why did they meddle with us? Had it been otherwise, this would not have happened from us."†

As there was now no commander at Fort Orange, Director Minuit ordered Barentsen to take charge of the post. After a short time, having succeeded in placing affairs there once more upon a good footing with the Mohawks, he was relieved by Sebastian Jansen Krol, one of the "consolers of the sick" at Manhattan; who, for several years, continued in command of Fort Orange, as the company's commissary and "vice-director." Soon afterward, Barentsen embarked for Holland, in the "Arms of Amsterdam," Captain Adriaen Joris, in charge of a very valuable cargo

Barentsen appointed in his place

Succeeded by Krol.

23 Sept. Barentsen returns to Holland.

* The Mohawks do not appear to have been, as yet, provided with fire-arms.

† Wassenaar, xii., 38; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 43, 44.

CHAP. VI. 1626.

of furs and ship timber; and brought to the Amsterdam Chamber the interesting intelligence of the purchase of Manhattan Island, and of the diligence and prosperity of the colonists there, "whose wives had borne them children."*

Colonists removed from Fort Orange to Manhattan.

The tragical result of Krieckebeeck's inconsiderate conduct interrupted for a time the progress of colonization at Fort Orange. Minuit, distrustful of the safety of the settlers there, who were so far off from the succor of their countrymen, now directed the eight families to remove, during the course of the year, down the river to Manhattan. A garrison of sixteen men only, "without any women," was left at Fort Orange, under the command of Krol, who was assisted by Dirck Cornelissen Duyster, as under commissary.

Verhulsten Island and Fort Nassau deserted by the Dutch.

At the same time, the Walloons at "Verhulsten Island," on the South River, seem to have returned from their lonely post, to Manhattan and Long Island. Fort Nassau was also evacuated by its small garrison, which was transferred to Manhattan; and, for the sake of economy, a single yacht only was employed in trading in that region. At this early period, the intermediate regions between Manhattan and the South River were very little known to the colonists. The Indian tribes of New Jersey were in a state of constant enmity, and the inland passage "was seldom made." When the Dutch had occasion to send letters overland, they were dispatched "across the bay," and carried forward from tribe to tribe, by different runners, unless "one among them might happen to be on friendly terms, and might venture to go there." The chief motive for these arrangements was to concentrate as many householders as possible at the chief colony on Manhattan, where the natives were "becoming more and more accustomed to the presence of foreigners."†

The Puritans at New Plymouth.

The Puritan Pilgrims had, meanwhile, been quietly settled for five years at New Plymouth. During this period,

* Hol. Doc , i., 155; Wassenaar, xii., 39.

† Wassenaar, xii., 38; xvi., 13; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 50; De Rasieres's Letter, in ii., N. Y. H. S Coll., ii., 344, 345; *ante*, page 160, note.

their attention had been chiefly confined to the domestic concerns of their colony; and so little were they, at first, aware of the geography of the country directly around them, that, relying upon the vague reports of the Indians, they supposed New England to be an island.* With Massasoit, the sachem of the Wapanoos, or Wampanoags, around Narragansett Bay, they had early concluded a treaty of friendship. In the spring of 1623, intelligence reached New Plymouth that a Dutch ship had been driven ashore by stress of weather in Narragansett Bay, near the residence of Massasoit, who was, at the same time, reported to be dangerously ill. Governor Bradford accordingly determined to send "some acceptable persons" to visit the sachem, as well as "to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity." Edward Winslow, who had formerly been in Holland, and understood, "in some measure, the Dutch tongue," was therefore selected for the service. But the Dutch ship had, meanwhile, got afloat, and sailed away about two o'clock of the day that Winslow reached the Narragansett Bay; "so that, in that respect," his journey "was frustrate."†

CHAP. VI.

1626.

1623. March.

Commercial superiority of the Dutch at Manhattan.

From their priority in discovery and their commercial superiority, the Dutch had hitherto enjoyed decided advantages over the Pilgrims. Almost all the fur trade in the neighborhood of Narragansett and Buzzard's Bays was monopolized by the enterprising schippers from Manhattan. This the Pilgrims felt, and grieved; and one of Bradford's chief motives in hurrying Winslow off to Massasoit's country, was to endeavor to dissuade the Dutch from interfering with a trade in which they so greatly overmatched the Plymouth colonists. These enterprising rivals of the Puritans supplied the Indian tribes with the various fabrics imported from Holland, and obtained in return the furs, corn, and venison of the savages. When a circulating medium was required, the Indians, rejecting the coins of Europe, with which they were unac-

* Winslow, in Young, 371.

† Ibid., 313, 317.

CHAP. VI

1626.

Sewan or wampum.

quainted, substituted their own aboriginal money, which they called *Sewan*. Of this there were two kinds; *Wampum*, or white beads, made of the stem of the periwinkle, and *Suckauhock*, or black beads, made of a part of the inside of the clam-shell. The black beads were the gold of the Indians—of double the value of the white; but either were of more esteem with the red men than the coinage of Europe. The ascertained value of Sewan, or, as it was usually called by the English, Wampum, rendered it the most convenient medium of trade, not only between the European and the savage, but between the various tribes of Indians themselves. It was not only their money, but their jewelry. Universal in its use and unquestioned in its value, it ornamented their persons, distinguished the rich from the poor, paid ransoms, satisfied tribute, sealed contracts, atoned for injuries. In the form of a belt, it entered largely into the ceremonial of Indian diplomacy; and it recorded the various public transactions of the tribes.*

Its value and uses.

Long Island and its chief manufactory.

The chief manufacturers of this aboriginal currency were the Indians of Long Island, or "Sewan-hacky;" and the primitive colonial mint which the Dutch at Manhattan thus early possessed, almost at their very doors, gave them an immense advantage in their trade with the neighboring savages.† Of this they had not failed to avail themselves. Their sloops continually visited the Narragansett, and penetrated the adjacent rivers. From the Indians with whom they traded, the New Netherland settlers had often heard of the Pilgrims nestled at New Plymouth; but, hitherto, they had not met.

The native courtesy of the Dutch colonists now prompt-

* Moulton, 376, 377; Mass. Hist. Coll., i., 152; iii., 231.

† "Sewan-hacky," the name frequently applied by the Dutch to Long Island, was compounded from "Sewan," and the Delaware word "hacky," or "hacking," "the land."—Moulton, 342. "The Mohawks, the Pequods, and other powerful tribes, made frequent wars upon the Long Island Indians, and compelled them to pay tribute in this almost universal article of trade and commerce. The immense quantity that was manufactured accounts for the fact that, in the most extensive shell-banks left by the Indians, it is rare to find a whole shell, all having been broken in the process of making wampum. And it is not unlikely that many of the largest heaps of shells still existing are the remains of a wampum manufactory."—Thompson's Long Island, i., 87; *ante*, p. 373.

1627.

ed them to open a friendly correspondence with the former guests of their Fatherland. De Rasieres, the secretary of New Netherland, by Director Minuit's order, accordingly drew up a letter, dated at "Manhattas, in Fort Amsterdam," which, with a counterpart in French, "written in a very fair hand," was dispatched to Bradford, the Governor of New Plymouth. This was the first communication between the Pilgrims and their Dutch neighbors, "of whom," said Bradford, "we had heard much by the natives, but never could hear from them or meet with them, before they themselves thus wrote to us, and after sought us out." The New Netherland authorities congratulated the Governor of New Plymouth on the prosperous condition of his people; proffered good-will and reciprocity; alluded to the propinquity and long-continued friendship of their native countries; and inviting friendly commercial relations, offered to accommodate their English neighbors with any commodities or merchandise they might want.*

9 March. The Dutch open a correspondence with the Puritans.

The Governor of New Plymouth at once answered the friendly overture from Manhattan; and, unwilling to be outdone in courtesy, translated his reply into the Dutch language. Deprecating the "over high titles" which Batavian politeness required, and which Puritan usage rejected, Bradford reciprocated the friendly greetings of his neighbors in New Netherland, and congratulated them upon the recent alliance of their native countries against their "common enemy the Spaniards." This of itself was enough to unite the two colonies together "in love and good neighborhood;" "yet," he added, "are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day; for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same." The Plymouth colony being, for this year,

Bradford replies. $\frac{19}{29}$ March.

* Morton's Memorial, 133; Prince; Bradford's Letter Book, in Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 51; and ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 355, 360.

CHAP. VI. 1627. "fully supplied with all necessaries," Bradford suggested that, at some future occasion, they might, perhaps, have dealings with their Holland neighbors, if their "rates be reasonable." At the same time, his English loyalty prompted him to question the right of the Dutch "to trade or plant" within the limits of New England, "which extend to forty degrees." Yet the Plymouth colonists, desirous to continue "good neighborhood and correspondence" with the Dutch, would not "go about to molest or trouble" them in any thing, if only they would "forbear to trade with the natives in this Bay and River of Narragansett and Sowames, which is, as it were, at our doors."*

Asks the Dutch to forbear trading in Narragansett Bay.

The claim of English supremacy over New Netherland, which the Governor of the New Plymouth colony thus set up, could not be admitted by the authorities at Fort Amsterdam. A few weeks afterward, Director Minuit accordingly dispatched a letter to Bradford, which, though expressed in very friendly terms, firmly maintained the "right and liberty" of the Dutch to trade with the Narragansetts, as they had done, for many years, without question or interruption. "As the English claim authority under the King of England, so we," said Minuit, "derive ours from the States of Holland, and will defend it."†

May.

Minuit maintains the right of the Dutch.

Thinking that this correspondence of the Plymouth colonists with the Dutch would give their enemies at home "occasion to raise slanders and frame accusations" against them, Bradford took care to send copies of De Rasieres's "first letter, with our answer thereto, and their reply to the same," to the Council of New England. He wrote, at the same time, another letter to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and intrusted his dispatches to the care of Isaac Allerton, who was now sent out a second time to London, as agent

Bradford sends copies of the correspondence to England.

$\frac{15}{25}$ June.

* Bradford's Letter Book; Moulton, 379; ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 360, 361.

† ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 362. Bradford, in his Letter Book, does not give the second letter from the Dutch in full, nor even their third letter, of the 7th of August, by the hands of Jan Jacobsen. The tenor of the two is, however, gathered from Bradford's reply to both, of the 14th (24th) August. The second Dutch letter must have been written about May, for Bradford, along with his letter to the Council of New England, of 15th (25th) June, sent copies "of their first letters, of our answer, and of their reply," to which he adds, he had "as yet no opportunity to give answer."—Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 56; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 365, 366.

1627.

for the colony. In his letters to England, Bradford stated that the Dutch, "for strength of men and fortification, far exceed us, and all in this land." "They have used trading here," he added, "this six or seven and twenty years, but have begun to plant of later time; and now have reduced their trade to some order, and confined it only to their company, which heretofore was spoiled by their seamen and interlopers, as ours is, this year, most notoriously." And, besides spoiling their trade, the Dutch still continued "to truck pieces, powder, and shot," with the Indians, "which will be the overthrow of all, if it be not looked into."*

Meanwhile, no answer was returned to the last communication from Fort Amsterdam. Minuit, after waiting three months longer, accordingly dispatched Jan Jacobsen, of Wiringen, the captain of the ship "Three Kings," which then happened to be in port, as a special messenger, with another letter, reiterating the most friendly sentiments, and inviting the English to send an authorized agent to Manhattan, to confer "by word of mouth touching our mutual commerce and trading;" or, if that should be inconvenient, offering "to depute one" themselves. At the same time, in token of their good-will, the Dutch authorities sent "a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses," as a present to the governor of New Plymouth.

7 August. Minuit sends a messenger with presents to Bradford.

The Dutch messenger was kindly received, and handsomely entertained by Bradford; and, a few days afterward, brought back to the authorities at Fort Amsterdam the reply of the Puritans to their two last letters. Acknowledging their acceptable presents, and reciprocating their expressions of friendship, Bradford requested that the Dutch would delegate a commissioner to New Plymouth, and excused himself from sending one to Manhattan, because "one of our boats is abroad, and we have much business at home." With friendly zeal, he added a warning to his neighbors against "those of Virginia, or the fishing ships which come to New England," which might make

$\frac{14}{24}$ August.

The Puritans ask the Dutch to send a delegate to New Plymouth.

* Bradford's Letter Book, Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 48, 49, 56, 57.

CHAP. VI. 1627.

prize of them, "as they surprised a colony of the French not many years since, which was seated within these bounds." And against the Dutch claim of rights, by reason of their early and long-continued trade, and the charter from their government, Bradford, pleading prior English title, under Elizabeth's grant of Virginia, and James's sweeping patents, suggested that the States General should come to some "agreement with the king's majesty and state of England hereabout, before any inconvenience befall; for howsoever you may be assured for ourselves, yet we should be sorry to hear you should sustain harm from any of our nation."*

Minuit, on receiving the report of the "kind and friendly entertainment" with which Bradford had treated his messenger, determined to send a formal embassy to New Plymouth, conformably to the governor's request. Isaac de Rasieres, the Secretary of the Province, and second in rank to the Director, was selected as the first ambassador of New Netherland. He was "a man of fair and genteel behavior," and well fitted for a mission, which was of as much relative importance, in the primitive days of the Dutch and English colonies, as the more stately embassies of Europe. Freighting the "barque Nassau" with a few articles for traffic, and manning her with a retinue of soldiers and trumpeters, De Rasieres set out from Manhattan, late in September; and, sailing through Hell-gate, and along the shores of Connecticut and Rhode Island, arrived, early the next month, off "Frenchman's Point,† at a small river, where those of Patuxet (New Plymouth) have a house made of hewn oak planks, called Aptuxet; where they keep two men winter and summer, in order to maintain the trade and possession."‡ This was Manomet, near an Indian village, at the head of Buzzard's Bay—the site of the present village of Monumet, in the town of Sandwich.§ Hither the Dutch and French had "both used to come" to traffic with the natives. It was about eight miles from

Isaac de Rasieres dispatched on an embassy to the Puritans.

September.

Arrives at Manomet, on Buzzard's Bay.

* Bradford's Letter Book, Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 53; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 362, 363.
† Morton's Memorial, 61. ‡ De Rasieres's Letter, ii., N. Y. H. S Coll., ii., 350.
§ ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 358.

Cape Cod Bay, into which flowed a creek, affording a ready channel of communication across the peninsula.* "For greater convenience of trade," says Bradford, "to discharge our engagements, and maintain ourselves, we build a small pinnace at Manomet, a place on the sea, twenty miles to the south; to which, by another creek on this side, we transport our goods by water within four or five miles, and then carry them overland to the vessel. We thereby avoid compassing Cape Cod, with those dangerous shoals, and make our voyage to the southward with far less time and hazard. For the safety of our vessel and goods, we there also build a house, and keep some servants, who plant corn, rear swine, and are always ready to go out with the bark, which takes good effect, and turns to advantage."† CHAP. VI. 1627. Manomet, or Frenchman's Point.

The Dutch trumpets awoke unusual echoes, as they saluted the advanced post of the English colony. De Rasieres at once dispatched a courier with a letter to Bradford, announcing his arrival on the part of the director and council of New Netherland, to have a friendly conference "by word of mouth of things together," and to assure him of the "good-will and favor" of the Dutch West India Company. Specifying the articles which composed the Nassau's cargo, he requested Bradford to furnish him with the easiest conveyance to New Plymouth. "John Jacobsen aforesaid hath told me," wrote the Dutch envoy, "that he came to you overland in six hours; but I have not gone so far this three or four years, wherefore I fear my feet will fail me." Bradford promptly complied, and sent a boat to the head of the Manonscussett Creek. A short portage of five miles divided its waters from those of the Manomet River. Crossing this portage, De Rasieres, with "the chief of his company," embarked in the English boat, 4 October. De Rasieres reaches New Plymouth.

* Winslow's relation, in Young's Chronicles, 306. Prince, 208 (writing in 1736), says, "this creek runs out easterly into Cape Cod Bay, at Scussett Harbor; and this river runs out westerly into Monumet Bay. The distance overland, from bay to bay, is but six miles. The creek and river nearly meet in a low ground; and this is the place through which there has been a talk of making a canal this forty years, which would be a vast advantage to all these countries, by saving the long and dangerous navigation round the Cape, and through the shoals adjoining."

† Bradford, in Prince, 244; Old Colony Records; Book of Court Orders, vol. iii., p. 82. See also Mr. W. S. Russell's "Pilgrim Memorials," p. 122–124.

CHAP. VI. 1627.

which awaited him at the head of the creek; and soon reached New Plymouth, "honorably attended with the noise of trumpeters."*

De Rasieres at New Plymouth.

Here Bradford entertained the Dutch ambassador several days. The friendly colonists of two allied European nations now met, for the first time, in the solitudes of America. That first meeting, too, was "the joyful meeting of kindred as well as friends; for the wives and children of some of the Pilgrims had also their birth-place in Holland."†

Observes its institutions.

The English colonists' form of government; their annual elections; their abolition of primogeniture, with only a small difference in favor of the eldest son, as an "acknowledgment for his seniority of birth;" their stringent laws on the subject of morality, which they even enforced among the neighboring Indian tribes; the example which they set to those savages, of "better ordinances and a better life," were noted with interest by the envoy of New Netherland. "They have better means of living than ourselves," wrote De Rasieres, "because they have the fish so abundant before their doors;" but then "their farms are not so good as ours, because they are more stony." With these fish they manured their barren soil, which otherwise would produce no maize. Quaintly, but graphically, the representative of Manhattan described the

Describes the settlement.

rival settlement. "New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill, stretching east toward the sea-coast, with a broad street about a cannon-shot of eight hundred [paces?] long leading down the hill, and with [another street] crossing in the middle, northward to the rivulet and southward to the land. The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with gardens also inclosed behind and at the sides with hewn timber; so that their houses and court-yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack. At the ends of the streets are three wooden gates. In the centre, on the cross street, stands the governor's house; before which is a square inclosure, upon which

* Bradford, in Prince, 248; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 364. † Moulton, 384.

four swivels are mounted, so as to flank along the streets. Upon the hill they have a large square house with a flat roof, made of thick sawn plank, stayed with oak beams; upon the top of which they have six cannon, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds weight, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door. They have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant, without beat of drum. Behind comes the governor in a long robe. Beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher, with his cloak on; and on the left hand the captain, with his side-arms and his cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand. And so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard night and day."* CHAP. VI. 1627.

Having "demeaned himself to his own credit" and that of his government, De Rasieres pledged to the Plymouth colonists "assistance against the French, if need were," and returned to his bark at Manomet, accompanied by an escort of the Puritans. And now they readily purchased some of his wares, especially the Sewan or Wampum, "which was the beginning of a profitable trade." The Dutch naturally desired to retain the control of the wampum traffic in the Narragansett, because "the seeking after Sewan" by the Puritans, said De Rasieres, "is prejudicial to us, inasmuch as they would, by so doing, discover the trade in furs, which, if they were to find out, it would be a great trouble for us to maintain; for they already dare to threaten that, if we will not leave off dealing with that people, they will be obliged to use other means." The chief supply of this universally current Indian coin came, as we have seen, from Long

De Rasieres returns to Manomet.

The Puritans purchase goods of the Dutch.

* De Rasieres's Letter, 351, 352. The accuracy of De Rasieres's account is confirmed by Morton in his Memorial, p. 82. Mr. W. S. Russell, in his "Pilgrim Memorials," p. 28, says that Leyden Street at Plymouth was originally named *First Street*, and afterward *Great* and *Broad* Street; and that it received its present name in 1823, in grateful memory of the kindness and hospitality shown to the Pilgrims during their eleven years' residence in Leyden.

CHAP. VI. 1627.

Island; and De Rasieres now sold a large quantity to the English, "telling us," says Bradford, "how vendible it is at their Fort Orange, and persuading us we shall find it so at Kennebeck." Nor were the Puritans disappointed. As soon as the neighboring Indians learned that the Plymouth colonists had a supply of wampum, a great demand sprung up, which, for a long time, yielded them large profits. "The Massachusetts and others in these parts had scarce any, it being made and kept among the Pequots and Narragansetts, who grew rich and potent by it; whereas the rest, who use it not, are poor and beggarly."*

Mutual trade established at Manomet.

Thus, when the whole tonnage of New England consisted of "a bass-boat, shallop, and pinnace," a mutually advantageous trade sprung up between the neighboring European colonists. "After which beginning," says Bradford, "they often send to the same place, and we trade together divers years, sell much tobacco for linens and stuffs, &c., which proves a great benefit to us, till the Virginians find out their colony."†

$\frac{1}{11}$ Oct. Bradford replies to Minuit, and urges the Dutch to clear their title to New Netherland.

On his return to Manhattan, De Rasieres carried with him a letter from Bradford to Minuit, in which, saving always their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, he pledged the Pilgrims to the performance of all good offices toward the Dutch colonists in New Netherland. "We acknowledge ourselves tied," wrote the Puritan governor, "in a strict obligation unto your country and state, for the good entertainment and free liberty which we had, and our brethren and countrymen yet there, have and do enjoy, under our most honorable Lords the States." With respect to the question of trade and supplies, he expressed his regret that it had not been "propounded at the beginning of the year," before Allerton had gone as agent to England and Holland, until whose return a positive determination must be postponed. But, in the mean time, he reiterated the desire of the Puritans that the Dutch should "clear the title" of their planting "in these parts

* Bradford's Letter Book, 364; Prince, 248, 249: De Rasieres's Letter, 350.
† Bradford, ut sup., 364; Prince, 248.

which His Majesty hath, by patent, granted to divers his nobles and subjects of quality; lest it be a bone of division in these stirring evil times, which God forbid. We persuade ourselves, that now may be easily and seasonably done, which will be harder and with more difficulty obtained hereafter, and perhaps not without blows."* CHAP. VI. 1627.

Spirit of the English claim.

Thus earnestly did Bradford maintain the English title to New Netherland, and urge the Dutch to "clear" their own. A royal charter, of doubtful validity, was the alleged apology for calling in question those territorial rights which, while in Holland, the Puritans had themselves distinctly admitted, when, in 1620, they solicited the States General "to protect and defend them" in their proposed settlement within the Dutch Province. But now they found it convenient to insist upon the paramount authority of a patent which had been denounced from the speaker's chair by the highest legal authority, as a monopoly, containing "many particulars contrary to the laws and privileges of the subjects,"† and which was not sealed until nearly a year after the application to the States General, by which they had virtually affirmed the Dutch title to the fullest extent.

Minuit writes to Holland for some soldiers.

Under these circumstances, the director and council at Fort Amsterdam felt obliged to call the attention of the West India Company, as soon as possible, to the somewhat threatening aspect which the subject had assumed. "The last ship from New Netherland brings tidings," reported the College of XIX. to the States General, in November, "that our settlers there were menaced by the English at New Plymouth, who (notwithstanding the people of this land had some years ago commended themselves to those very English in all good correspondence and friendship) now wish to hunt them out, or disturb them in their quiet possession and infant colony. They, therefore, ask the assistance of forty soldiers for their defense."‡ 16 Nov.

But if Bradford was pertinacious in urging the parch-

* Bradford, ut sup., 365.

† Sir Edward Coke; see *ante*, p. 139.

‡ Hol. Doc., i., 159, 160; O'Call., i., 109.

CHAP. VI.

ment claims of England, King Charles himself was, apparently, more considerate. A month before De Rasieres visited New Plymouth, an order in council, formally reciting the terms of the treaty signed at Southampton in 1625, declared that the ships of the West India Company should have free access to and egress from all English ports; and commanded all English officers to treat the officers of the company "with that respect and courtesy as is fitting to be used toward the subjects of a state with whom his majesty is in firm and ancient amity."* Contenting themselves with the liberal provisions of an order, which, by throwing open to them all the English ports, and protecting their vessels from seizure by British cruisers, virtually recognized their trade to New Netherland, the West India Company seemed to think it unnecessary to take any immediate steps to settle the question of title.

1627. 5/15 Sept. Charles I. favors the Dutch W. I. Company.

1632. A few years later, when the question was distinctly presented, they vindicated their title with ability and success. At present, the quiet advancement of their colony in New Netherland, and the regular prosecution of trade, was the company's policy. The value of that trade had doubled during the four years succeeding the first permanent colonization under May. In 1624, the exports from Amsterdam, in two ships, were worth upward of twenty-five thousand guilders, and the returns from New Netherland, twenty-seven thousand guilders. In 1627, the value of the goods which the Amsterdam Chamber exported, in four ships, had risen to fifty-six thousand guilders, and that of the peltries received from New Netherland had increased to the same sum.†

Increasing trade and revenue from New Netherland.

1628. The prosperity of the growing colony steadily increased. 19 August. In the autumn of the next year, Director Minuit dispatched from Manhattan two ships, the "Arms of Amsterdam," Captain Adriaen Joris, and the "Three Kings," Captain Jan Jacobsen, of Weiringen, with cargoes of ship timber and furs for the West India Company, the aggregate

* Lond. Doc., i., 36; Hol. Doc., ix., 292; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 12, 13.
† De Laet, Jaerlyck Verhael, Appendix, p. 26, 29.

value of which exceeded sixty-one thousand guilders.* Strengthened by the addition of the settlers who had formerly resided near Fort Orange, and by the garrison of the deserted Fort Nassau, on the South River, the colony at Manhattan now numbered two hundred and seventy souls, including men, women, and children. Fearless of the Indians, with whom they now lived in happy peace, these families all continued to reside outside the walls of Fort Amsterdam, which was now completed, with four bastions, and a facing of stone.

Population of Manhattan.

Fort Amsterdam completed.

At Fort Orange there were now "no families;" they had all been brought down to Manhattan. That post itself was occupied by only twenty-five or twenty-six traders, under the vice-director, Sebastian Jansen Krol, who had succeeded to the command two years before, when Barentsen returned to Holland. In the spring of 1628, hostilities broke out between the Mahicans, near Fort Orange, and the Mohawks; but the latter killed and captured most of the Mahicans, and expelled the remnant, who settled themselves toward the north, near the "Fresh," or Connecticut River, where they began to cultivate the ground; "and thus there was now an end of war in that region."

Affairs at Fort Orange.

The Mohawks drive the Mahicans off to the valley of the Connecticut.

By order of the West India Company, "all those who were at the South River," at Verhulsten Island, and Fort Nassau, were likewise removed to Manhattan. A small vessel only was retained there, to keep up the fur trade. That trade, however, was less profitable than the traffic on the North River. The factors found that the inland savages, who came down to tide-water, would not barter the "lion skins with which they were clothed," because they were "much warmer than other furs."

Trade on the South River.

The colonists at Manhattan subsisted chiefly by their farming, the deficiency in their crops being made up by supplies from the West India Company. Their winter corn had turned out very well; while the summer grain, being prematurely ripened by the excessive heats, was

Prosperity of the colonists at Manhattan.

* Wassenaar, xvi., 13; De Laet, App., 29.

CHAP. VI. 1628.

very meagre. But the cattle and beasts, which had been sent from Holland three years before, had thriven; and every thing wore an air of progress and improvement.*

Naval successes of the Dutch.

While the ships which brought these flattering accounts from Manhattan were yet at sea, an event occurred which materially influenced the fortunes of the growing colony. The renewal of hostilities with Spain had enabled the Dutch to gain the most brilliant successes at sea, and bring ruin and dishonor upon their enemy. Swift ministers of retributive justice, the fleets of the West India Company swept the ocean, and wrested from the Spaniard the rich spoil he had wrung from the unoffending princes of Mexico and Peru. In 1627, Peter Petersen Heyn, a native of Delft-Haven, who, by reason of his courage and abilities, had been raised from a low station to the rank of admiral, distinguished himself in the con-

20 May.

quest of Saint Salvador, and the destruction of twenty-six ships of the enemy. Heyn now received orders to intercept and capture the Spanish "Silver Fleet," on its an-

5 Sept.

nual return from the West Indies. Sailing to Cuba, he fell in with ten of their galleons off Havanna, and captured them in a few hours. The next day the remainder of the fleet was perceived about three leagues off. Chase was made at once; but the Spaniards, carrying a press of sail, took refuge in the Bay of Matanzas, where nearly

Heyn captures the Spanish Silver Fleet. December.

all ran aground. Heyn instantly following them in, took nine more prizes; and brought all the captured vessels, except two, safely to Holland. The booty was immense. Including nearly one hundred and forty thousand pounds of pure silver, it was valued at twelve millions of guilders.† The enthusiasm of the people was unbounded on Heyn's triumphant return. He was introduced into the Assembly of the States General, and received the public thanks of the nation. As modest as he was brave, he asked for nothing of the enormous treasure he had won. Soon afterward, the vacant office of Lieutenant Admiral was forced

* Wassenaar, xvi., 13; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 47, 48.
† De Laet, 147; Aitzema, i., 720.

upon him in spite of his humble protestations that it was too high a dignity for one of his mean birth and unpolished manners.* The next year, Heyn dying gloriously on the deck of his ship, which he had boldly laid between two Dunkirk pirates, his body was interred in princely state, near that of William of Orange, in the old mausolean church at Delft, where his grateful government erected a magnificent marble monument to his memory.† CHAP. VI. 1629. 17 June.

Successful war thus poured infatuating wealth into the treasury of the West India Company. In one year they divided fifty per cent. In two years they had captured one hundred and four prizes.‡ What Barneveldt had feared soon came to pass. To the lust of lucre was now added the pride of conquest. The nation shared the glory, while the company secured the spoil of the war. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the negotiation, which the King of Spain opened, in 1629, to renew the late truce, became public, it should have met with general and determined opposition. The West India Company, covetous of gain, presented a strong remonstrance to the States General against the proposition, and warmly urged the advantages of a longer war; the clergy, suspicious of Philip's sincerity, opposed the truce, as detrimental both to Church and State; and a large majority of the people themselves, encouraged by the late naval successes, were disposed to continue a contest, now become not only glorious, but profitable. The opposition to the proposed treaty became so universal and so strong, that the negotiations were necessarily abandoned. The West India Company, continuing "a prince-like, instead of a merchant-like war," soon added Brazil to their possessions; and the maritime superiority of Holland no longer remained a problem.§ Infatuating effect upon the West India Company. 23 October. 1630.

* Aitzema, i., 720.

† The States General, on the occasion of Heyn's death, sent a message of condolence to his mother, an honest peasant, who, notwithstanding her son's elevation, had been content to remain in her original station. When she received the message, she replied, "Ay, I thought what would be the end of him. He was always a vagabond—but I did my best to correct him. He has got no more than he deserved."—Céresier, Tableau des Prov. Unies, vi., 40; Davies, ii., 571–573, 657.

‡ Wagenaar, Vad. Hist., ix., 70; Moulton, 368.

§ Hol. Doc., i., 161, 167; De Witt; Aitzema, i., 900, 996.

CHAP. VI.

1629.

Cost of New Netherland.

Yet the preservation of the Dutch territories in America was enormously expensive; and thus far, the colonists who were settled in New Netherland, had been "not a profit, but a loss to the company." The peltry trade, however, continued to be "right advantageous;" but it could "at the utmost return, one year with another, only fifty thousand guilders."* Duly appreciating the importance of the island of Manhattan as a permanent commercial emporium, the company had purchased it for their own private property, and had concentrated in its neighborhood nearly the whole European population of the province. To a contemporary English observer, the Dutch colony appeared "to subsist in a comfortable manner, and to promise fairly both to the state and undertakers." The cause of its prosperity was evident. The emigrants under the West India Company, "though they be not many, are well chosen, and known to be useful and serviceable; and they second them with seasonable and fit supplies, cherishing them as carefully as their own families."† The trading post at Fort Orange was garrisoned by military factors alone. On the South River, a single vessel, with a small crew, sufficed to keep up the trade and possession of the Dutch. Still, notwithstanding their apparent prosperity, the families clustered round Fort Amsterdam hardly supported themselves; and the annual returns from New Netherland did not satisfy the directors of a victorious company, flushed with the easy spoil of Spanish fleets.

Plans for its colonization.

This state of things they desired to improve; and plans for the systematic and extended colonization of the whole province were earnestly considered.

De Rasieres, who had fallen into disgrace with Minuit, had now returned to Holland. Though deprived of "his things and notes," he still was able, from recollection, to draw up a statement of affairs in New Netherland, for his patron, Samuel Blommaert, one of the leading directors of

* Hol. Doc., i., 165; Lambrechtsen, 34, 35.

† "The Planter's Plea," London, 1630. This interesting pamphlet, the authorship of which is ascribed to the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, England, was printed soon after the sailing of Winthrop's fleet, 8th of June, 1630.—Young, Chron. Mass., 16.

the Amsterdam Chamber. After much deliberation, it was determined that the manifold resources of its large territory could be best developed by the establishment of distinct and independent Colonies, at various points on the North and South Rivers. These colonies were to be, in some respects, analogous to the lordships and seigneuries of Europe, yet all in general subordination to the West India Company; and it was thought that their success could be better secured by private enterprise, than by the company itself, whose attention was now almost entirely engrossed by the affairs of the Spanish war. The fostering of its own colony on the island of Manhattan, and the advancement of the fur trade, of which it proposed to retain the monopoly, were quite sufficient to occupy all the time and capital which the Amsterdam Chamber could at present devote to the subject.

1629. The company's colonial policy changed.

With the view of inducing private capitalists to engage in the proposed plan, the College of XIX. accordingly prepared the draft of a charter conferring certain special privileges upon such members of the company as should, at their own expense and risk, plant colonies in any part of New Netherland, excepting the island of Manhattan. More than a year was spent in considering the details; and in the summer of 1629, the plan, as revised and amended, in thirty-one articles, was finally adopted by the College of XIX., and was approved and confirmed by the States General. In the following autumn, their High Mightinesses established several articles for the government of the Dutch transatlantic possessions, and published a decree, authorizing the different Chambers of the West India Company to appoint a council of nine persons, to whom the general direction of colonial affairs should be assigned.*

Charter of privileges for patroons proposed.

1628. 28 March.

1629. 7 June. Adopted.

13 October.

Commissaries.

While the West India Company was thus maturing its selfish commercial scheme for the introduction of the feudal system into its American province, English emigrants were gradually occupying the territory on the north and

Progress of colonization in New England.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 95–99; Groot Placaatboök, ii., 1235; Notules of S. G., 1629, 683; Lambrechtsen, 29; Moulton, 387, 399; O'Call., i., 112; D. D. Barnard's Sketch, 105; De Vries, 162.

CHAP. VI. east of New Netherland. Straggling plantations, some of them but single families, were already settled on portions of the coast between New Plymouth and Piscataqua. A few persons began a plantation on Massachusetts Bay, near what is now Quincy, which they called Mount Wollaston. The settlement soon afterward fell under the control of Thomas Morton, who changed its name to "Merry Mount;" sold powder and shot to the savages; harbored runaways; and, setting up a May-pole, broached a cask of wine and held a high carousal. But the New Plymouth people, at the solicitation of "the chief of the straggling plantations," at length interfered by force; and Morton was taken prisoner and sent back to England.*

1629.

1625.

Mount Wollaston, or "Merry Mount."

1628.

Example of New Plymouth promotes Puritan emigration.

In the mean time, the Puritans in England had grown more and more uneasy under the restraints of English law, and the intolerance of the English hierarchy; and the example of the New Plymouth colonists had inspired their brethren at home with the desire of emigrating across the Atlantic. It was a favorable moment to execute the design. The leading members of the council for New England, unable or unwilling to undertake the colonization of the country which had been granted to them by James I., were limiting their ambition to the sale of subordinate patents. At the instigation of John White, a Puritan clergyman of Dorchester, Sir Henry Rosewell, John Endicott, and several other persons of distinction in that neighborhood, obtained from the New England corporation the grant of a belt of land on Massachusetts Bay, extending from three miles south of the River Charles to three miles north of the River Merrimack, and stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Other associates from London and its vicinity—Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pynchon, Eaton, Saltonstall, and Bellingham—soon afterward became jointly interested in the enterprise. In the autumn of the same year, about sixty emigrants, under the guidance of Endicott, were dispatched to Naumkeag, or Salem, where they were welcomed by Roger Conant, who, expelled from New

Grant of land on Massachusetts Bay obtained from the council of New England. 19 March.

14 Sept. Endicott at Salem.

* Bradford, in Prince, 231, 240, 244, 250, 252; Morton's Memorial, 135–141.

1628.

Plymouth, had settled himself there, two years before. This was the first English emigration to Massachusetts Bay. The "Old Colony," at New Plymouth, had preceded, by about eight years, Endicott's settlement at Salem.*

1629.

Early in the following spring, a royal charter passed the great seal, incorporating "the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England;" confirming to them the Plymouth Company's grant to Rosewell and his associates; and superadding powers of government. The territory conveyed, included all that portion of New Netherland lying north of Esopus and south of the Mohawk River; but it was expressly provided that, with respect to such parts or parcels as had, before the third day of November, 1620, been "actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state," the grant should be "utterly void." Nothing was said in the charter about any particular religion: there was no suggestion that the new colony was to be exclusively Puritan. Nevertheless, it was declared and granted, that the colonists themselves "shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities" of British subjects; and no laws or ordinances were to be made or executed, by the corporation or its officers, "contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes" of the realm.†

4/14 March. Royal charter for Massachusetts Bay.

Excepting clause.

About two hundred fresh emigrants, sent out at the expense of the corporation, joined the settlement at Salem in the course of the summer. The whole population of Massachusetts Bay now numbered about three hundred; one third of whom soon afterward planted themselves a little south of Salem, at Cherton, or Charlestown. Under

29 June.

Settlements at Salem and at Charlestown.

* Chalmers, 136; Young's Ch. Mass., 13, 30; Bancroft, i., 340, 341; Hildreth, i., 176, 178.

† Original Charter in the State House at Boston; copies are in Ancient Charters, in Hutchinson, and in Hazard; Chalmers, 137. The excepting clause in the patent is as follows: "Provided always, that if the said lands, &c., were, at the time of the granting of the said former letters patent, dated the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of our said dear father's reign aforesaid (1620), actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state, or were within the bounds, limits, or territories of that southern colony (of Virginia), that then this present grant shall not extend to any such parts or parcels thereof, so formerly inhabited, or lying within the bounds of the southern plantation as aforesaid; but, as to those parts or parcels so possessed or inhabited by such Christian prince or state, or being within the bounds aforesaid, shall be utterly void; these presents or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."—Hazard, i., 244.

CHAP. VI. Endicott's influence, a church was immediately organized at Salem, by the signature of a covenant by thirty persons out of the two hundred who formed the settlement. The polity of the ecclesiastic colony rejected the Anglican Liturgy, and even denied its use to those who were "sincere in their affection for the good of the plantation." This innovation displeased several of the colonists, who, headed by John and Samuel Brown, both members of Endicott's council, demanded the enjoyment of the right of all British subjects, to worship God according to the ritual of the Established Church. But Endicott, "whose self-will was inflamed by fanaticism," instantly forbade them the religious liberty they desired. The wrongs which the hierarchy had inflicted upon the Puritans in the Old World, were now retorted upon powerless Episcopalian emigrants in the wilderness of the New. The Browns were arrested as "factious and evil-conditioned," and immediately sent back to England, because they adhered to an "immunity" which the charter had granted and declared. But they found that "the blessings of the promised land were to be kept for Puritanic dissenters." Thus early was freedom of conscience banished from Massachusetts, by her colonists themselves; for it was, indeed, "an age of much less charity than zeal."*

1629. 6 August.

Religious intolerance established in Massachusetts.

* Young's Ch. Mass., 67, 89, 196, 287–292; Neal's Puritans, i., 299, 300; Neal's N. E., i., 141–144; Hutchinson, i., 18; Bancroft, i., 348–350, Hildreth, i., 182, 183; Chalmers's Revolt of the Colonies, i., 41–43.

CHAPTER VII.

1630–1632.

1430.

The Golden Fleece.

WHEN Philip of Burgundy, as sovereign of the Netherlands, instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece, he gave to it the expressive motto "Pretium non vile laborum."* The legend was more significant than Philip imagined. Industry had at last received heraldic honors; and the recompense of labor could never be ignoble, while knighthood wore upon its glittering collar the emblem of that valued object which Argonautic enterprise had sought and found in Colchis.

Industrial spirit of the Dutch.

The self-relying spirit of the Dutch had already consecrated, in the heart of the nation, the sentiment that labor is honorable. In Holland, human industry and human skill early won their most splendid triumphs. The whole land was a monument of victorious toil. A great portion of its marshy surface lying below the level of the ocean, required to be defended, by artificial means, against the irruption of the tides. And every moment was a moment of peril. The dikes, which had been built by hardy industry, could be maintained only by ceaseless vigilance. A breach in an embankment might flood a territory which years of incessant labor could scarcely drain. But the indomitable spirit of the nation was equal to any emergency. That all-pervading spirit was still further developed by the system of local association, which the genius of a self-relying people introduced. Holland was rather an aggregate of towns, than a state in which, as in other nations, the towns were of less relative importance. The greater

Rise of the Dutch towns.

* Davies, i., 220; McCullagh, ii., 107, 108.

CHAP. VII. 1630.

part of its land was originally held by feudal lords, who were bound to protect and defend their tenants and retainers, in return for their allegiance and assistance. But while there were lords and vassals in Holland, there were no serfs.* By degrees, industry sought companionship, and busy hamlets clustered behind the rising dikes. These hamlets gradually expanded into towns; and the hum of the active loom was never intermitted. The towns soon grew rich and powerful; concessions of franchises were successively extorted from the necessities of feudalism; and while the accumulating wealth of manufacturers and merchants contributed increasing quotas to the expenses of the construction and maintenance of the dikes, the territorial nobles avoided raising questions of their waning authority. On the other hand, the thrifty burghers, from the time they first surrounded their towns with permanent walls, insisted upon the principle of self-assessment; for they felt that, "although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent, or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it worketh diversely upon the courage."† In every vicissitude of affairs, the Dutch burghers, therefore, clung to their essential principle of self-taxation, which soon became an immunity, by usage and prescription; and the territorial lord found that he must yield to the progressive spirit of popular freedom many of the attributes of feudalism, which, in other lands, were jealously maintained.

No serfs in Holland.

Burgher governments.

Thus the industrial ideas of the Dutch people and the growing influence of the Dutch towns curtailed the authority of the feudal chief. Those ideas and that influence naturally modified the rigorous form of the ancient tenures of land. The noble owner of the soil, from being the predatory head of an armed band of dependents, soon became the careful landlord, drawing his revenue from ascertained rent. Living in the hum of industry, he could not help unconsciously imbibing some of the thrift and prudence of the laborious classes which surrounded him. Constant intercourse, in the relations of business and in the

The feudal system modified.

* Grotius. † Lord Bacon on "The true Greatness of Kingdoms."

meetings of the Provincial and General States, at length broke down many of the rusting barriers which had separated the castle and the coronet from the counter and the loom. Gradually, the nobles began to imitate the modesty of the traders and working people in garb and in habit; and frugality and industry became as universal and as honorable among the Dutch landlords, as they were always the characteristic attributes of the operatives in the towns, and of the subordinate tenants on estates. The rewards of labor had lessened the distance between the lord and the peasant; and the rights of the humblest man in Holland could not fail to be respected, when, by the ceaseless toil of man alone, the lands of Holland were preserved from the invasion of the sea. Common interests assimilate humanity; and distinctions in rank must necessarily become less marked, when all must work or drown.*

1630.

Landlord and tenant.

Still, the lord of the manor continued to exercise a limited jurisdiction within his own domain. The inhabitants of Holland are described by Grotius as being early divided into the three classes of nobles, well-born men, and common people; but without any mention of serfs as having ever existed.† When compared with the social condition of the people of the towns, that of the rural population was, perhaps, less secure and happy, and was less fitted to develope the self-relying spirit of the nation. Yet, if the landlord attempted oppression, the tenant had but to fly to the next town, where he would be sure to find abundant employment, shelter, and protection. Accustomed to bear arms for the common defense, the peasants of Holland had learned to use them for their own. Dutch feudalism was thus shorn of many attributes which rendered it repulsive in other lands. Though the rustic tenantry certainly enjoyed much less political influence than the inhabitants of the towns, they still possessed a large measure of popular freedom. They were happy and contented, in tilling their lands, and in freely worshiping their

Condition of the Dutch peasantry.

Popular and religious freedom.

* Guicciardini, i., 56; Rev. Dr. Bethune; McCullagh, ii., 177.

† Grotius, Inleydinge, i., 14; Davies, i., 105, 106.

CHAP. VII. 1630.

God according to their consciences. No religious persecution drove them from that Fatherland which they loved to veneration. They needed strong inducements, before they would consent to emigrate to the New World.

Charter of "Privileges and Exemptions" for patroons in New Netherland.

The charter of "Privileges and Exemptions," by which an armed commercial monopoly proposed to effect the permanent agricultural colonization of New Netherland, while it naturally embodied the peculiar policy of its mercantile projectors, encouraged the transfer, across the Atlantic, of the modified feudalism of the Fatherland. Reserving to themselves the island of Manhattan, which the company declared it was their intention to people first, they designated it as the emporium of their trade, and required that all fruits and wares "that arise on the North River, and lands lying thereabouts," should be first brought there. To private persons, disposed to settle themselves in any other part of New Netherland, the company offered the absolute property of as much land as the emigrants might be able "properly to improve." They were also to have "free liberty of hunting and fowling," according to the regulations of the Provincial director and council. Exploration was specially encouraged. Whoever should "discover any shores, bays, or other fit places for erecting fisheries, or the making of salt ponds," was promised an absolute and exclusive property in such discoveries.

Manhattan the emporium.

But it was obvious that the rural tenantry of Holland did not possess the requisite means to sustain the expenses of emigration; and the associated directors thought that the permanent agricultural settlement of their American province could be best accomplished by the organization of separate subordinate "colonies," or manors, under large proprietaries. To tempt the ambition of such capitalists, peculiar privileges were offered to them. These privileges, nevertheless, were carefully confined to members of the West India Company. The charter provided that any such member as should, within four years, plant a colony of fifty adults, in any part of New Netherland, except the reserved island of Manhattan, should be acknowledged as

a "Patroon," or feudal chief of the territory he might thus colonize. The lands selected for each colony might extend sixteen miles in length, if confined to one side of a navigable river; or eight miles on each side, if both banks were occupied; but they might run as far into the country "as the situation of the occupiers will permit." If a proportionate number of additional emigrants should be settled, the limits of the colonies might be proportionally enlarged. Each patroon was promised a full title by inheritance, with *venia testandi*, or the right to dispose of his estate by will. He was to have "the chief command and lower jurisdictions," and the exclusive privilege of fishing, fowling, and grinding, within his own domain. In case any patroon "should in time prosper so much as to found one or more cities," he was to have "power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there." The patroons were to furnish their colonies with "proper instructions, in order that they may be ruled and governed conformably to the rule of government made or to be made by the Assembly of the XIX." From all judgments in the manorial courts of the patroons, for upward of fifty guilders, an appeal might lie to the director and council in New Netherland. For the space of ten years, the colonists under the patroons were to be entirely free from "customs, taxes, excise, imposts, or any other contributions." But none of these colonists, "either man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant," could be allowed to leave the service of their patroons during the period for which they might be bound to remain, except by the written consent of such patroon; and the company pledged itself to do every thing in its power to apprehend and deliver up every such colonist "as shall leave the service of his patroon and enter into the service of another, or shall, contrary to his contract, leave his service."

CHAP. VII.

1630. Patroons.

Colonists under the patroons.

The patroons themselves might trade all along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, provided the cargoes procured were brought to Manhattan; whence they might be sent to Holland, after paying a duty of five per cent. to

Privileges of the patroons.

CHAP. VII. the company. The patroons were also promised the freedom of trade and traffic "all along the coast of New Netherland and places circumjacent," in every kind of merchandise, "except beavers, otters, minks, and all sorts of peltry," which trade the company reserved to itself. The fur trade, however, was permitted to the patroons, "at such places where the company have no factories," upon condition that all peltries thus procured should be brought to Manhattan, and delivered to the director for shipment to Holland. Freedom of the fisheries was also promised: with the fish they caught, the patroons might trade to Italy and other neutral countries, paying to the company a duty of three guilders for every ton.

1630. The peltry trade reserved to the company.

Reciprocal obligations and restrictions.

All the colonists, whether independent or under patroons, were positively forbidden "to make any woolen, linen, or cotton cloth, or weave any other stuffs there, on pain of being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished." On the other hand, the company promised to protect and defend all the colonists, whether free or in service, "against all outlandish and inlandish wars and powers." The company likewise agreed "to finish the fort on the island of the Manhattes, and put it in a posture of defense, without delay." The company further promised to supply the colonists with "as many blacks as they conveniently could;" but they were not to be bound to do this "for a longer time than they should think proper." The charter also distinctly provided, that "whoever shall settle any colony out of the limits of the Manhattes Island, shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon." The patroons and colonists were likewise enjoined to make prompt provision for the support of "a Minister and Schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool, and be neglected among them; and that they do, for the first, procure a Comforter of the Sick there." Each separate colony might appoint a deputy, to confer upon its affairs with the director and council of New Netherland; and every colony was specially required to make an annual and exact

1630.

report of its situation, to the authorities at Manhattan, for transmission to the company at Amsterdam.*

Such were the chief features of the West India Company's famous charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions" for the agricultural colonization of its American province. But the spirit of that charter was adverse to the true interests of the province, and its effects were blighting and unhappy. It encouraged the transfer to New Netherland of some of the most objectionable elements in the modified feudalism of the Fatherland. It offered the most attractive inducements to the ambition of stockholders of the company, in the peculiar privileges which were to be enjoyed by the patroons of separate colonies; and it sought to allure colonists to emigrate under such patroons, by promising, to them alone, a ten years' exemption from taxation. While it conferred enormous specific powers on these patroons, it carefully recognized the universal commercial monopoly of the company; and it aimed at maintaining an unquestioned political supremacy, by requiring annual reports of the condition of each subordinate colony to be made to the director and council at Manhattan. It prohibited colonial manufactures under penalty of banishment, and restrained colonial commerce by the threat of confiscation. It pledged the company to a qualified support of the slave trade.

The charter unfavorable to the province.

Yet, notwithstanding all the blemishes by which the selfishness of monopoly defaced the charter, it still had many redeeming features. It solemnly recognized the rights of the aboriginal red man, and secured him satisfaction for his land. It invited the emigration of independent farmers, by promising to every one a homestead. It provided for the good government of the subordinate colonies, and for the right of appeal from the manorial courts. It promised protection and defense to all the colonists; and it encouraged religion and learning, by enjoining the support of churches and schools.

Redeeming features.

* See Charter of "Privileges and Exemptions" at length, in Wassenaar, xviii., 94; Moulton, 389; O'Call., i., 112; ii., N. Y. H. S. Collections, i., 370.

CHAP. VII.

1630.

Feudalism introduced into New Netherland.

The introduction of the feudal system into New Netherland, was the most unfortunate result of the charter of exemptions. In the Fatherland, the industrial spirit of a self-relying and liberty-loving people had shorn feudalism of many of its worst attributes; and, practically, there was, perhaps, now, more popular freedom in Holland, than in England, or in any other country in the Old World. But there is always danger in delegating political powers; and the danger increases the further the exercise of those powers is removed from the fountain of supreme authority. Feudalism, which in Holland was made to bow before the spirit of a people long accustomed to self-government, had less restraint in the distant Province, which was itself wholly under the arbitrary rule of a commercial corporation. The free spirit of the Netherlander went with him, indeed, to his new home across the sea. But his political freedom was less secure there, than in the Fatherland. It was only by degrees, and after constant struggles against an oppressive colonial government, that the people of New Netherland worked their way to some of those franchises which their countrymen were enjoying at home. The colonists under the patroons were subjected to the double pressure of feudal exaction and mercantile monopoly.

Colonization more embarrassed in New Netherland than in New England.

Thus it was, that the agricultural colonization of New Netherland was begun under circumstances, in many respects, less favorable to the development of true popular liberty, than was the colonization of New England. The feudal system of Europe was never introduced into the Puritan colonies; nor were their magistrates the agents of close commercial monopolies in the mother country. The first settlements in New England were unembarrassed by the difficulties which paralyzed the prosperity of New Netherland. The Puritan emigrants to America had a clear field and a fair start. No political incubus oppressed them. They claimed to form their own governments; and, to a great extent, they did form them. Every advantage was on their side; and it was less the fault of circum-

stance than of will, if the grand principles of Democratic liberty did not, at once, receive a noble illustration at their hands. If religious intolerance smothered popular freedom in the Puritan colonies, it was not because the Council of Plymouth forced an involuntary policy upon their inhabitants. If civil liberty was hampered and restrained, it was not because the people of New England, like the people of New Netherland, were constantly obliged to wring reluctant concessions of popular rights from grudging superiors at home. CHAP. VII. 1630.

Privileges of patroons attractive to the Dutch merchants.

The privileges which the charter offered to patroons were peculiarly attractive to the aristocratic sentiment which grew with the acquisition of wealth in Republican Holland. Almost all the land outside of the walls of the towns was already the property of old and noble families, who were loth to part with any portion of their hereditary estates. It was, therefore, no easy matter for a Dutch merchant, who had grown rich, to become a Dutch landlord. Though much of the prejudice which had separated the ancient noble from the wealthy burgher of the Fatherland was worn away, there still remained a great gulf between them. But now, boundless estates might easily be secured on the magnificent rivers of New Netherland, and the yearnings of successful tradesmen be readily gratified. From the middle rank of enterprising men who had reared Dutch commerce and trade upon the basis of Dutch liberty and industry, was now to be formed a specially-privileged class, in a new and growing world. The Holland shareholder might now become the colonial patroon. The lord of the Amsterdam counting-house might now become the lord of the New Netherland manor.

Charter published.

March.

The charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which had been adopted by the College of XIX. in the summer of 1629, was printed, in a pamphlet form, early the following year, and circulated throughout the United Provinces. By this means, the attention of stockholders in the company, who might be desirous to become patroons, as well as of persons of all classes who might be disposed to emi-

CHAP. VII. 1630. grate from the Fatherland, was invited to the temperate climate, fertile soil, varied resources, and advantageous commercial situation of New Netherland.*

Patroonships secured by the Amsterdam directors.

While the details of the charter were yet under advisement in the meetings of the company, several directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, who had been appointed "commissaries of New Netherland,"† hastened to appropriate to themselves the extensive privileges which they knew would soon be publicly guaranteed to colonial proprietaries. The most prompt in action were Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert; the latter of whom had befriended Isaac de Rasieres, the late secretary of the Province. Influenced, perhaps, by his representations, Godyn and Blommaert dispatched two persons to the South River, "to examine into the situation of those quarters," and purchase a tract of land from the savages. At the first meeting of the Amsterdam Chamber after the adoption of the charter, Godyn notified his associate directors that, in quality of patroon, he had undertaken "to occupy the Bay of the South River," and that he had "advised the director, Peter Minuit, and charged him to register the same there."‡ The agents in New Netherland faithfully executed the orders of their principals in Holland. A tract of land on "the south corner of the Bay of South River," extending northward about thirty-two miles "from Cape Hinlopen to the mouth of the said river," and inland about two miles in breadth, was actually purchased from the native Indians, for Godyn and Blommaert, a few days before the adoption of the charter in Holland. The formal patent for the territory thus secured, was attested in the summer of the following year, by the director and council, at Manhattan.§ It was the first European title, by purchase from the aborigines, within the limits of the present State

1629. 19 June.

Godyn and Blommaert purchase on the South River.

1 June.

1630. 15 July.

* Wassenaar, xviii., 94; Lambrechtsen, 29; Moulton, 389; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 369.

† De Vries, 162. ‡ Hazard's Ann. Penn., 22; O'Call., i., 479.

§ Hol. Doc., i., 176; O'Call., i., 122. The original patent to Godyn and Blommaert—which I found in the West India House, at Amsterdam, in 1841—is now deposited in the Secretary's Office at Albany. It has the only signatures, known to exist, of Minuit and his council.

of Delaware; and it bears date two years before the charter of Maryland, granted to Lord Baltimore by Charles I. CHAP. VII. 1630.

Another director of the Amsterdam Chamber, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, "who was accustomed to polish (rafineeren) pearls and diamonds,"* had his attention meanwhile directed to the regions adjacent to Fort Orange, on the North River; where Sebastian Jansen Krol had now been stationed for four years, as under director and commissary of the West India Company. At Van Rensselaer's request, Krol purchased for him, from the Indian proprietors, a tract of land on the west side of the river, extending northward from Beeren Island† to Smack's Island, and "stretching two days' journey into the interior." In the mean time, vigorous preparations for colonization had been made; and several emigrants, well provided with implements and cattle, were sent out from Holland, early in the spring, under the supervision of Wolfert Gerritsen, as "opper-bouwmeester," or overseer of farms. The colonists embarked at the Texel, in the ship "Eendragt," or Unity, Captain John Brouwer. In a few weeks they arrived at Manhattan; whence they proceeded at once to Fort Orange, and commenced the actual settlement of the "colonie of Rensselaerswyck." Krol's first purchase, however, did not comprehend the lands in the immediate vicinity of Fort Orange. A few weeks after the arrival of the first colonists, the patroon's special agent, Gillis Hossett, in sailing up the river, came to the place where several men were busy in cutting timber for a new ship which Minuit was building at Manhattan. Meeting there several Indian sachems, Hossett secured for Van Rensselaer the cession of their lands "on the west side of the North River, south and north of the Fort Orange," and extending nearly to the "Monemins Castle," on a small island now called Haver Island, at the confluence of the Mohawk. The land on the east side of the North River, extending northward-

Kiliaen van Rensselaer buys at Fort Orange.

8 April.

Sends out colonists to Rensselaerswyck.

21 March.

24 May.

Additional land purchased on the west and east sides of the river.

27 July.

* De Vries, p. 162.

† "Bear's Island, since called Barren Island, about twelve miles south of Albany."—Moulton, 403.

CHAP. VII. 1630.

ly from Castle Island to the Mohawk, was the private property of the sachem Nawanemitt. From him, Van Rensselaer's agents also purchased the territory "called Semesseeck, lying on the east side of the aforesaid river, opposite the Fort Orange, as well above as below, and from Poetanock, the mill creek, northwards to Negagonce, being about twelve miles large measure." These purchases were confirmed a few days afterward, by formal patents, signed by the director and council at Manhattan.* Thus a large portion of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer became the private property of a shrewd member of the Amsterdam Chamber. Fort Orange itself, with the land immediately round its walls, was all that now remained, in that neighborhood, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the West India Company.

8 August.

13 August.

Extent of the colonie of Rensselaerswyck.

Michael Pauw purchases Pavonia and Staten Island.

An inviting region near Manhattan was still unappropriated. Another director of the Amsterdam Chamber, Michael Pauw, of Achtienhoven, near Utrecht, finding that Van Rensselaer had already monopolized the lands in the neighborhood of Fort Orange, hastened to secure for himself, the tract called "Hobokan-Hacking, lying opposite the Island Manhatas," and bounded on the east by the North River, and on the south by Ahasimus.† A few days afterward, Pauw also procured from its Indian owners the cession of the whole of Staten Island, "on the west shore of Hamel's Hooftden,"‡ now called the Narrows. The purchase of Staten Island was succeeded, in the following autumn, by the still more advantageous investiture of "Ahasimus" and "Aressick," extending "along the River Mauritius and Island Manhatas on the east side, and the Island Hobokan-Hacking on the north side, and surrounded by marshes, serving sufficiently for distinct boundaries." The spot was a favorite resort for the Indians, who were in the habit of conveying their peltries

12 July.

22 Nov.

* Hol. Doc., i., 181; Alb. Rec., i., 199; G. G., 4–26; Deed Book, vii.; Doc. Hist. N. Y., ii., 49; Rensselaerswyck MSS.; O'Call., i., 122–125, 319, 429; Moulton, 403.

† Modern usage has converted "Ahasimus" into "Horsimus."

‡ These "Hooftden," or headlands, were so named after Hendrick Hamel, one of the members of the Amsterdam Chamber; see *ante*, p. 148.

from that point, directly across the river to Fort Amsterdam. This desirable purchase included the whole neighborhood of "Paulus' Hook," or Jersey City; and the sagacious Pauw, Latinizing his patronymic, gave the name of "Pavonia" to his embryo colony.*

The best tracts in New Netherland monopolized by the patroons.

Thus the most important points on the North and South Rivers of New Netherland were caught up by astute managers of the Amsterdam Chamber. But in all monopolies there is a selfishness which repels the disinterested. What lure could the company now hold out to independent emigrants? Rich directors, forestalling humbler competition, had made prize of the most valuable regions; and, the company's rigorous protective impolicy prohibiting all colonial commerce and manufactures, individual enterprise had little inducement to emigrate to a new country against such heavy odds. Where was the good genius of the liberal republic, when trade and commerce wore unworthy shackles in the American province, which Holland merchants claimed to govern? For engrossing cupidity now reigned triumphant in the councils of the Amsterdam Chamber, and the fortunes of New Netherland awaited the issue of the experiment it proposed.

Jealousies among the directors at Amsterdam.

The several patroonships, however, had been acquired by the adroitness of a few directors who "helped themselves by the cunning tricks of merchants;" and it was soon found necessary to conciliate the good-will and cooperation of those less wary associates who had been anticipated by their prompt proceedings.

When the news of the purchases reached Holland, jealousy of the fortunate patroons was very naturally expressed by their colleagues. Dissatisfaction was also felt among

* Alb. Rec., G. G., 7–30; De Vries, 162; Moulton, 402, 403; O'Call., i., 126. The patent to Michael Pauw for Staten Island, which was attested by Minuit and his council, on the 15th July, 1631, recites, that the inhabitants, owners, and heirs of the land "called by us (the Dutch) the Staten Island, on the west shore of Hamel's Hooftden," appeared before the director and council of New Netherland, and declared that, "in consideration of certain parcels of goods," they had sold the island to Michael Pauw, in whose behalf Minuit and his council accepted the conveyance. This patent seems to have been the first Indian conveyance of the island; and it would scarcely have been signed by Minuit, if the island had already been bought by him, in 1626, for the West India Company, as affirmed by O'Callaghan, i., p. 104. The statements in Hol. Doc., vii., 70, and in Beverninck, 606, seem to be too vague to warrant that assertion.

CHAP. VII. the shareholders of the company, that individual directors had grasped too much territory; and Pauw's purchase of Pavonia was especially unpopular, as it included the important spot where the Indians had been accustomed to assemble for trade, and whence they crossed directly over to Manhattan.*

1630.

The patroonship divided.

To appease the dissatisfied, as well as to secure more ample capital and more general interest, the original patroons were obliged to receive other members of the company into copartnership with themselves. This was necessary, in order to insure the confirmation of the patents for the patroonships by the College of XIX. But even this arrangement did not entirely allay dissatisfaction, nor relieve the charter itself from criticism and attack.†

1631. 8 January.

1630. 1 October.

Rensselaerswyck shared.

Accordingly, Van Rensselaer divided his estate about Fort Orange into a common stock of five shares. Two of these shares he retained in his own hands, together with the title and honors of original patroon; one share was allotted to the historian John de Laet, another to Samuel Godyn, and the fifth to Samuel Blommaert; all of whom were directors of the Amsterdam Chamber. With Blommaert were also associated Adam Bissels and Toussaint Moussart. By their articles of association, the six partners became co-directors of the "colonie" of Rensselaerswyck; the particular management of which, however, was intrusted to a board, in which Van Rensselaer controlled two votes, and all the other partners two.‡

Godyn and Blommaert also share their purchase.

Godyn and Blommaert also shared with other partners the benefits of their purchase on the South River. It happened opportunely, that David Pietersen de Vries, the en-

* De Vries, 162; Moulton, 404. † Hol. Doc., ii., 100–103; Moulton, 404.

‡ Hol. Doc., v., 298; vi., 303; Alb. Rec., viii., 72; Renss. MSS.; De Vries, 162; O'Call., i., 127; D. D. Barnard's Sketch, 109. On the ancient map of the colony, in the possession of Mr. Van Rensselaer, at Albany, "Blommaert's Burg" is laid down at the mouth of "Blommaert's Kill," now known as Patroon's Creek. "De Laet's Island" was the original name of what is now known as Van Rensselaer's Island, opposite Albany; and "De Laet's Burg" answers to the present Greenbush. "Godyn's Islands" are laid down a short distance below, on the east shore. Mr. Barnard intimates that the articles of copartnership of the 16th of October, 1630, did not refer to Rensselaerswyck; but besides the presumptive evidence of the names on the old map, there is clear proof of the partnership in the Documents and Records, quoted above. In 1685, however, the estate was repurchased from the heirs of the original partners.

terprising mariner of Hoorn, who, in 1624, had attempted to invade the West India Company's monopoly, had just returned from a three years' voyage to the East Indies, where he had served as supercargo. His good conduct gained him many friends; and Godyn, with whom he had old acquaintance, meeting him about two months after his return, asked whether he would like to go to New Netherland, as "under patroon" and commander? De Vries assented, upon condition that he should be made a patroon upon an equality with the rest. A partnership was accordingly formed between Godyn and Blommaert, and Van Rensselaer, De Laet, and De Vries himself. Four other directors of the West India Company—Van Ceulen, Hamel, Van Haringhoeck, and Van Sittorigh—were soon afterward admitted as additional partners; and the ship "Walvis," or Whale, of eighteen guns, and a yacht, were immediately equipped to prosecute their enterprise. Godyn having been informed that whales abounded at the mouth of the South Bay, thought that a profitable fishery might be carried on there, "and thereby that beautiful country be cultivated." So, besides a number of emigrants and a large stock of cattle, to begin a colony on the South River, the vessels carried out whaling equipments. In the middle of December, the expedition sailed from the Texel, with instructions to land some of their passengers at the island of Tortugas, which Godyn and his partners had contracted with sixty Frenchmen to hold for them as a colony, under the States General and the West India Company. The command of the vessels was intrusted to Pieter Heyes, of Edam, in North Holland; De Vries himself remaining at Amsterdam.*

CHAP. VII.

1630.

27 June. August.

16 October. D. P. de Vries made a patroon.

12 Dec. Expedition sent to the South River under Pieter Heyes.

The expedition was unlucky from the start. A week

20 Dec.

* Moulton, and all the writers who follow him, relying on the inaccurate translation of the Du Simitière MSS., erroneously represent De Vries as accompanying, in person, the first expedition to the South River, in December, 1630. The original work, which I follow, shows that the first expedition sailed from Holland under the command of Pieter Heyes. On the return of Heyes, in September, 1631, De Vries consented to go out to New Netherland in person, as "patroon and commander of the vessels." He accordingly left the Texel, for the first time, on the 24th of May, 1632; and being delayed two months at Portsmouth, and four more in the West Indies, he did not reach the South River until December, 1632.—De Vries's Voyages, p. 95–101; Alb. Rec., xxvi., 27, 30; *post*, p. 219.

CHAP. VII. after it sailed, the partners at Amsterdam received intel-
1630. ligence that, through the carelessness of the large ship, the yacht had been captured by a Dunkirk privateer. The Walvis, however, pursued her course; and, after visiting Tortugas, which was found in possession of the Spaniards, conveyed her passengers to the South River, where
1631. she arrived early the next spring. Running along the
April. west shore of the bay, a few miles within Cape Cornelius, Heyes came to the Horekill, "a fine navigable stream," filled with islands, abounding in good oysters, and bordered by land of "exuberant fertility." Upon the bank of this beautiful creek, which afforded a roadstead unequaled in the whole bay for safety and convenience, "a brick house," to serve as a fort as well as a residence, was soon erected and inclosed with palisades. Gillis Hossett, who had acted as Van Rensselaer's agent in the purchases around Fort Orange the previous summer, was placed in charge of the settlement, which was now formally named "Swaanendael;" and the Dutch title, by discovery, purchase, and occupation, was solemnly asserted by the erection of a pillar, surmounted by a piece of tin, on which were emblazoned the arms of Holland. Thus, upon the soil of Delaware, near the present town of Lewiston, a Dutch colony of about thirty souls was first planted in the spring of 1631. The voyage of Heyes was "the cradling of a state."*

Colony established at Swaanendael.

5 May. Purchase of Cape May.

After establishing the colony at Swaanendael, Heyes crossed over to the Jersey shore, and, in behalf of Godyn and Blommaert, purchased from ten Indian chiefs, "the

* De Vries, 95, 100; Korte Verhael van N. N.; Vertoogh van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 71, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 281; Moulton, 406; Bancroft, ii., 281; Ferris, 21, 22; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 25. Wassenaar, before referred to (*ante*, p. 183), states, that in the year 1628, the West India Company "removed all those who were on the South River." Peter Laurensen, however, in his deposition, made in 1685 (quoted *ante*, p. 160, note), says, that in the year 1630, he went to the Delaware, "where the company had a trading house, *with ten or twelve servants belonging to it, which the deponent himself did see there settled.*" On his return to Manhattan, Laurensen stopped at the Horekill, where he "did also see a settlement of a brick house, belonging to the West India Company." This, however, must have been in the year 1631. If there were any Dutch traders at Fort Nassau in 1630 and 1631, it is certain that there were none there in 1633. De Vries, who sailed up thither on the 5th of January, 1633, found "the Fort Nassau, where formerly some families under the West India Company had dwelt," in the possession of the savages.—Voyages, p. 102; *post*, p. 225.

rightful owners, proprietors, and inhabitants," a tract of land, extending from Cape May twelve miles northward along the shore of the bay, and twelve miles inland. The bay itself Heyes now named "Godyn's Bay," in compliment to his chief patron. A few weeks afterward, he visited Manhattan, in company with Hossett, and caused a formal record of the new purchase to be attested by Minuit and his council.* CHAP. VII. 1631. 3 June.

Returning to Holland in the following autumn, Heyes reported his proceedings to the patroons. But though a colony had been founded at Swaanendael, the whale-fishery had proved a failure. Heyes excused his ill luck, because "he had arrived too late in the year." But his owners attributed their losing voyage to the incapacity of their captain, who had been accustomed only to three or four months' absences from home at Greenland, and who "dared not to sail alone through the West Indies in a ship of eighteen guns."† September. Heyes's return to Holland.

It is somewhat extraordinary that, in all the appropriations of territory for patroonships, the valley of the Fresh River should have been neglected. Up to this period, the Dutch were the only Europeans who, since Adriaen Block's first discovery, had visited that region. As early as the year 1623, the West India Company's agents seem to have taken actual possession of the river, and to have projected a fort. But it appears to have been their policy to prevent the establishment of independent colonies there; and complaints were afterward made respecting their "injurious" conduct, in opposing the settlement of any Dutch families upon that river.‡ No Dutch colonies established on the Connecticut River.

English colonization had, meanwhile, been gaining ground on the north and east of New Netherland. In the summer of 1630, John Winthrop, the newly-chosen governor, arrived in Massachusetts Bay, with a fleet of fifteen 1630. June. July. Progress of colonization in New England — Arrival of Winthrop.

* Alb. Rec., 27–30; G. G., 29; Valentine's Manual of the N. Y. Common Council for 1850, p. 541. This purchase is stated by Moulton (401), and by O'Callaghan (i., 125), who follows him, to have been made in 1630; but Hazard, in his Annals of Penn., 27, corrects the error. † De Vries, 95.

‡ Vertoogh van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 71, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 276, 277, 289; *ante*, p. 153.

CHAP. VII. ships, and more than a thousand emigrants. Winthrop,
1630. who had the charter in his custody, at first settled himself, with his immediate followers, at Charlestown. But this position not pleasing them, they soon afterward took possession of the opposite peninsula, of which the Indian name was "Shawmut." At first it was called "Tri-mountain," on account of its three contiguous hills; but it soon received the name of Boston, after the town in Lincolnshire, from which some of the principal emigrants had come. Other parties settled themselves at Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown, now known as Cambridge. In imitation of the example of Plymouth and Salem, the new settlements established among themselves distinct churches, which admitted their own members and chose their own officers. The next year, a form of government was established in Massachusetts, upon the theocratic basis that none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, "but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of this jurisdiction." It was not easy, however, to obtain the privilege of church membership. Of the whole adult population, not a fourth part were members. Three fourths of the people were thus practically disfranchised. As among themselves, the minority of church members seemed thoroughly imbued with a spirit of equality; "but toward those not of the Church, they exhibited all the arrogance of a spiritual aristocracy, claiming to rule by Divine right." The elective franchise, jealously withheld from the people, was as jealously confined to the members of the churches; and the civil polity, which Massachusetts thus deliberately adopted, was an oligarchy of select religious votaries.*

Boston founded. 7 Sept.

Other towns settled.

1631. 18 May.

Government of Massachusetts a religious oligarchy.

New Plymouth.

The population of New Plymouth had, by this time, increased to nearly three hundred; and, through the agency
1630. of Lord Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the colony
$\frac{13}{23}$ Jan. had obtained a new and ample patent from the council for New England. This instrument defined their boundaries

* Ancient Charters, 117; Bancroft, i., 360; Hildreth, i., 190; Story's Miscellanies, 64–68. The restriction of the franchise to church members was not repealed until 1665.

as extending from the Cohassett River on the north, to the Narragansett River on the south, and inland, westwardly, to "the utmost limits of Pokenakut, alias Sowamset."*

The complaints which Bradford had sent to England against the traffic of the Dutch and other strangers with the Indians, had already attracted the attention of Gorges and Mason. Similar complaints from Endicott induced the general court of Massachusetts to petition the Privy Council to reform "so great and insufferable abuses." The result was a royal proclamation, "forbidding the disorderly trading with the savages in New England." No persons, except those authorized by the council for New England, were to frequent those coasts, or trade with the natives, or intermeddle with the English planters or inhabitants, or teach the Indians the use of fire-arms, under pain of the king's high displeasure, and the penalties expressed in the proclamation of King James, in 1622.†

24 Nov. Royal proclamation restraining irregular traders to New England.

Thus far, the New England colonies had not encroached upon the territories claimed by the Dutch. The Massachusetts patent included, indeed, within its sweeping grant of land as far west as the Pacific, a portion of the northern regions of New Netherland. But the infant settlements at Salem, and near Boston, were confined to the sea-coasts north of New Plymouth; and the Hollanders had already tacitly admitted the jurisdiction of the "Old Colony" to extend as far south and west as Narragansett Bay. All the coasts and inland regions, however, from that bay, as far south as Cape Hinlopen, and as far north as Canada, were claimed by the Dutch as rightfully belonging to New Netherland. During the pleasant intercourse which was opened with New Plymouth in 1627, the Hollanders, seeing that the Puritans were there seated "in barren quarter," with friendly purpose told them of a river, "called by them the Fresh River, but is now known by the name of Conighticute River, which they often commended to them for a fine place both for plantation and

Extent of the New England settlements.

The Dutch inform the Puritans of the Connecticut River.

* Chalmers, 97; Prince, 196–198; Hazard, i., 298; Hildreth, i., 174.

† Young, Ch. Mass., 84; Rymer Federa, xix., 210; Hazard, i., 311.

CHAP. VII. trade, and wished them to make use of it." But the hands of the New Plymouth colonists "being full otherwise, they
1630. let it pass."* In thus inviting the English to settle themselves within the territory of New Netherland, Minuit could have had no intention to surrender any of the chartered rights of the West India Company, or to raise a doubt respecting their title, which he had so stoutly maintained in his correspondence with Bradford. If the New Plymouth people had accepted Minuit's proposition, they could have settled themselves on the Connecticut only in due allegiance to the States General, and in subordination to the Company's authorities at Manhattan.

The fame of the "pleasant meadows" on the Fresh River soon reached the young hamlets on the Massachusetts
1631. Bay. In the first spring after his arrival, Winthrop was
4 April. A Connecticut sachem visits Boston. visited by one of the Mahican sachems upon the "River Quonehtacut," who extolled the fruitfulness of his country, and urged the English to come and plant themselves there. But Winthrop, though he treated the sachem kindly, would send none of his people to explore the country, which "was not above five days' journey" from Boston. The intentions of the sachem were soon unveiled. He was at war with the Pequods, and desired a European settlement as a defense against his powerful enemies.† At New Plymouth the suggestion was better appreciated. The sachem's story confirmed the accounts which they had before received from the Dutch; and Edward Winslow, vis-
1632. iting that region in 1632, verified these favorable reports
Winslow visits the Connecticut. by his own observation, and even "pitched upon a place for a house."‡ But the people of New Plymouth, knowing that the Connecticut valley was beyond the bounds of their patent, took no immediate measures to plant a settlement there.

While the colonial authorities of New Netherland and New England were thus all postponing actual occupation, a questionable English title to the territory was obtained

* Bradford, MS. in Hutch., ii., App., 416; Prince, 434.

† Savage's Winthrop, i., 52.

‡ Morton's Mem., App., 395; Hutch., i., 148; Trumbull, i., 30.

by other parties. Saltonstall, who had accompanied Winthrop to Massachusetts, returning to England in the spring of 1631, carried home with him the glowing accounts which he had heard of the fruitfulness of the Connecticut valley. Through his exertions, the Earl of Warwick was induced, early the next year, to grant and confirm to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Saltonstall himself, and others, all the territory extending forty leagues to the southwest of the Narragansett River, and by the same breadth "throughout the main lands there, from the Western Ocean to the South Sea." The territory thus conveyed is alleged to have been granted to Lord Warwick, by the council for New England, in 1630; and Warwick's subsequent conveyance has been considered by American historians as the original English charter for Connecticut. But no evidence of the grant to Lord Warwick has ever been produced: if such a grant was really made, it does not appear to have been confirmed by the king. Thus stood the question of right and title between the Dutch West India Company, by virtue of Block's first discovery and of their charter, and the English proprietaries of Connecticut, by virtue of Lord Warwick's conveyance. But no steps were taken by these proprietaries to colonize that territory, until several years after the end of Minuit's government of New Netherland; though the commencement of his successor's administration was destined to witness the first disagreement between rival Dutch and English settlers on the banks of the Fresh River.*

CHAP. VII.

1631. 29 April.

The Earl of Warwick's grant of Connecticut.

1632. 19 March.

Lord Warwick's grantees neglect colonization.

The attention of Director Minuit had been, meanwhile, chiefly confined to the prosecution of the fur-trade for the benefit of the West India Company, and to the domestic affairs of the chief colony at Manhattan. No subordinate

Affairs at Manhattan.

* The date of Lord Warwick's conveyance to Lord Say and Seal, and his associates, has been erroneously stated to be in the year 1631. Its actual date, according to the new style, was 1632. The "*seventh year*" of Charles I., in which it is attested, was from the 27th of March, 1631, to the 27th of March, 1632. Saltonstall was not in England on the 19th of March, 1631. What purports to be a copy of Lord Warwick's "charter" is in the Secretary's office at Hartford, from which was taken the copy in Trumbull, i., App., 495. Neal and Douglas speak of a previous grant from the council of New England to Lord Warwick, which was confirmed by the king. But Chalmers (p. 299) shows that there is no evidence to support this statement.

CHAP. VII. 1631.

patroons ever exercised any jurisdiction over the reserved island: the West India Company alone was the territorial proprietary. After De Rasieres "fell into disgrace" with Minuit, his place as provincial secretary and keeper of the company's pay-books, was filled by Jan van Remund, who continued to hold these offices for several years. In 1629 and 1630, the imports from Amsterdam arose to the value of one hundred and thirteen thousand guilders; while the exports from Manhattan exceeded one hundred and thirty thousand guilders, showing a considerable balance in favor of the company. Its admirable commercial situation indicated its future renown; and its ships, which now carry the fame of its naval architects to the ends of the earth, even at that early day had begun to attract the attention and excite the envy of England. In the year 1631, the "New Netherland," a ship variously estimated at from "600 tunnes, or thereabouts," to eight hundred tons, was built at Manhattan, and dispatched to Holland.* This ship was not only by far the largest that had ever been built in America, but it was probably one of the greatest merchant vessels at that time in the world. It was not until nearly two centuries afterward that the ship-wrights of Manhattan again began to build trading vessels which rivaled the mammoth proportions of the pioneer ship "New Netherland."

Imports and exports.

Early proficiency in ship building.

Great ship "New Netherland" built at Manhattan.

Fort Orange.

At Fort Orange, Vice-director Krol continued to superintend the fur-trade of the company, which was annually growing more important. The subdued Mahicans had three years before been expelled from the valley of the North River; and the victorious Mohawks were glad to cultivate the most friendly relations with the Dutch settlers, by whom they now began to be supplied with the fire-arms of Holland.

While the new patroons were vigorously commencing

* Letter of Mason, 2d April, 1632, Lond. Doc., i., 47; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 17. De Vries, p. 96, speaks of the "New Netherland" as "the great ship that was built in New Netherland." De Laet, App., p. 4, describes her as of four hundred lasts, or eight hundred tons burden, and as carrying thirty guns. The building of this ship, "at an excessive outlay," was afterward severely criticised, by Van der Donck, as a part of the "bad management" of the West India Company.—Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 289.

agricultural colonization on the North and South Rivers, they determined, under a liberal construction of the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, to participate in the reserved traffic with the Indians. Pleading that the Amsterdam Chamber "had no factories" at certain points, the patroons assumed that they had the right to engage in the peltry trade, which the company had certainly intended to retain in its own hands. But the directors, already jealous of their colleagues, who had secured such ample estates, could not quietly permit their darling monopoly to be thus invaded. Articles were soon prepared, limiting and restraining the privileges of the patroons, in respect of the fur trade, to an extent which excited their bitter complaints; the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions itself was attacked, and "drawn into dispute;" and feeling ran so strongly against all who were supposed to favor the pretensions of the new colonial proprietaries, that Minuit, with whose knowledge and approbation these large appropriations of territory had been secured, was recalled from his directorship. But no successor was immediately appointed, and the post of director remained vacant for more than a year. Lampo, the schout at Manhattan, was, however, superseded at once by the appointment of Conrad Notelman, who sailed for New Netherland late in the summer, in the ship Eendragt, bearing with him Minuit's letters of recall.*

CHAP. VII.

1631.

The patroons covet a share of the fur trade.

The directors at variance with the patroons. 30 October.

Minuit recalled.

August.

Upon the arrival of Notelman, Director Minuit resigned his government into the hands of the council, at the head of which was Van Remund, who had acted as secretary of the province since the departure of De Rasieres. Embarking on board the Eendragt, with several families of colonists who were anxious to return to Holland, the recalled director and superseded schout set sail from New Netherland early in the spring of 1632.

Minuit returns to Holland.

1632. March.

The Eendragt reached the channel in safety, but stress of weather drove her into Plymouth. Her arrival there was no sooner known, than the watchful jealousy of Cap-

His ship arrested at Plymouth.

* Hol. Doc., i., 185; ii., 102, 103; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 130, 431.

CHAP. VII. 1632. tain Mason caused her to be attached, at the suit of the council of New England, on a charge of illegally trading within the king's dominions. Minuit instantly communicated the circumstances of the ship's arrest to the West India Company, and to Joachimi and Brasser, the Dutch ambassadors at London. The court was, at that moment, at Newmarket. Hastening thither, the ambassadors obtained an immediate audience, and presented to the king an earnest remonstrance against the proceedings of the Plymouth authorities. The ship, they said, had come from New Netherland, where the Dutch had peaceably traded for many years, and had established a colony on an island purchased from the savages, in the River Manhattans, "now called the Mauritius." There the colonists lived "surrounded on all sides by the native inhabitants of the land." Hitherto, their ships had been used to enter and depart from the English ports without hinderance; but now, a vessel coming from those parts had been seized for an alleged trespass within his majesty's jurisdiction. Under these circumstances, they hoped the king would order the Eendragt's immediate discharge.*

3 April.

8 April. Complaint of the Dutch ambassadors.

Reply of Charles I.

The king replied, that the Governor of Plymouth had already informed him of the arrest; and that, some years ago, upon the complaint of his father, James I., the States General "had interdicted their subjects from trading in those regions." He could not, at the moment, say what was the exact situation of the affair, but would inform himself more particularly. The ambassadors persisted in urging a provisional release of the ship. The king, however, declined complying with their request, "as long as he was not quite sure what his rights were."

10 April. Further negotiations.

Returning to London, the ambassadors detailed their proceedings to the States General, and asked to be furnished with documentary evidence in support of the right of the Dutch to New Netherland, which they thought would "undoubtedly be most sharply disputed by the English."† Several interviews were also held with the lead-

* Hol. Doc., i., 187, 248. † Ibid., 196.

ing members of the privy council. But Mason took care to write a strong letter to Sir John Coke, the Secretary of State, complaining of the Hollanders, who, he affirmed, "as interlopers," had fallen "into the middle," between Virginia and New England. Notwithstanding the alleged disclaimer by Caron, in 1622, the Dutch had fortified themselves, in two several places, on the "River of Manahata," and had built ships there, "whereof one was sent into Holland of six hundred tunnes, or thereabouts." And though warned by the English at New Plymouth "to forbear trade," and to make no settlements within the territories of the King of England, the Dutch had persisted, and had made "sundry good returns" into Holland, which, during the last year, had amounted to "fifteen thousand beaver skins, besides other commodities."* Mason's unscrupulous letter effected its purpose. English jealousy was thoroughly aroused, and the Privy Council were deaf to the representations of the Dutch ambassadors.

CHAP. VII.

1632.

$\frac{2}{12}$ April. Mason's letter to Sir John Coke.

In the mean time, the West India Company had transmitted to the States General a formal deduction of their title to New Netherland. The discovery of the North River by the Dutch in 1609; the return of "some of their people" there in 1610; the grant of the special trading charter of 1614; the maintenance of a fort and garrison there, until the charter of the West India Company in 1621, which included that country; the failure of the English to occupy the regions between Virginia and New Plymouth; and the provisions in James's patent of 1606, by which the region between the thirty-ninth and the forty-first degrees of latitude was left open to the Dutch, were the main points on which they relied. The company alleged their entire ignorance of the demand made by the British government, in 1621, and of its results. They urged that the ambassadors at London should press for the release of their vessel, on the further ground that the American Indians,

5 May. The West India Company's deduction of title.

* Lond. Doc., i., 47. Mason stoutly maintains that Caron, in the name of the States, disavowed the Dutch "intrusion" into New Netherland. But nothing to this effect appears in any of Caron's letters that I saw in the State Paper office. See *ante*, p. 142, 143.

CHAP. VII. 1632. being free, might trade with whomsoever they pleased. The King of England might, indeed, grant exclusive privileges to his own subjects, and so might the States General to theirs. But it was unjust for any power to attempt to exclude all the rest of the world from regions which their own subjects had never occupied; and still more so, for England to claim sovereignty over territories of which the Dutch had obtained the title, by treaty and honest purchase from the native owners. The States General must maintain their own sovereignty, the freedom of the seas, and the validity of the treaties which the Hollanders had made with the unsubjugated tribes of North America.*

5 May. This able vindication of the Dutch title was immediately sent by the States General to their ambassadors at London, with fresh instructions to press for the release of the ship, and an intimation that the right of the West India Company to trade to New Netherland should be maintained.†

But English nationality was now thoroughly aroused.

22 May. In a few days, the Dutch ambassadors received the formal answer of the British ministry to their memorial. The roaming savages of America were not "bonâ fide possessors" of the land, so that they could alienate it; and if they were, it could not be proved "that all the savages had contracted with the purchasers;" these were the technical objections to the Dutch title by purchase. The title of the English was asserted to be by "first discovery, occupation, and possession," and by charters and patents from their sovereigns. Such patents the States General had never passed to their own subjects, as was proved when Carleton, the English ambassador, made his remonstrance in 1621. If the Dutch now settled in America would "submit themselves as subjects to his majesty's government," they might remain in New Netherland; otherwise, his majesty's interests would not allow them to "usurp and encroach upon a colony of

Answer of the British government.

* Hol. Doc., i., 209. † Ibid., 218.

such importance, and which he has strong motives to cherish and maintain in its integrity."* CHAP. VII. 1632.

Thus the British ministry boldly denied the Dutch title to New Netherland, and claimed it as English territory. Their strenuous assertion of superior British right was probably the last important American State Paper prepared by Sir John Coke,† whom Lord Clarendon describes as "a man of a very narrow education, and a narrower nature." Unwilling, at that moment, to embarrass his foreign relations, already sufficiently complicated, Charles I. contented himself with a bold claim of sovereignty over New Netherland, and did not appear anxious to press the question of title to a settlement. In a few days, the confident note of the British ministry was followed by an act of grace; and the Lord Treasurer, quietly yielding to the reiterated demand of the Dutch ambassadors, released the Eendragt from arrest, "saving any prejudice to His Majesty's rights."‡

27 May. The ship released.

Notwithstanding the abuses which had induced Minuit's recall, his administration of the government of New Netherland was, upon the whole, prosperous and successful. Honest purchase had secured Manhattan Island to the West India Company; industry had flourished around the walls of Fort Amsterdam; the western shore of Long Island had become studded with the cottages of its early Walloon settlers; a pleasant intercourse had been opened with the English colonists at New Plymouth; friendly relations had been generally maintained with the Indian tribes; the colonization of Rensselaerswyck and Swaanendael had been commenced; and the trade and commerce of the province had largely increased. During the six years of Minuit's directorship, the exports from New Netherland were trebled. The value of the commodities sent

Minuit's administration of New Netherland.

* Hol. Doc., i., 236. The correspondence on this subject may be found at length in the Address before the N. Y. H. S., in 1844, p. 27–31, and in O'Call., i., 131–136.

† About a month after this dispatch—on the 15th of June—Mr. (afterward Sir Francis) Windebanke was appointed Secretary of State, through the interest of Bishop Laud. Sir John Coke continued to be one of the secretaries for a few years longer; but the concerns of the American colonies seem to have been managed, after this time, chiefly by Windebanke.

‡ Hol. Doc., i., 244.

CHAP. VII. 1632. home in 1626 was about forty-six thousand guilders; in 1632, it had increased to more than one hundred and forty-three thousand guilders. Within the same period, the value of the imports from Holland was a little over two hundred and thirty-eight thousand guilders, while the gross value of the exports from New Netherland exceeded four hundred and thirty-five thousand guilders. The ship in which the Director returned to Amsterdam brought to the company's warehouse a cargo of five thousand beaver skins.*

Continued differences between the company and the patroons.

Minuit's return to Holland did not quiet the unfortunate differences between the West India Company and the patroons. The large appropriations of territory were not as exasperating causes of irritation as was the pertinacious interference of the patroons with the fur trade, which the company had intended to reserve to itself. To arrest the encroachments of the new manorial lords, who claimed, under the charter, the largest freedom of traffic "within

8 June. the territories of their patroonships," the company issued a proclamation, forbidding all "private" persons in New Netherland from dealing, in any way, in sewan, peltries, or maize. The patroons instantly protested against this decided step, and insisted that, according to the charter, they were "privileged," and not "private" persons. But the company, resolute to maintain its superior monopoly,

18 Nov. The colonists forbidden to trade in furs. soon afterward dispatched commissaries into the different patroonships, with orders to post the proclamation, and to oblige all the colonists, under oath, to abstain from any interference with the interdicted traffic.†

1631. Affairs at Swaanendael.

Meanwhile, the colony which Heyes had established at Swaanendael had gone on pleasantly, for a time, under the superintendence of Gillis Hossett; and De Vries himself had prepared to visit New Netherland. Heyes's unlucky voyage damped, for awhile, the ardor of his em-

1632. 12 Feb. ployers; but the vision of a profitable whale-fishery still haunted Godyn. Early in the year 1632, a new arrange-

* De Laet, App., 26–30; Hol. Doc., i., 210.
† Hol. Doc., ii., 95, 105–114; O'Call., i., 137.

ment was made between the partner-patroons, to equip another ship and yacht, with which De Vries himself was to go out to the South River, as "patroon and commander," and test the experiment in person, during the next winter. The expedition accordingly left the Texel toward the end of May. But just before it sailed, news brought by Minuit, from Manhattan, reached Amsterdam, that the colony at Swaanendael had been destroyed by the savages, and thirty-two men killed outside of the fort, as they were working in the fields.*

24 May. News of its destruction reaches Holland.

In sadness and disappointment De Vries proceeded on his way. But misfortune still attended the enterprise of the South River patroons. An unskillful pilot ran the ship on the sands off Dunkirk; and the leaky vessel was navigated with difficulty to Portsmouth, where she went into the "King's Dock" to be repaired. After two months' delay, De Vries set sail again, in company with the "great ship New Netherland," which had been built at Manhattan, and was now making her first return voyage from Holland. Running southwardly by Madeira, and lingering three months among the West India Islands, De Vries arrived, early in December, at the South River, and anchored off Swaanendael, where he promised himself "royal work" with the whales, and a "beautiful land" to cultivate.

De Vries sails for the South River.

28 May.

1 August.

5 Dec.

The next day, a well-armed boat was sent into the kill to open a communication with the savages. Reaching the spot where their little fort had been, they found the house itself destroyed, the palisades almost all burned, and the ground around bestrewn with the skulls and bones of their murdered countrymen, intermingled with the remains of horses and cattle. The silence of the grave hung over the desolate valley. Not a savage was seen lurking about the ghastly ruins. Gloomy and sorrowful, De Vries returned on board his yacht, and ordered a gun to be fired to attract the inland Indians.

6 Dec. Visits Swaanendael.

* De Vries, 95; Deposition of A. D. Korn, in Deed Book, vii.; and in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 49; *ante*, p. 205, note.

CHAP. VII. 1632. 7 Dec. 8 Dec.

A smoke was seen, the next morning, near their devastated post. Again the boat was sent into the creek, and two or three savages were observed prowling among the ruins. But mutual distrust prevented any intercourse. Fearful of the arrows of the Indians, De Vries now took his yacht into the creek, to give a better shelter than the open boat afforded. The savages soon came down to the shore; but none, at first, would venture on board. At last one made bold to come; and De Vries, presenting him with a cloth dress, sent word to the chief that he wished to make a peace. That night one of the savages remained on board the yacht, and was prevailed on to relate the catastrophe which had befallen the colony. Pointing out the spot where Heyes had set up the pillar bearing the tin plate with the arms of Holland, he said, that one of their chiefs, not thinking he was doing amiss, had taken down the glittering metal, to make it into tobacco pipes. But Hossett, who was then in charge of the post, made such an ado, that the savages, to hush up the affair, slew the chief who had done it, "and brought a token" of their deed to the Dutch commander. Hossett told them they had done wrong: they should have brought the chief to the post, when he would have been simply forbidden to repeat the offense. But the mischief was already done. The friends of the slaughtered savage instigated their companions to a bloody vengeance on the unsuspecting strangers. A party of warriors soon visited the settlement, where they found most of the colonists at work in the fields, having left one sick man at home, and a large English mastiff chained up. Had the dog been loose, "they would not have dared to approach the house." Hossett, the commander, stood near the door. Three of the boldest savages, under pretense of bartering some beaver skins, entered the house with him, and, as he was coming down stairs from the garret, where the stores lay, struck him dead with an axe. They then killed the sick man; and going to the place where the dog, "which they feared the most," lay chained, they shot him "with full five-and-

An Indian relates the story of the destruction of Swaanendael.

twenty arrows, before he was dispatched." The rest of the colonists, who were scattered over the fields at work, were then approached under the guise of friendship, and, one by one, all were murdered.

Such was the awful narrative which one of the spoilers of Swaanendael related to De Vries. The bones of his countrymen marked the spot where the patroon had hoped to establish a flourishing colony. Thus early was the soil of Delaware moistened by European blood. The Dutch possession was "sealed with blood, and dearly enough bought." But what could now be done? A barren vengeance alone could follow retaliation against the roaming savages. So a formal peace was ratified the next day, by presents of duffels, bullets, hatchets, and Nuremburg toys; and the astonished red men "departed in great joy," to hunt beavers for the Hollanders, who, instead of exacting a cruel retribution, had quietly let pass their inhuman offense.*

9 Dec. Peace made with the savages.

* De Vries, 95–101; Vertoogh van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 71; and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 281.

CHAPTER VIII.

1633–1637.

CHAP. VIII.

1633. New Netherland without a director.

NEW NETHERLAND had now been, for more than a year, without a director. The experiment of introducing a modified feudal system into the province had just been commenced; jealousies had already sprung up between the patroons and the West India Company, and embarrassment was evidently in store; the British government had again boldly denied the Dutch title to any part of New Netherland; and English colonists, firm of purpose and zealous in faith, were preparing to take actual possession of portions of the territory, over the whole of which their sovereign claimed an exclusive jurisdiction. In this crisis, the administration of the affairs of the Dutch province should have been intrusted only to the ablest hands. But when did a commercial monopoly ever govern a country wisely? The person selected to succeed Peter Minuit as Director General of New Netherland, was WOUTER VAN TWILLER, of Nieuwkerke, one of the clerks in the West India Company's warehouse at Amsterdam. He had married a niece of Van Rensselaer, and had been employed by the patroon in shipping cattle to his colony. These were Van Twiller's recommendations: the influence of kinsmen and friends, rather than acknowledged administrative ability, secured for him the most important colonial office under the West India Company. The new director was inexperienced, except in the details of trade which he had learned in the counting-room. Incompetent, narrow-minded, irresolute, and singularly deficient in knowledge of men, Van Twiller was rashly intrusted with the command of

Wouter van Twiller appointed to succeed Minuit.

a province. But interest—which, rather than considerations of personal fitness, so often controls public appointments—triumphed over all objections. Embarking in the company's ship "Soutberg," of twenty guns, with a military force of one hundred and four soldiers, the raw Amsterdam clerk set sail to assume the government of New Netherland.

April. Van Twiller arrives at Manhattan.

Van Twiller arrived at Manhattan early in the spring, the ship having captured, on her voyage, a Spanish caravel, the Saint Martin, which was brought safely into port. Among the Soutberg's passengers were Jacob van Couwenhoven, and his brother-in-law, Govert Loockermans, both of whom were soon taken into the company's service, and afterward rose to distinction in the province. Everardus Bogardus, the first clergyman at Manhattan, and Adam Roelandsen, schoolmaster, came out from Holland at the same time.*

Everardus Bogardus, the first clergyman

Provincial council and officers.

The new director commenced his administration, assisted by the experience of Secretary Van Remund and Schout Notelman. The council consisted of Jacob Jansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andries Hudde, and Jacques Bentyn. Cornelis van Tienhoven, of Utrecht, was made the company's book-keeper of monthly wages at Fort Amsterdam; and Sebastian Jansen Krol was succeeded in the command at Fort Orange by Hans Jorissen Houten, who had traded on the river in 1621. Michael Paulusen was commissary of Pauw's "colonie" at Pavonia.†

Commissary at Pavonia.

Unwise colonial policy of the West India Company.

In their management of New Netherland, the West India Company seem to have looked rather to the immediate profits which they might derive from its trade, than to the permanent political interests of the province. Those interests would have been best secured by the prompt colonization of the country with free agricultural emigrants, bringing along with them the industrious habits and the simple virtues of their Fatherland. During the first years

* De Vries, 113; De Laet, App., 5; Hol. Doc., v., 396, 399; Alb. Rec., i., 52, 107; ii., 328; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 142; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 338, 339.

† De Vries, 116; Hol. Doc., ii., 88; viii., 32; ix., 187. "Paulus' Hook," now Jersey City, derived its name from this Michael Paulusen, the commissary at Pavonia.

CHAP. VIII. 1633.

of their organization, the company had, indeed, done something toward the agricultural settlement of New Netherland. But their policy was soon changed. Unwisely surrendering to subordinate patroons the care of subduing and cultivating the soil, the company seemed to limit their own views to the improvement of their revenue, and the jealous maintenance of their trading monopoly. They seemed anxious "to stock the land with their own servants." This was the cardinal error which, for so many years, retarded the progress and blighted the prosperity of the province.

Revenue from New Netherland.

The temptation, indeed, was strong. During the year 1632, the exports of furs from New Netherland had exceeded in value one hundred and forty thousand guilders. This revenue formed, it is true, an inconsiderable item in the grand total of the company's yearly income. But it would probably improve by careful management; and to this end the efforts of the Amsterdam Chamber were chiefly bent. Its mercantile directors viewed New Netherland rather commercially than politically, and exhibited themselves as selfish traders, rather than enlightened statesmen. They authorized large expenditures in building forts and mills, and for "unnecessary things, which, under more favorable circumstances, might have been suitable and very proper." But in making these expenditures, they seemed to have had "more regard for their own interest than for the welfare of the country."* Powerful and successful as the West India Company had now unquestionably become, its directors displayed far less sagacity in the management of their American province, than in the conduct of their naval war with Spain.

Character of Van Twiller's administration.

Van Twiller's chief objects seem to have been the maintenance and extension of the commercial monopoly of his principals. In many respects he was, perhaps, their faithful representative. He was acquainted with trade; but he was ignorant of public affairs. From the dealing with

* Journal van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iii., 97; Vertoogh van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 71; and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 288, 298; De Laet, App., 30.

wares, and the shipping of cattle, he had been suddenly exalted to the command of men, and the management of a province. It was only natural that, from the moment he began to administer the government of New Netherland, Van Twiller should have given constant proofs of the folly and danger of intrusting to inexperienced and incompetent hands the interests of a community and the well-being of a state.

De Vries at Swaanendael.

In the mean time, De Vries, after concluding a peace with the savages at Swaanendael, had endeavored to retrieve his damaged fortunes, by establishing a whale-fishery on the South River. But provisions soon began to run short; and, in hopes of obtaining supplies of beans from the savages, he went up the river through the floating ice, in his yacht, "the Squirrel," as far as Fort Nassau. That post, "where formerly some families of the West India Company had dwelt," was now deserted by the Hollanders. Here De Vries found some savages, who urged him to go up the Timmer Kill, or Timber Creek. But a Sankitan or Stankekan Indian warned the Dutch not to venture into the creek; for the savages were only plotting to destroy them, as they had a little while before murdered the crew of an English shallop, which had gone into "Count Ernest's River." The Squirrel's small crew of seven men, therefore, stood on their guard. At the mouth of the Timmer Kill, more than forty savages from Mantes, or Red Hook, came on board, offering to barter beaver skins, and playing on reeds, to lull suspicion. But De Vries, observing that some of them wore the jackets of the slaughtered Englishmen, ordered them all on shore, declaring that their "Maneto" had revealed their treacherous designs; and the yacht dropped down again to Fort Nassau. Here the chiefs of nine different tribes came on board; some of whom had worn English jackets at the Timmer Kill. These they had now replaced by robes of fur. Sitting down in a circle on the yacht's deck, the chiefs declared that they had come to make a lasting peace; and a present of ten beaver skins, each accompanied with Indian ceremony,

1 January.

Goes up to Fort Nassau.

5 January.

6 January

8 January.

Treaty with the Indians.

CHAP. VIII. ratified their formal treaty with the Dutch. After obtaining a small supply of beans and corn, and purchasing some beaver skins, De Vries returned to his ship off Swaanendael.*

1633. 13 January.

18 January. De Vries revisits Fort Nassau.

A few days afterward, the yacht again ascended the river. After remaining a fortnight frozen up in "Vineyard Creek," the beautiful banks of which abounded in wild grape-vines, and shooting multitudes of wild turkeys, "weighing from thirty to thirty-six pounds," De Vries at length reached Fort Nassau once more. But the Minquas were now at war with the Sankitans, and no provisions could be obtained. So making the best of her way through the floating ice, the yacht rejoined the ship, whose crew were overjoyed to meet once more their adventurous comrades. De Vries now resolved to go for supplies to Virginia, where he thought that corn could be more readily obtained than at Fort Amsterdam. Supposing that no Dutch vessel from New Netherland had yet gone to the Chesapeake, the patroon was ambitious to be "the first Hollander from this quarter to visit that region."†

3 Feb.

20 Feb.

5 March. Sails for Virginia.

8 March.

In three days, De Vries reached Cape Henry. As he sailed up the James River, he saw, every where, beautiful gardens stocked with Provence roses, and apple, and cherry, and pear, and peach trees, blossoming around the houses. Arrived at Jamestown, he was welcomed by Sir John Harvey, the governor, who came down to the beach, attended by a guard of halberdiers and musketeers. "Whence come you?" was the friendly challenge. "From the South Bay of New Netherland," the prompt reply. "How far is that from our Bay?" demanded the governor. "About ninety miles," replied the Dutch patroon. Inviting De Vries into his house, and pledging him in a "Venice glass of sack," Harvey produced an English chart, on which he pointed out the South Bay, "named by them my Lord

11 March. Reception by Governor Harvey.

* De Vries, 101–104.

† De Vries, 104–107. May, however, had visited Jamestown in 1620 (*ante*, p. 97); and it seems, from an entry in Winthrop's journal, that in the month of April, 1632, a Dutch ship arrived at Boston from Virginia, bringing two thousand bushels of corn, which were sold at four and sixpence a bushel.—Winthrop, i., 73.

Delaware's Bay." Some years before, explained the governor, Lord Delaware had been driven into this bay by foul weather, but, finding it full of shoals, had supposed it unnavigable; and therefore they had not looked after it since.* "Yet it is our king's land, and not New Netherland," insisted the loyal knight. De Vries replied, that the South River was a beautiful stream, into which no Englishman had been for ten years; and that, several years before, the Dutch had built a fort there, which they called Fort Nassau. Harvey was surprised to hear that he could have had such neighbors without knowing it. He had, indeed, heard that the Dutch had a fort upon "Hudson's River, as the English called it;"† and only in the previous September, he had sent a sloop, with seven or eight men, to Delaware Bay, "to see whether there was a river there." But they had not yet returned; "he did not know whether the sea had swallowed them up or not." De Vries then told Harvey of the savages he had seen in the South River, wearing English jackets, and related what he had heard of the tragical fate of the sloop's company. "There are lands enough—we should be good neighbors with each other," said the honest knight; adding expressively, "you will have no trouble from us—if only those of New England do not approach too near you, and dwell at a distance from you."‡

Harvey's frank bearing.

Thus a pleasant intercourse was opened between the Dutch and their English neighbors in Virginia. Harvey's genial frankness, on his first interview with De Vries, contrasts significantly with Bradford's querulous pertinacity six years before. The Virginia governor's warning was prophetic. From "those of New England" came encroachment and annoyance; until, in the end, the coveted possessions of the Dutch in New Netherland were seized by an overwhelming British force. The open-hearted cava-

Intercourse between the Dutch and the Virginians.

* See note D, Appendix.

† This seems to sustain Chalmers's position (p. 229), that by the phrase "the adjoining plantations of the Dutch," in Clayborne's trading license of 18th March, 1632 (N. S.), Harvey meant the settlements on the North or Hudson River only. Moulton (p. 412) and Bancroft (ii., p. 281), however, seem to suppose that Harvey referred to De Vries's colony at Swaanendael.

‡ De Vries, 110.

CHAP. VIII. liers of the "Old Dominion," though they did not fail to
1633. insist upon the paramount English title to Delaware Bay, were always more amiably disposed toward the Hollanders on the North River, than were those austere neighbors who soon began to people the valley of the Connecticut, and push their thriving villages west and south. It was only natural that the New Netherland Dutch, on their part, should have regarded the inhabitants of Virginia with much more kindliness than they did the colonists of New England.*

18 March. After a week's sojourn at Jamestown, De Vries took leave of the hospitable Harvey, who, understanding that "there were no goats at Fort Amsterdam," sent several on board the yacht, as a present to the governor of New Netherland. Returning to Swaanendael with a welcome supply of provisions, De Vries found that his ship had, meanwhile, taken a few whales. But he was now satisfied that the fishery could not be prosecuted to advantage; and preparations were, therefore, made for a final departure from the South River. Once more Swaanendael was abandoned to its aboriginal lords; and, for a space, European colonization paused in its progress on the banks of the Delaware.

De Vries returns to the South River. 29 March.

14 April.

Wishing to explore the coast, De Vries embarked in his yacht; and after a pleasant voyage of two days, arrived before Fort Amsterdam.† Here was lying at anchor, with her prize, the ship Soutberg, in which Van Twiller had just come out from Holland. De Vries immediately landing, was welcomed by the new director, to whom he reported his disappointment in the whale-fishery on the South River, and intimated his purpose to leave his large ship at anchor near Sandy Hook, and dispatch his yacht, as soon as possible, to trade in New England and Canada.‡

16 April. Arrives at Manhattan.

* N. Y. H. S. Coll., i. (N. S.), p. 274.

† De Vries, 111–113. The journal speaks of his visiting "Eyer Haven," or Egg Harbor, and of his anchoring in a fog, on the 15th of April, off "Barende-gat," or Breaker's Inlet, where, in two hours, he took upward of eighty codfish, which were "better than those of Newfoundland." These names, to this day, commemorate, in the vernacular of Holland, the early exploration of the coasts of New Jersey by Dutch navigators.

‡ De Vries, 113.

A few days afterward, the "William," a London vessel, arrived at Fort Amsterdam from New Plymouth, whither she had been dispatched to set up a fishery, and "so to go to trade at Hudson's River."* The supercargo, or "Koopman," on board this vessel was Jacob Eelkens, the former commissary at Fort Orange, whom the West India Company had superseded in 1623. After his dismission by the Dutch, he went to England, and was engaged by some London merchants to manage for them an adventure in the peltry trade in New Netherland. Thoroughly in the interest of his English employers, Eelkens now wished to go up the river, and traffic in the neighborhood of his old habitation. But Van Twiller, learning his purpose, demanded his commission, which Eelkens refused to produce. He was now, he said, in English service; and New Netherland itself was British territory, discovered by Hudson, an Englishman. This claim of sovereignty was promptly repelled by the director and his council. Hudson, they admitted, had discovered the river; but the discovery was made in the service, and at the cost, of the East India Company at Amsterdam; and no English colonists had ever been settled in the country. The river itself was named "Mauritius River, after our Prince of Orange."

CHAP. VIII.

1633.

18 April. The English ship William arrives at Manhattan.

Eelkens, intent to accomplish his object, informed Van Twiller, after a few days, that he would go up the river, if it cost him his life. The director peremptorily refused his assent, and ordered the Orange flag to be run up at Fort Amsterdam, and a salute of three guns to be fired in honor of the Prince. Eelkens, on his part, caused the English flag to be displayed on board the William, and a similar salute to be fired in honor of King Charles. After lingering a week before Fort Amsterdam, and failing to receive a license, the ship weighed anchor, and boldly sailed up to Fort Orange. The "William," of London, was the first British vessel that ever ascended the North River.

17 April.

Sails up to Fort Orange. 24 April.

Enraged at this audacity, Van Twiller collected all the

* Winthrop, i., 100.

CHAP. VIII. people in the fort before his door, and, broaching a cask of wine, filled a bumper, calling on those who loved the Prince of Orange and himself to imitate him, and "assist in protecting him from the violence which the Englishman had committed." But the ship was already out of sight, sailing up the river; and the people all began to laugh at their pusillanimous director. De Vries, dining with Van Twiller the same day, told him bluntly that he had "committed great folly." The Englishman had no commission, but only a custom-house clearance to sail to New England, and not to New Netherland. "If it had been my case," said the mortified patroon, "I should have helped him from the fort to some eight-pound iron beans, and have prevented him from going up the river." The English "are of so haughty a nature, that they think every thing belongs to them." "I should send the ship Soutberg after him, and drive him out of the river."*

1633. Van Twiller's absurd conduct.

A Dutch force dispatched to Fort Orange.

The counsels of the energetic East India captain at last aroused Van Twiller to action. A few days afterward, some soldiers, and "a pinnace, a caravel, and a hoy," were dispatched to Fort Orange, with a protest against the intruders, and an order for their departure. In the mean time, Eelkens had pitched a tent about a mile below the fort, and, for a fortnight, had been carrying on a lucrative trade with the Indians, with whose language and habits his former residence had made him familiar. Houten, the commissary at Fort Orange, had also set up a rival tent beside that of Eelkens, and used every exertion to hinder his trade. When the little fleet arrived at the encampment, the intruders were ordered to retire. Eelkens still persisting, his tent was struck, and his goods reshipped by the Dutch soldiers, who, as they were thus engaged, "sounded their trumpet in the boat in disgrace of the English." The anchor was weighed at once, and the ship, accompanied by the Dutch vessels, was taken down to Fort Amsterdam. Here the director required from Eelkens a list of his peltries. This was fur-

May.

The "William" brought down to Manhattan.

* De Vries, 113, 114; Hol. Doc., ii., 81–85.

nished; but Van Twiller forbade any of the people at Manhattan, "on pain of death and loss of all their wages," to sign any certificates respecting Eelkens's treatment. Immediately afterward, the "William" was convoyed to sea; and her supercargo returned to London, entirely foiled in his purpose of interfering with the Dutch fur trade on the North River, the annual returns from which were now estimated at about sixteen thousand beaver skins.* CHAP. VIII. 1633. Forced to sea.

Eelkens's intrusive visit, besides damaging the fur trade of the Dutch, did them a much more serious injury. The friendly relations of the Hollanders with the Indians were for awhile interrupted, and "the injurious seed of discord" was sown between them. Peace was not fully restored, until many "serious mischiefs" had been effected by the savages, and the colonists at Fort Orange had lost several "men and cattle."† Hostility of the Indians toward the Dutch at Fort Orange.

Van Twiller soon had another opportunity to enforce the trading monopoly of his immediate superiors. Before returning with his large ship to Holland, De Vries wished to send his yacht, the Squirrel, through Hell-gate, "toward the north," to trade along the coasts. The director, however, refused his assent, and ordered a lighter alongside, to unload the yacht of her ballast; to which her owner demurred, and produced his "exemptions" as a patroon. Van Twiller, however, insisted that "all princes and potentates" were accustomed to search vessels, and that it was his duty to see whether there was any thing on board the yacht subject to the company's tax. He then ordered the guns of Fort Amsterdam to be trained on the Squirrel. Seeing this, De Vries ran to the angle of the fort, where stood the director, with the secretary, and one or two of the council. "The land is full of fools," exclaimed the indignant patroon; "if you want to shoot, why did you not shoot at the Englishman who violated your river against your will?" Upon this, "they let their shooting stand;" and the Squirrel sailed through Hell-gate, followed by a Van Twiller's vexatious conduct toward De Vries. 20 May.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 51–88; O'Call., i., 145, 146. † Hol. Doc., ii., 140–143.

CHAP. VIII. yacht, which Van Twiller dispatched from Manhattan to watch her movements.

1633. The accounts which De Vries brought from the South River indicated the necessity of prompt measures to secure the fur trade and possession of the West India Company there, especially as Fort Nassau had now been, for some time, deserted by the Dutch. Arendt Corssen was accordingly appointed commissary, and was instructed to purchase a tract of land on the Schuylkill, which, "for its fitness and handsome situation, as well in regard of trade as of culture," was held in high estimation. The beaver trade with the Minquas and the "wild Indians" could be carried on very briskly at that point, and would "amount to thousands" annually. In the course of this year, Corssen succeeded in purchasing, "for certain cargoes," from "the right owners and Indian chiefs," a tract of land called "Armenveruis," lying about and on the Schuylkill. The Indian title being thus secured, formal possession of Pennsylvania was taken by the Dutch, who erected a trading-house there; and afterward a more considerable post, to which they gave the name of "Fort Beversrede."*

Arendt Corssen appointed commissary on the South River.

Purchases a tract on the Schuylkill.

Affairs on the Connecticut River.

The Dutch, who were the only Europeans that had thus far actually occupied any part of the present territory of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, were now to assert, against a pertinacious rival, their right to the possession of Connecticut, which, from the time of Block's exploration, and long "before any English had dreamed of going there," they had constantly visited, and where they had carried on an exclusive and lucrative trade. When the remnant of the Mahicans opposite Fort
1628. Orange, who had been subdued by the Mohawks, were expelled from their ancient abode, they settled themselves on the Fresh River, "called Connittecock by the natives," under the sachem Sequeen, who claimed the aboriginal ownership of "the whole river, and the lands thereabouts." It was a beautiful flat country, "subject in the spring to

* Hol. Doc. viii., 35, 55; Hudde's Report, in Alb. Rec., xvii., and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 429, 440; O'Call., i., 156; ii., 81, 581; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 35, 77, 78; De Vries, 102, 103, 104; *post*, p. 483, 485.

inundations like those of the Nile." But constant questions of jurisdiction arose between Sequeen and the Pequods, who, under Meautinay, their chief, inhabited the regions east of the river, as far as the Narragansett country. It was, therefore, agreed that their differences should be settled by arms, "upon condition that the winner should always, for himself and his successors, remain the true owner of the Fresh River." After three different battles in the open field, Meautinay obtained "the victory and the land;" and so defeated and humbled Sequeen, that he "became subject to the Pequods." With the consent of the victors, Sequeen placed himself, and the remnant of his tribe, "under the protection of the Netherlanders."* 1628. The Pequods victorious.

From that moment, the relations between the Dutch and the tribes on the Connecticut became still more intimate. The fur trade was carried on briskly, and to mutual satisfaction. But the humbled warriors panted to be revenged. The policy of the Dutch avoided any interference in the quarrel; and, in hopes of engaging the recently-arrived English on his side, Wahginnacut, the sachem of the expelled Mahicans, made a journey to Boston, as we have seen, "to extol the fertility of his country, and solicit an English plantation as a bulwark against the Pequods." But neither Massachusetts nor New Plymouth would then become parties to the Indian strife; nor were any steps taken by the English to plant a settlement; though Edward Winslow visited the river the next year, and selected a site for a house. The Dutch remained in quiet possession of their valuable trade; but before the recall of Minuit, no purchases of lands had been made, nor had any patroonships been erected, under the charter of 1629, in any part of the Connecticut valley.† 1631. 4/14 April. 1632.

While detained in England by the negotiations for the release of the Eendragt, the recalled director probably be-

* Hol. Doc., vii., 70–88; Beverninck, 607; Wassenaar, xvi., 13; Benson's Memoir, 86. The meaning of the Indian name "*Connecticoota*," is the "Long River." Sequeen is stated to have been the Sagamore of Pyquaug, or Wethersfield, and to have been under Sowheag, the great sachem at Mattabesick, or Middletown.—Trumbull, i., 40, 41.

† Winthrop, i., 52; Bancroft, i., 361; Hutchinson, i., 148; *ante*, p. 207, 210.

CHAP. VIII.

came aware of the grant of Connecticut, which the Earl of Warwick had just sealed. The West India Company now perceived that their title to that part of New Netherland would be "sharply contested" by the English. It was, therefore, thought expedient that, to their existing rights by discovery and exclusive visitation, should be added the more definite title, by purchase from the aborigines. In the course of the following summer, the Dutch traders on the Connecticut were accordingly directed to arrange with the native Indians for the purchase of "most all the lands on both sides of the river." This was accomplished; and "Hans den Sluys, an officer of the company," also purchased, at the same time, the "Kievit's Hoeck," afterward called Saybrook Point, at the mouth of the Connecticut, where the arms of the States General were "affixed to a tree in token of possession."*

1632. The West India Company purchases lands of the Connecticut Indians.

1633. One of the most important duties of the new director was to secure the West India Company's title to Eastern New Netherland; and Van Twiller, soon after his arrival at Manhattan, dispatched Jacob van Curler, one of his commissaries, with six others, to finish the long-projected fort on the Connecticut River, and obtain a formal Indian deed for the tracts of land formerly selected. The trading-house which had been projected in 1623, and "had been a long time *in esse*," was now commenced on the west bank of the river, about the site of the present town of Hartford. In a few days, Van Curler agreed with the Sachem Tattoepan, the "owner of the Fresh River of New Netherland," for the purchase of the "flat land extending about three miles down along the river to the next little stream, and again upward, a musket-shot over the kill, being one mile broad to the heights." The purchase was made "with the free will and consent of the inhabitants there," upon condition that the ceded territory, "named Sicajoock," should always be a neutral ground,

Commissary Van Curler sent to the Fresh River.

8 June.

Purchases land.

* Hol. Doc., iv., 71, 110; Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., p. 276, 277. The Kievit is a bird commonly known as the "Pewit." In Holland, its eggs are considered a great delicacy in the spring.

where all the tribes might resort for purposes of trade, and where no wars should ever be waged. With the consent of the Pequod sachem Magaritinne, "chief of Sloup's Bay," it was also arranged that Sequeen should thereafter live with the Dutch. This land "was bought from the Pequods as conquerors, with the good-will and assent of Sequeen."*

Thus the Dutch West India Company obtained the Indian title to the territory on the Connecticut River, of the whole of which they "had previously taken possession." The purchase was made of the natives, who "declared themselves the rightful owners;" Lord Warwick's grantees had, as yet, done nothing toward the occupation of the regions which they claimed; and the people of New Plymouth had made no attempt to plant a settlement in a region which they knew was beyond the limits of their patent. Van Curler, the Dutch commissary, soon completed a redoubt "upon the flat land on the edge of the river, with a creek emptying at the side." The little post was fortified with two small cannon, and named the "Good Hope."†

Van Curler completes Fort "Good Hope."

Van Twiller had an early opportunity to acquaint the West India Company with his proceedings. De Vries being about to sail for Holland, came up from his ship at Sandy Hook, to take leave of the director, and receive his

June.

* Hol. Doc., ix., 187, 189; Hazard, ii., 262, 263; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 271, 272; O'Call., i., 150, 151; Verbael van Beverninck, 607. The Sachem Tattoepan, of whom Van Curler made the purchase, is called, by Winslow, "Tatobum, whose title to the river was by conquest."—Morton's Mem., App., 396. It seems that a few years afterward, when the Pequods had been exterminated, Sequasson, the son of Sequeen, was induced to make the following declaration before the Hartford authorities: "1640, 2d July, Saqueston testifies in court that he never sold any ground to the Dutch, neither was at any time conquered by the Pequods, nor paid any tribute to them."—J. H. Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut, 56.

† De Vries, 150; Hol. Doc., ii., 368; Alb. Rec., xviii., 289; Hazard, ii., 268. "In 1819," says Dr. Holmes, the annalist, "I went with Mr. Perkins, of Hartford, to see the remains of this Dutch fort, which were then distinctly visible on the bank of the Connecticut River, not far below the seat of the Wyllys family. There were some decayed pieces of timber and bricks."—Holmes, Am. Ann., i., 219, note. The point where the "Little River," which now runs through Hartford, empties into the Connecticut, is still known as "Dutch Point." On a map of Hartford in 1640, recently prepared by W. S. Porter, "surveyor and antiquarian," the meadow on the south of the Little River is also marked as "Dutchman's land." The Fort "Hope" was built at the northernmost point of this south meadow. Mr. J. H. Trumbull, the able compiler of that excellent work, the "Public Records of Connecticut," informs me, that the ruins of the old fort have been traced by persons now living; and that several of the yellow Dutch bricks used in its construction are still preserved by residents in Hartford.

CHAP. VIII. dispatches. But Van Twiller, renewing his "vexatious conduct," objected to the sailing of the ship until she had been visited by the officers of Fort Amsterdam. This De Vries refused to allow. "I am going," said he, "to the Fatherland; if you wish to prepare letters, you can send them after me; I shall return with my boat." The director immediately dispatched a dozen musketeers down to the beach, to prevent his departure; but the patroon ordered his boat's crew to row away at once, in spite of the soldiers, who were now "ridiculed with shouts and jeers by all the by-standers." Returning to the fort, De Vries reproached Van Twiller for his "buffoonery" in sending down a guard, by which he had made himself a laughing-stock to all the people. He then joined his boat, which had been waiting behind Nutten (Governor's) Island, and rowed across the river to Pavonia, where he was "well entertained" by Michael Paulusen, the commissary.

1633. Van Twiller repeats his vexatious conduct toward De Vries.

June. De Vries's ship visited by officers from the fort.

The next morning De Vries reached his ship; which was soon afterward visited by a yacht from Fort Amsterdam, bringing the director's letters for Holland, and Remund and Notelman, the provincial secretary and schout, who were welcomed on board. Remund, however, seeing a dozen beaver skins lying on the deck, declared them "a prize," because they had not been entered at the fort. De Vries told him that he might seize them; but Notelman, the schout, interfered. "Let them lie," said he; "we are not now at the fort. If there is any thing wrong, the patroon can answer for it in Holland." The secretary, more faithful to his trust, threatened to send the ship Soutberg after De Vries; who, in reply, severely censured the conduct of the company's officers at Manhattan. "They know nothing," said the irritated patroon, "but about drinking: in the East Indies they would not serve for assistants; but the West India Company sends out at once, as great masters of folks, persons who never had any command before; and it must therefore come to naught." With this reproof, the discomfited officials returned to Fort Amsterdam.*

* De Vries, Voyages, 114–116. The journal describes Sandy Hook Bay, in 1633, as "a

Setting sail for Holland, De Vries met an English vessel just outside of Sandy Hook, "running directly upon the shoals," and in danger of shipwreck. A gun was fired to warn the stranger, and a boat was sent to point out the channel. The English captain immediately visited De Vries, who recognized him as an old acquaintance named Stone, whom he had met in the West Indies, and afterward at Jamestown, the previous spring. Stone was carrying a large cargo of cattle from Virginia to New England; and being in want of water, he was anxious to run up to Manhattan. But no one on board knew the channel. At Stone's earnest entreaty, De Vries allowed one of his crew to join the English ship, and pilot her up to Fort Amsterdam.* The first British vessel that ever ascended the North River had been navigated in, a few months before, by Eelkens, a discharged officer of the Dutch West India Company; a second English ship now entered the harbor of Manhattan with a Dutch pilot furnished by De Vries.

CHAP. VIII.

1633.

15 June. De Vries sails for Holland.

An English ship from Virginia arrives at Manhattan.

While Stone was lying at anchor before Fort Amsterdam, a trading pinnace arrived from New Plymouth; and a quarrel soon arose between the Virginia captain and the master of the New England craft. Van Twiller, having been drinking with Stone, was prevailed upon to allow him to seize the pinnace, "upon pretence that those of Plymouth had reproached them of Virginia." Watching an opportunity when most of the New Plymouth people were ashore, Stone boarded the pinnace with some of his men, and "set sail to carry her away to Virginia." But some of the Dutch, "who had been at Plymouth and received kindness," pursued the marauders, and brought them back. The next day, Van Twiller and Stone entreated the master of the pinnace, who was one of the New Plymouth council, "to pass it by." This he promised to do, "by a solemn instrument under his hand;" and both the English vessels set sail for Massachusetts. Stone, how-

A New Plymouth pinnace seized by the captain of the Virginia ship.

Rescued by the Dutch.

great bay where fifty or sixty ships could easily lie, protected from the sea winds. This Sandy Hook stretches out about two miles from the Highlands, with a flat sand beach about eight or nine paces broad, completely covered with blue plum-trees, which grow wild there."—P. 116.

* De Vries, 98, 110, 117.

CHAP. VIII. 1633.

ever, no sooner arrived at Boston, than he was arrested at the suit of the New Plymouth people, and bound over to appear in the Admiralty Court in England. But the recognizance was soon withdrawn; for the prosecutors found that "it would turn to their reproach."*

On the return of their pinnace from Manhattan, the New Plymouth people learned that the New Netherland authorities had now secured an Indian title, and taken formal possession of the valley of the Connecticut. Governor Winslow and Mr. Bradford, therefore, hastened to Boston, "to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut for beaver and hemp," and "to set up a trading-house there, to prevent the Dutch."† But Winthrop again declined engaging in the enterprise. It was "doubtful whether that place was within our patent or not," thought the Massachusetts authorities; nevertheless, they assigned other reasons for their refusal. "In regard," said Winthrop, "the place was not fit for plantation, there being three or four thousand warlike Indians, and the river not to be gone into but by small pinnaces, having a bar affording but six feet at high water, and for that no vessels can get in for seven months in the year, partly by reason of the ice, and then the violent stream, &c., we thought not fit to meddle with it." After a week's delay at Boston, Winslow and Bradford returned to New Plymouth, without having been able to engage the co-operation of the Massachusetts authorities, but with their "leave to go on."‡

Winslow and Bradford visit Boston. $\frac{12}{22}$ July.

Massachusetts declines to join New Plymouth in occupying Connecticut.

$\frac{18}{28}$ July.

Probable motives of the Massachusetts people.

It is probable that the real motive of Massachusetts in thus declining the proposition of the New Plymouth people was an indisposition to interfere with the colonization of Connecticut, under the charter which Lord Warwick had just granted to Saltonstall and his associates. Not long afterward, the authorities at Boston distinctly admitted that the lower part of the Connecticut valley was "out

* Winthrop, i., 104; Morton's Memorial, 176.

† Winthrop, i., 105. Winslow, however, in a letter to Winthrop, written ten years afterward, on the 6th of April, 1643, alleges that "the Dutch came in by way of prevention, and stept in between us and our people," &c.—Morton's Memorial, App., p. 395.

‡ Winthrop, i., 105, and Savage's note, 181; Morton's Memorial, 172; Hutchinson's Mass., ii., 416.

of the claim of the Massachusetts patent."* The value and importance of the upper part of that valley, which was really comprehended within their patent, was, however, soon made known to the General Court. John Oldham, of Watertown, and three others, in the course of the summer, penetrated one hundred and sixty miles through the wilderness, to trade with the native tribes on the upper waters of the Connecticut. The travellers were hospitably entertained at all the Indian villages through which they passed; and the sachem whom they visited, near the present town of Springfield, "used them kindly, and gave them some beaver." Early in the autumn of 1633, the first British explorers returned to Boston, with glowing accounts of the luxuriant meadows which bordered the river, and bringing samples of hemp which "grows there in great abundance, and is much better than the English."†

John Oldham's overland journey to Connecticut.

September.

Though Winthrop would not join with the New Plymouth authorities in their projected enterprise of opposition to the Dutch, he nevertheless thought it necessary to assert, promptly, the superior title of the English to the whole of the Connecticut valley. Accordingly, he dispatched his bark, the "Blessing of the Bay," on a trading voyage through Long Island Sound, with a "Commission," to signify to the New Netherland government "that the King of England had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects," and that the Dutch should therefore "forbear to build there." On their way, the bark's company visited Long Island, where they found the Indians had "store of the best wampampeak," and "many canoes so great, as one will carry eighty men." They also visited "the River of Connecticut, which is barred at the entrance, so as they could not find above one fathom water." At Manhattan, Winthrop's messengers "were very kindly entertained, and had some beaver, and other things, for such commodities as they put off."‡

Winthrop writes to Van Twiller, and claims Connecticut for the English.

26 August. / 4 Sept.

After five weeks' absence, the bark returned to Boston, $\frac{2}{12}$ Oct.

* Winthrop, i., 398, App.

† Winthrop, i., 111; Trumbull, i., 34.

‡ Winthrop, i., 111, 112.

CHAP. VIII. with a "very courteous and respectful" letter from Van Twiller to Winthrop. The Director of New Netherland, in turn, desired the Massachusetts authorities to defer their "pretence or claim" to Connecticut, until the King of England and the States General should agree about their limits, so that the colonists of both nations might live "as good neighbors in these heathenish countries." "I have," added Van Twiller, "in the name of the Lords, the States General, and the authorized West India Company, taken possession of the forementioned river, and for testimony thereof have set up an house on the north side of the said river, with intent to plant, &c. It is not the intent of the States to take the land from the poor natives, as the King of Spain hath done by the Pope's donation, but rather to take it from the said natives at some reasonable and convenient price, which, God be praised, we have done hitherto. In this part of the world are divers heathen lands that are empty of inhabitants, so that of a little part or portion thereof, there needs not any question."*

1633. 23 Sept. 4 October.

Van Twiller replies, and asserts the Dutch title.

New Plymouth commences a settlement on the Connecticut.

Notwithstanding the refusal of the Massachusetts authorities, the New Plymouth people did not abandon their purpose of encroachment on the Connecticut; where the Hollanders were now in quiet possession, under their threefold right by original discovery, constant visitation, and formal purchase from the aboriginal owners. To secure a color of adverse title, a tract of land, just above Fort Good Hope, was bought of "a company of banished Indians," who had been "driven out from thence by the potency of the Pequods." A small frame of a house was prepared, and stowed in "a great new bark;" with which "a chosen company," under the command of Lieutenant William Holmes, was dispatched to the Connecticut. With Holmes and his party the bark also conveyed the banished Indians, from whom the land had been purchased. This rendered it indispensable that the English intruders should be provided with "a present defense" against the Pe-

An expedition dispatched to the Connecticut.

* Lond. Doc., i., 53; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 18; Winthrop, i., 113; Trumbull, i., 70; Address before N. Y. H. S., 1844, 32; O'Call., i., 152. Holmes, Ann., i., 223, errs in placing this transction under the year 1634, instead of 1633.

quods, "who were much offended that they brought home and restored the right sachem of that place, called Natuwannute."*

16 Sept. The New Plymouth adventurers settle themselves at Windsor.

The Plymouth adventurers soon reached Fort Good Hope. "When they came up the river," says the quaint Puritan chronicler, "the Dutch demanded what they intended, and whither they would go? They answered, up the river to trade. Now their order was to go and seat above them. They bid them strike and stay, or else they would shoot them, and stood by their ordnance ready fitted. They answered, they had commission from the Governor of Plymouth to go up the river to such a place, and if they did shoot, they must obey their order and proceed; they would not molest them, but would go on. So they passed along; and though the Dutch threatened them hard, yet they shot not. Coming to their place, they clapped up their house quickly, and landed their provisions, and left the company appointed, and sent the bark home, and afterward palisadoed their house about, and fortified themselves better."† Thus was begun the first English settlement at Windsor, in Connecticut.

Van Twiller protests ineffectually. 25 October.

Advised of the intrusion of the resolute "Plymotheans," Van Twiller sent to Commissary Van Curler a formal notification, to be delivered to Holmes, protesting against his conduct, and commanding him to "depart forthwith, with all his people and houses," from the lands on the Fresh River, continually traded upon by the Dutch, "and at present occupied by a fort." But Holmes, who had defied the ordnance of the Hope, was not to be moved by a protest from the Director of New Netherland. "He was there," said the New Plymouth lieutenant, "in the name of the King of England, whose servant he was, and there he would remain."‡

* Bradford, in Hutch. Mass., ii., 416; Hazard, ii., 215. Winslow, in Morton's Memorial, App., 396, calls this sachem's name "Attawanhut," who had been expelled by Tatobum; and adds, "that this Attawanhut, by the relation of Lieutenant Holmes, if he would have given way to it, would have cut off the Dutch, because they came in by Tatobum."

† Bradford, in Hutch., ii., 417; Prince, 435; Winthrop, i., 113; Trumbull, i., 35.

‡ Hol. Doc., ix., 189, 190; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 271; Hazard, ii., 262; O'Call., i., 154.

CHAP. VIII.

1633. Finding his protests disregarded, Van Twiller submitted his perplexities to his superiors in Holland. But before any reply could reach Manhattan, a new embarrassment occurred. Captain Stone, on his return from New England to Virginia, early the next year, entered the

1634. January. mouth of the Connecticut, for the purpose of trading at the Dutch fort; and, while on his way up the river, was

Captain Stone murdered by the Pequod Indians. treacherously murdered by the Pequods. The massacre of Stone and his company was followed, soon afterward, by the killing of some friendly Indians; and Commissary Van Curler punished the double atrocities by executing the "old sachem, and some other" of the assassins. This excited the Pequods to open war with the Dutch; and, in revenge, the savages now desired to gain the friendship of the English. They, therefore, dispatched an embassy to Boston, where a treaty was negotiated, by which the Pequods agreed to surrender the two surviving murderers of Stone's party, to "yield up Connecticut" to the English, and to give their new allies a large store of wampum and beaver. This treaty, though it benefited Massachusetts rather than New Plymouth, gave the Windsor colonists fresh courage. Van Twiller, who by this time had received instructions from the West India Company, soon afterward dispatched "a band of about seventy men, in a warlike manner, with colors displayed," to dislodge the New Plymouth men from Windsor. But the intruders standing upon their defense, the Dutch force withdrew "without offering any violence."*

War between the Pequods and the Dutch.

6 Nov. Treaty between the Pequods and Massachusetts.

December. The Dutch ineffectually attempt to dislodge the English from Windsor.

1633. Domestic affairs of the province. While important public questions had thus continued to try the inexperienced Van Twiller from the day he landed at Manhattan, the domestic concerns of the province had required much of his attention. From the first, he seems to have formed an extravagant estimate of the wealth and resources of his commercial employers. They had authorized him to make large expenditures at the points where their fur trade centered, and where their revenue

* De Vries, 150; Winthrop, i., 123, 148, 153, 386; Prince, 436; Morton's Memorial, 176, 183, 184; Trumbull, i., 35, 71.

1633.

officers were stationed. Fort Amsterdam, which had become dilapidated, was repaired, and a guard-house, and a barrack for the newly-arrived soldiers, were constructed within the ramparts, at a cost of several thousand guilders. Three expensive wind-mills were also erected; but they were injudiciously placed so near the fort that the buildings within its walls frequently "intercepted and turned off the south wind." Several brick and frame houses were built for the director and his officers; and on the company's farm, north of the fort, a dwelling-house, brewery, boat-house, and barn. Other smaller houses were built for the corporal, the smith, the cooper, and the midwife; and the goats, which Harvey had sent from Virginia as a present to Van Twiller, were accommodated with an appropriate stable. The loft, in which the people had worshiped since 1626, was now replaced by a plain wooden building like a barn, "situate on the East River," in what is now Broad Street, between Pearl and Bridge Streets; and near this "old church," a dwelling-house and stable were erected for the use of "the Domine."* In the Fatherland, the title of "Domine" was familiarly given to clergymen, and head-masters of Latin schools. The phrase crossed the Atlantic with Bogardus; and it has survived to the present day, among the descendants of the Dutch colonists of New Netherland.

Fort Amsterdam repaired.

Mills and houses built at Manhattan

The church.

The "Domine."

Manhattan was also invested with the prerogative of "Staple right," one of those peculiar feudal institutions enjoyed by Dordrecht and other towns in Holland, in virtue of which all the merchandise passing up and down the rivers on which they were situated was subject to certain impost duties. This right was now to be exercised at Manhattan; and all vessels passing before Fort Amsterdam were to be obliged either to discharge their cargoes, or pay the "recognitions" which the West India Company imposed.†

"Staple right" established at Manhattan.

Besides the costly works which Van Twiller undertook

* Hazard, i., 397. Alb. Rec., i., 85, 86, 88; x., 355; Hol. Doc., iii., 97; iv., 125, Vertoogh van N. N., 289, 293; O'Call., i., 155; Moulton; Benson's Memoir, 103; De Vries, 163.

† Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, iii., 55; O'Call., i., 155; Vertoogh van N. N., 290, 313.

CHAP. VIII. at Manhattan, two houses were ordered to be built at Pavonia; another in Fort Nassau, on the South River; and

1633. at Fort Orange, "an elegant large house, with balustrades,

Buildings at Pavonia, Fort Nassau, and Fort Orange. and eight small dwellings for the people."* All these enterprises were undertaken on account, and at the expense of the company. The sound of the hammer was now constantly heard; but only at the points where the trade of the company was to be protected. No independent farmers attempted the cultivation of the soil. The agricultural improvement of the country was in the hands of the patroons.

The colonie of Rensselaerswyck, during the first three

Colonie of Rensselaerswyck. years after its settlement, had grown very gradually. A few farms on the rich alluvion yielded large returns. But most of the colonists clustered around the walls of the

1634. company's reserved Fort Orange. From the form of the river bank at this place, which was supposed to resemble a hoop-net, the hamlet soon received the name of the

The Fuyck. "Fuyck."† This was subsequently changed to "Beverswyck," by which it was long known. At first, owing, perhaps, to the discord between the patroons and the company, its population increased very slowly; and for several years it was esteemed at Manhattan a place of "little consequence."‡ Arendt van Curler, a man of large benevolence and unsullied honor, was the patroon's commissa-

Its first officers and prominent colonists. ry and secretary; Wolfert Gerritsen, superintendent of farms; and Jacob Albertsen Planck, schout. Roelof Jansen, Brandt Peelen, Martin Gerritsen, Maryn Adriaensen, Gerrit Teunissen, Cornelis Teunissen, Cornelis Maassen van Buren, Jan Labbatie, and Jan Jansen Dam, were among the most prominent of the pioneer colonists.§ Some of these, afterward removing from Rensselaerswyck to Manhattan, became distinguished or notorious in the larger field of provincial politics.

From some unexplained cause, the Raritan savages,

* Alb. Rec., i., 65, 86; O'Call., i., 156, 157.

† Judge Benson's Memoir, 120; Renss. MSS.

‡ Journal van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iii., 97; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 5.

§ Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 322, 433, 434. Van Curler was drowned in 1667, while crossing Lake Champlain; Relation, 1667–8, 18; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 156.

soon after Van Twiller's arrival, attacked several of the company's traders, and showed other signs of hostility. Peace, however, was restored in the course of the following year;* but the savages in the neighborhood of Fort Amsterdam were never afterward as friendly and cordial toward the Dutch as were the Mohawks near Fort Orange.

1634. Troubles with the Raritan savages.

Van Twiller's conduct in the administration of provincial affairs seems, before long, to have provoked a severe reprimand from Domine Bogardus, who is said to have written him a letter describing him as "a child of the devil," and threatening him with "such a shake from the pulpit, on the following Sunday, as would make him shudder." Whatever causes may have provoked this coarse attack, neither the license of a rude and early age, nor the habits and temper of Bogardus himself, could justify conduct, which, his enemies afterward charged against him, was "unbecoming a heathen, much less a Christian, letting alone a preacher of the Gospel."†

Van Twiller severely reprimanded by Domine Bogardus. 17 June.

The affairs of New Netherland had by this time attracted the serious attention of the home government. Upon the return of the "William" to England, the depositions of the crew were taken; and a statement of the case was communicated to Joachimi and Brasser, the Dutch ambassadors at London, with a demand of damages from the West India Company, and the threat of an application to the British government, in case satisfaction should be withheld. The ambassadors immediately transmitted the papers to the States General, with an intimation that the disputes which had lately broken out between the patentees of Virginia and New England were instigated by the Spaniards, and "were not agitated because these parties were suffering loss from one another, but in order that men might have occasion to quarrel with the Dutch about the possession of New Netherland." Upon the report of their committee, the States General referred the case to the West India Company, with directions "to

Complaints of the owners of the ship William to the Dutch ambassadors at London. 1633. 1 Nov.

1634. 27 May. Transmitted to the States General.

Referred to the West India Company. 20 June.

* Alb. Rec., i., 96; O'Call., i., 157, 167.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 328–334; O'Call., i., 167, 362.

CHAP. VIII. inform their High Mightinesses of the right of the matter."*

1634. 25 October. Answer of the West India Company.

After some months delay, the deputies from the College of the XIX. submitted a memorial to the States General, denying the claim of the London merchants for compensation, and insisting that the West India Company had reason to allege damages against the English trespassers. The renegade Eelkens himself was well aware that New Netherland had been discovered at the cost of the East India Company, in 1609, "before any Christians had been there, as was testified by Hudson, who was then employed by the said company to find out a northwest passage to China." Subsequent occupation, purchases from the aborigines, and colonization under the West India Company, had confirmed this original title by discovery. None but "some prohibited traders, and especially Jacob Eelkens," had hitherto questioned the company's rights under their charter. Eelkens's conduct had done them great damage, and the "injurious seed of discord" had been sown between the Indians and the Dutch, who had, up to that time, lived with each other in good friendship. To arrange the present dispute, and prevent future difficulty, the company suggested that the whole question should be referred to the arbitration of Boswell, the English ambassador at the Hague, and Joachimi, the Dutch ambassador at London, and that their High Mightinesses should take prompt measures to establish a boundary line between the Dutch and English possessions in North America.†

25 October. Question left unsettled.

The States General, however, though they consented that the company might confer with Boswell, left the affair to "take its own course;" and the question of damages, as well as that of boundaries remained unsettled. Four years afterward, Joachimi wrote from London that the owners of the William had again complained to him; but the Dutch government took no further notice of the subject.‡

1638. 24 May.

1633. 24 July.

Meanwhile, De Vries had returned to Amsterdam, where

* Hol. Doc., ii., 51–55, 90–92.

† Hol. Doc., ii., 136; O'Call., i., 164.

‡ Hol. Doc., ii., 144, 196.

he found his partners at variance with the other directors of the company. The chief cause of difficulty was the interference of the patroons with the peltry trade; and even the few beaver skins, "not worth speaking of," which De Vries himself had procured in New Netherland, were made the subject of recrimination. Unwilling to be involved in the quarrels which were defeating the purposes of the Charter of Privileges, De Vries retired from his partnership with the other patroons of Swaanendael. But his return to Amsterdam seems to have occasioned a beneficial change in the provincial administration. Notelman, the unfaithful schout-fiscal, was promptly superseded; and Lubbertus van Dincklagen, "an upright man and a doctor of laws," was dispatched to succeed him at Manhattan.* In this appointment, the Amsterdam Chamber exhibited much more wisdom than they had done in selecting Van Twiller to be director.

CHAP. VII.

1633. Variance between the directors of the W. I. Company and the patroons. 24 July.

Notelman superseded.

Lubbertus van Dincklagen appointed schout.

The patroons, however, were not so much at variance with each other as with the company, whose engrossing monopoly of the fur trade they longed to change into specific monopolies for themselves. The Amsterdam Chamber having determined that the Charter of Privileges was legal, opened unsuccessful negotiations with the patroons. Both parties, therefore, appealed to the States General, who appointed a committee of their own body to hear and decide upon these differences. The patroons accordingly submitted a statement of their grounds of complaint against the company, and of their "claims and demands." They alleged that they had involved themselves in expenses to the amount of one hundred thousand guilders for their three patroonships, which now were costing them "at least forty-five thousand guilders annually." As the company had repeatedly called their privileges in question, the damages thus caused should be made good. Within the limits of the patroonships, there were certain "lordships, having their own rights and jurisdictions," which had

The patroons combine against the directors of the company. 24 Nov.

19 Dec.

Both parties appeal to the States General.

1634. 16 June. "Claim and demand" of the patroons.

* De Vries, 119, 120; Renss. MSS.; Hol. Doc., ii., 167, 169, 178; v., 217; Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 291.

CHAP. VIII. 1634.

been ceded to the patroons, along with the ownership of the soil; and over the grantees of these prerogatives the company had no more power than it had "over the lords sachems the sellers." The inland fur trade within the patroonships, it was argued, was not included in the reservation of the company's monopoly; and the patroons were not bound to pay any recognitions on peltries. Wherever the company had no commissaries at the time of the granting of the charter, the patroons also claimed the right to trade, on payment of the recognition; and they maintained that, without their consent, the company could not send commissaries into the patroonships, nor affix placards, nor oblige the colonists to abstain from the fur trade. With respect to the right of appeal in civil cases to the Director and Council of New Netherland, it "should not prejudice, in the least, the higher jurisdiction and other privileges of the patroons."

These were the chief points which the patroons thought they had common cause to urge against the company. The destruction of Swaanendael by the Indians, furnished a specific ground of complaint on the part of the South River proprietaries, who insisted, that as the company had promised to aid and defend the colonists in New Netherland from all inland and foreign wars, they were "bound to make good the injuries which befell the patroons, their people, cattle, and goods there, and which they still continue to suffer."*

22 June. Answer of the company.

The directors avowed their willingness to submit the question as to the construction of the doubtful points in the charter to the judgment of the States General. On their part, the patroons reiterated their claims for damages, and demanded an immediate decision upon their validity. But the States General prudently postponed a decision, "in order to enable the parties to come to an amicable settlement;" and here the question ended, so far as the formal action of the Dutch government was concerned.†

24 June. The States General avoid a decision.

* Alb. Rec., xiii., 42, 43; Hol. Doc., ii., 39–50, 95–115; O'Call., i., 159–163; Moulton, 421, 422.

† Hol. Doc., ii., 115, 119, 124.

In the mean time, Godyn had died; and the remaining patroons of Swaanendael commenced legal proceedings against the company for the damages they had sustained in the loss of their colony. The Assembly of the XIX. finding that these continual discords were only injuring the interests of all parties, commissioned some of their directors "to treat and transact with all the patroons and colonists in New Netherland" for the purchase of all their rights and property. An agreement was accordingly made with the South River patroons and the heirs of Godyn, for the purchase of "their two colonies, named Swaanendael, in New Netherland," for the sum of fifteen thousand six hundred guilders. The formal surrender took place early the next year; and the West India Company again became the legal proprietary of all the territory on both sides of the Delaware.*

1634. Death of Godyn.

22 August.

27 Nov.

1635. 7 February Surrender of Swaanendael to the W. I. Company.

An unexpected danger now menaced Southern New Netherland. After his recall from the government of Virginia, Argall seems to have contemplated the establishment of a "new plantation," to the northward of the English settlements on the Chesapeake. It was, perhaps, to aid in this design, that John Pory, who had been one of the tools of Argall's rapacious administration, and was Colonial Secretary of Virginia under Yeardley, his successor, "made a discovery into the great bay," and ascended the River Patuxent. But Pory's explorations, which were nearly contemporaneous with the grant of the New England patent, were confined to the tributary waters of the Chesapeake, and to a subsequent journey of sixty miles overland, from Jamestown "to the South River Chowanock." A strange misapprehension has led a learned English annalist into the absurd error of confounding the "South River Chowanock," upon which Edenton now stands, with the "South River" of New Netherland, which Pory never entered.†

Argall's designs on the Delaware.

1620. October. Pory's exploration.

1621. February.

* "Papers relating to the Colony of Zwanendal," in O'Call., App., 479; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 39, 40.

† Chalmers, 206; Purchas, iv., 1784–7; Smith, ii., 61–64; Burk, i., 273; Bozman, i., 146, 153, 154.

CHAP. VIII.

After the accession of Charles I., colonial exploration was pushed with greater diligence, because that monarch instructed the governors of Virginia to procure more exact information of the geography of the province. Governor Yeardley, in 1627, and Governor Pott, in 1629, successively commissioned William Clayborne, their Secretary of State, to trade with the Indians, and explore the regions north and east of the Chesapeake. A company was soon afterward formed in England; and through the influence of Sir William Alexander, the Secretary of State for Scotland, Charles I., under the privy signet of that kingdom, licensed Clayborne and his associates to trade freely "to those parts of America for which there is not already a patent granted to others for sole trade." To give effect to this royal license, Sir John Harvey, the new governor of Virginia, issued a colonial commission the next year, by which Clayborne was authorized to sail and traffic "unto any English plantation," and also "unto the adjoining plantations of the Dutch, seated upon this territory of America." So entirely ignorant was the Virginia governor of the geography of "Lord Delaware's Bay," that the following autumn he dispatched a sloop, with seven or eight men, "to see if there was a river there." This was the first attempt ever made by the English to explore the Delaware. Clayborne, however, does not appear to have entered that river, or to have visited Manhattan. He availed himself of his trading licenses only in the neighborhood of the Chesapeake, after exploring the upper waters of which, he limited his ambition to the establishment of a post on the Isle of Kent, and another at the mouth of the Susquehanna.*

1627. Subsequent Virginian explorations. 27 August.

1629. 13 March. Clayborne's expeditions.

1631. 16 May.

1632. 18 March.

September. First attempt of the English to explore the Delaware.

Extent of Clayborne's explorations.

Meanwhile, the characteristic intolerance of the Anglican hierarchy was preparing noble materials for the foundation of a new colony on the banks of the Potomac. The Puritan Non-conformists were not the most oppressed objects of religious persecution in their native land; nor was

* Lond. Doc., i., 40, 43, 45; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 14, 15; De Vries, 110, 111; *ante*, p. 227; Chalmers, 206, 227; Bancroft, i., 237; Hildreth, i., 208; Bozman, i., 115, 265, 269.

1633.

the constancy which led them to the shores of Massachusetts without an illustrious parallel. There were other subjects of the King of England whose faith in Christianity was as sincere, and whose opposition to the established hierarchy was as conscientious. These were the Roman Catholics, who suffered even greater severities than the Puritans, and were the victims of a double persecution. The Church of England struggled against both Roman and Puritan dissenters; for the ultimate aim of all the antagonists was not toleration, but supremacy. Between the Papal and the Anglican hierarchies, Puritanism arrayed itself on the side of the Church of England, and constantly instigated her to new rigors against the sincere believers in the venerable faith of Rome. It was thus that conscientious Papists had even stronger motives than conscientious Puritans to seek an asylum in the New World.

Motives to Catholic emigration from England.

James I. was not, however, as bitter against the Roman Catholics as were the majority of his subjects. One of the last acts of his reign was to elevate to the Irish peerage, under the title of Baron of Baltimore, Sir George Calvert, who, after several years of faithful service as Secretary of State, openly avowing his adherence to the Roman faith, yielded to the growing cry against Popery, and resigned his office.* Charles I. was, perhaps, less disposed to show favor to the body of the Roman Catholics than his father had been. Yet he was magnanimous enough to appreciate and reward individual merit, even in a Papist. Calvert, who was an early friend of American colonization, had obtained the grant of Avalon, on the coast of Newfoundland, and had endeavored to establish a settlement there. But that sterile and inhospitable region was unfavorable to success; and about the time Endicott was settling himself at Salem, Lord Baltimore visited Virginia, in the hope of finding some unoccupied territory within that province, on

George Calvert, baron of Baltimore.

1625.

1623.

1628.

Visits Virginia.

* Sir George Calvert was appointed Secretary of State on the 16th of February, 1619, and resigned that office on the 9th of February, 1625. James I. died on the 27th of March, 1625, and Calvert's peerage was probably one of the last patents of that reign. Sir Albertus Morton was appointed by Charles I. Secretary of State, in place of Calvert, on the 9th of April, 1625.

CHAP. VIII. which to plant a colony. Protestant feeling, however, was
1630. too strong in Virginia to allow the unmolested exercise of the Roman faith; and Baltimore returned to England, to solicit a royal charter for the colonization of the uninhabited regions north of the Potomac.

The personal regard of Charles I. easily induced his as-
1632. sent to an ample patent; but before the legal forms could
15 April. be completed, Lord Baltimore died. The royal promise, however, was faithfully executed; and, two months after his father's death, Cecilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore,
Royal charter for Maryland. 20 June. received a charter, granting and confirming to him the territory bounded by a line due east from the mouth of the Potomac, across the Chesapeake to the ocean, and thence along the coast to "that part of the Bay of Delaware on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New England is terminated;" thence, westwardly, along the fortieth parallel, to the "fountain" of the Potomac, and thence along the west bank of the river to its confluence with the Chesapeake. The territory thus granted was erected into a province, the name of which, originally intended to be "Crescentia," was, by the king's desire, changed to that of MARYLAND, in honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria of France.* The new province comprehended within its boundaries, not only the whole of the present States of Maryland and Delaware, but all that part of Pennsylvania lying south of the fortieth parallel, and east of the meridian of the source of the Potomac. The proprietary himself was invested with the almost regal jurisdiction of the ancient bishops of Durham.

Leonard Calvert begins the colonization of Maryland. About two years after the charter was sealed, the foundations of the colony of Maryland were peacefully laid by Leonard Calvert, a half-brother of Lord Baltimore. Two ships, the Ark and the Dove, conveying nearly two hundred Roman Catholic gentlemen with their indented serv-
1634. ants, sailed from England by way of the West Indies, and
24 Feb. reached the Chesapeake early in 1634. On one of the

* Hazard, i., 327; Bozman, i., 271; ii., 10.

1634.

streams flowing into the Potomac, Calvert found the Indian village of Yoacomoco, which was about being deserted by its inhabitants. Imitating the honesty of the Dutch at Manhattan, he purchased the possessory rights of the aborigines; and the colonists at once entered into occupation of their wilderness abode, to which they piously gave the name of "Saint Mary's." Comprehensive benevolence insured the rapid prosperity of the new colony where religious liberty was to be unrestrained. The conscientious Non-conformists of England at last found a congenial asylum, under the banner of their country, in the New World; for the Ark and the Dove had conveyed to the shores of the Potomac more liberal-minded fathers of a state than those earlier emigrants who were peopling the coasts of Massachusetts Bay.*

27 March. Saint Mary's founded.

In the mean time, the charter of Maryland had produced alarm and excitement among the colonists of Virginia, who caused a remonstrance to be presented to the king against the dismemberment of their territory. But the Privy Council decided to leave Lord Baltimore "to his patent, and the other parties to the course of law." Clayborne, however, who chose to construe his trading license into a commission to plant colonies, refused to relinquish his pretensions to Kent Island, or submit to Calvert's authority. A skirmish occurred; and Clayborne, escaping to Virginia, was demanded by the Maryland authorities, as a fugitive from justice. But the Virginians, looking on the colonists of Maryland as intruders within their territory, were disposed to side with Clayborne. Harvey, however, unwilling to do any act in apparent opposition to the royal char-

Jealousy of Virginia.

1633.

May.

3 July.

1635.

February. Clayborne's contumacy.

* Chalmers, 207; Bozman, ii., 26, 27; Bancroft, i., 247; Hildreth, i., 209; Chalmers's Revolt of the Colonies, i., 61, 62. The feelings of the Massachusetts people toward the Maryland colonists, who "did set up mass openly," do not seem to have been friendly, or even charitable. A few months after the settlement at Saint Mary's (August, 1634), Calvert dispatched the Dove to Boston, with friendly letters, and a cargo of corn to exchange for fish. Some of the crew were accused of reviling the people of Massachusetts, as "holy brethren, the members," &c.; and, "upon advice with the ministers," the supercargo was arrested while on shore, in order to compel the surrender of the offenders. But the witnesses were found to "fall short," and disagree in their testimony; and the Dove was suffered to depart, with an injunction to the master "to bring no more such disordered persons" to Massachusetts.—Winthrop, i., 134, 139, 144.

CHAP. VIII. ter to Lord Baltimore, in a spirit of compromise sent Clayborne a prisoner to England. This step was viewed by the Virginians as a betrayal of their interests; and Harvey was immediately deposed by the council, and Captain John West appointed to act as governor until the king's pleasure should be known.*

1635. Governor Harvey deposed and sent to England. 28 April.

While at Jamestown two years previously, De Vries had explained to Harvey the situation of Fort Nassau; and his account, though it did not prevent the hospitable governor from intimating that the Dutch should receive no annoyance from him, provoked the covetousness of Clayborne's friends. A foothold on the Delaware, they now thought, might perhaps compensate them for the loss of posts on the Chesapeake; and West eagerly seized the opportunity, which his temporary authority afforded, to execute the design. A party of fourteen or fifteen Englishmen was accordingly dispatched from Point Comfort, under the command of George Holmes, to seize the vacant Dutch fort. The enterprise was promptly effected; for the West India Company had now "nobody in possession" to oppose the invaders. But Thomas Hall, one of Holmes's men, deserting his party, brought prompt intelligence of the aggression to Fort Amsterdam.†

West's designs on the Delaware.

August.

Fort Nassau seized by Holmes and a party of Virginians.

Van Twiller now perceived that Fort Nassau must be reoccupied by the Dutch, "or they would otherwise lose it to the English." An armed bark, belonging to the company, was therefore promptly dispatched thither with a competent force; and Holmes and his party were immediately dislodged, sent on board, and brought as prisoners to Manhattan.

The English captured and brought to Manhattan. 1 Sept.

Their arrival increased the embarrassment of Van Twil-

* Hazard, i., 337; Bozman, ii., 32–35; Bancroft, i., 201; Hildreth, i., 210; Chalmers, Col. Ann., 231; Chalmers's Revolt of the Colonies, i, 63, 64; De Vries, 141. After dissolving his partnership with the South River patroons, De Vries sailed a second time from the Texel, on the 10th of July, 1634, to plant a colony at Guiana. Having accomplished this, he went to Virginia, and arrived, on the 17th of May, 1635, at Point Comfort. Here he found lying at anchor "a *flute* ship of London, in which was Sir John Harvey, the governor for the King of England. He was now sent to London by his council and the people, which have made a new governor, which afterward turned out very badly for them."—Voyages, p. 141.

† De Vries, 143; Hol. Doc., v., 399; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 338

ler, who now learned that they had been expecting a reenforcement from Virginia. Meanwhile, De Vries had visited Manhattan again, in the ship "King David," and, after three months' delay in repairing his leaky vessel, which he had "hauled up on the strand," was about to sail for the Chesapeake. His opportune presence extricated the troubled director from his new dilemma. At Van Twiller's earnest entreaty, De Vries delayed his voyage for a week; the prisoners were sent on board the King David with "pack and sack;" and two days afterward, Holmes and his invading party were relanded at Point Comfort. Here a bark was found lying ready to sail for the South River, with a force of twenty men on board, "to second" the enterprise which Holmes had begun; but by the unexpected return of the captured invaders, "their design was broken up."* Thus ended the first actual English aggression on the southern frontier of New Netherland; and the Dutch continued, for several years, in undisturbed possession of the South River and the Schuylkill.

1635. 1 June. Holmes and his party sent back to Virginia. 8 Sept. 10 Sept.

The Plymouth people had now been for two years in possession of Windsor, in spite of Van Twiller's prompt but ineffectual protest, and subsequent pusillanimous military demonstration. Whatever scruples might, at first, have restrained Winthrop and his council from favoring the propositions of Winslow and Bradford in the summer of 1633, the example of New Plymouth soon infected Massachusetts Bay.† At the General Court, Hooker urged emigration to the Connecticut valley. The want of accommodation for their cattle at Newtown; "the fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English;" and "the strong bent of their spirits to remove thither," were the arguments he pressed. To these arguments it was

Progress of New England encroachments.

1634. 4 Sept. Hooker urges emigration from Massachusetts to Connecticut.

* De Vries, 120, 142, 143. The incident to which Winthrop (i., 167, 168), and Mather, in the Sixth Book of his "Magnalia," allude, as having occurred "at the Dutch plantation," happened to De Vries's boat on his arrival at New Netherland, 1st of June, 1635.—See transiation, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii.

† Lambrechtsen, 43; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 98; Verplanck, in N. A. Rev., lx., 86.

CHAP. VIII. 1634. objected that, "in point of conscience," the Newtown people ought not to desert their commonwealth, and that, in point of civil policy, the court "ought not to give them leave to depart." Their emigration would weaken Massachusetts; and "the removing of a candlestick" would be "a great judgment." Besides, the emigrants would be exposed to great peril, both from the Indians and from the Dutch, "who made claim to the same river, and had already built a fort there;" and the home government in England "would not endure they should sit down, without a patent, in any place which our king lays claim unto." The court was divided in opinion. Three fifths of the deputies were for granting leave; but a majority of the magistrates refused their assent. The two elements in the government of the ecclesiastical commonwealth were now in opposition. With the aid of a sermon from Cotton, the patrician magistrates carried their point against the plebeian deputies; the Newtown people gave up their project; and, for a time "the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed."*

Leave to emigrate refused.

24 Sept.

But the question of emigration was soon revived. Two months afterward, ambassadors from the Pequods came to Boston, and "set their marks" to a treaty, which yielded up "all their right at Connecticut" to the Massachusetts colony. "To whom did that country belong?" was now the inquiry. "Like the banks of the Hudson, it had been first explored, and even occupied by the Dutch; but should a log-hut and a few straggling soldiers seal a territory against other emigrants?" The colonists of Massachusetts did not stop to argue the question of right with the authorities of New Netherland, or even wait for the permission of the English patentees of Connecticut. Nothing could long retard the rush of Puritan emigration to the "New Hesperia" on the banks of the Fresh River. Detachments of families from Watertown and Roxbury now obtaining leave from the General Court, "to remove whither they pleased," provided they continued under the gov-

6 Nov. Treaty with the Pequods.

1635. 6 May.

* Winthrop, i., 140–142; Hutchinson, i., 47; Bancroft, i., 365, 366.

ernment of Massachusetts, journeyed through the wilderness, and began a settlement at Wethersfield; and "the Dorchester men," establishing themselves near the Dutch, and just below the Plymouth trading-house at Windsor, were promptly reproved, by letters from Governor Bradford, for their unrighteous and injurious intrusion.* Thus the Plymouth colonists on the Connecticut—themselves intruders within the territory of New Netherland—soon began to quarrel with their Massachusetts brethren for trespassing upon their usurped domain.

CHAP. VIII.

1635. Emigration from Watertown, Roxbury, and Dorchester. August.

Meanwhile, the jealousy of the High Church party in England had been aroused against the dissenting colonists in America; and Charles I. constituted William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and eleven other Privy Councilors, a special commission "for the regulation and government of the Plantations." These commissioners were invested with full power to make laws for the colonies, hear complaints, inflict punishments, remove and appoint governors, regulate ecclesiastical affairs, and revoke charters which were supposed to be hurtful to the royal prerogative.†

1634. 28 April. Plantation Board established in England.

To this arbitrary body Edward Winslow, who went to England in the summer of 1634 as the agent of New Plymouth, presented a petition, complaining that the French had annoyed the New England Plantations on the east, and that "the Dutch in the west have also made entry upon Connecticut River, within the limits of His Majesty's letters patents, where they have raised a fort, and threaten to expel your petitioners thence, who are also planted on the same river." Winslow, therefore, asked that the commissioners would either procure for the colonists "peace with those foreign states, or else give special warrant unto your petitioners and the English colonies to right and defend themselves against all foreign enemies." These propositions, however, did not suit the views of the

July. Edward Winslow imprisoned in London.

* Winthrop, i., 160, 166; Trumbull, i., 60; Bancroft, i., 395, 396; ii., 283.

† Winthrop, i., 143; Hazard, i., 344; Chalmers, 158; Hutchinson, i., 442; Bancroft, i., 407.

CHAP. VIII. 1634. Plantation Board. Gorges and Mason were opposed to Winslow's petition, because Gorges hoped, through the archbishop's influence, to be sent out as Governor General of all the English colonies. Laud, too, was anxious to exercise hierarchal power in America, and stop the growth of dissent. Winslow was, therefore, severely questioned in the board. He frankly admitted, that "he did exercise his gift" in public preaching; and that, as a magistrate, "he had sometimes married some," for he considered marriage "a civil thing," and had himself been married in Holland by the magistrates in their State House. But, by the statutes of England, such proceedings were unlawful; and the archbishop readily made out his case in the compliant tribunal over which he exercised a paramount influence. Winslow was committed to the Fleet, and "lay there seventeen weeks, or thereabouts, before he could get to be released."*

Jealousy of the English government.

Thus the jealousy of the home government refused to the Puritan colonists any authority to interfere with the Dutch possessions on the Connecticut. The people of New England were esteemed "men of refractory humors;" and complaints constantly resounded of their sects and schisms, their hostility to the Established Church, and their treasonable designs against the royal authority. Emigration

December. was therefore restrained; the lord warden of the Cinque Ports was directed to stop "promiscuous and disorderly departure out of the realm to America;" and persons of humble station, who might obtain leave to emigrate, were required first to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.†

Intolerance of Archbishop Laud.

Laud's watchful intolerance reached even further. While Amsterdam was liberally opening her gates to strangers of every race and creed, the Primate of all En-

1635. gland, by order of the king, was requiring all the Reform-

2 January. ed Dutch churches, within the province of Canterbury, to adopt the English Liturgy.‡ But the attention of the gov-

* Winthrop, i., 137, 172; Hutchinson, ii., 410.

† Hazard, i., 347; Bancroft, i., 407. ‡ Rymer Fed., xix., 588; Rapin, ii., 293.

1635.

ernment was chiefly engaged in checking the emigration of disaffected Englishmen to America. A Dutch ship "of four hundred tons," bound to New Netherland, was lying at Cowes, ready to sail; and her officers were reported to be drawing "as many of his majesty's subjects as they can to go with them, by offering them large conditions." To put a stop to "so prejudicial a course," the Privy Council dispatched an order to the Earl of Portland, to restrain British subjects from going in that or any other Dutch vessel "to the Hollanders' Plantation in Hudson's River."* Three years before, a Dutch ship, coming from Manhattan, had been arrested at Plymouth for illegally trading within his majesty's alleged dominions. Now the chief care of the Privy Council seems to have been to prevent English subjects going in Dutch vessels to what the British government recognized, in an official state paper, as "the Hollanders' Plantation."

20 March. English subjects forbidden to go to the "Hollanders' Plantation."

The New England patent, which James I. had granted in 1620, had by this time become intolerably odious to Parliament, and the council of Plymouth was in disrepute with the High Church party. The patentees, accordingly, after conveying by deed, to William, earl of Stirling, "part of New England, and an island adjacent, called Long Island," divided the residue of the territory between Acadia and Virginia into shares, which they distributed, in severalty, among themselves; and then, under their common seal, surrendered their worthless charter to the king. "Thus was dissolved, by voluntary consent, arising from mere debility, the council of Plymouth, so famous in the story of New England."†

22 April. Long Island conveyed to Lord Stirling.

7 June. The New England patent surrendered to the crown.

At this crisis, John Winthrop, the son of the governor of Massachusetts, revisiting England, confirmed the accounts, which had already been sent over, of the value and importance of Connecticut. Lord Say, and the other grantees of Lord Warwick's conveyance in 1632, there-

* Lond. Doc., i., 55; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 19.

† Lond. Doc., i., 118; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 42; Chalmers, 95; Hazard, i., 382, 390, 393; Gorges, in iii., Mass. Hist. Coll., vi., 82, 83; Bancroft, i., 408; Chalmers's Revolt of the Colonies, i., 56; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 322, 323.

CHAP. VIII. fore took immediate measures for the colonization of that region. Saltonstall promptly dispatched a bark with twenty men, which arrived at Boston in mid-summer. From there the party proceeded to the Connecticut, with the intention of settling themselves "between the falls and the Plymouth trucking-house." But Ludlow and the Dorchester men defeated Saltonstall's plans; and their selfish conduct soon gave rise to large claims for damages.*

1635. First colonization of Connecticut under its English patentees. 16 June.

The younger Winthrop was soon afterward commissioned, by Lord Warwick's grantees, as "governor of the River of Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereunto." Early in the following October, he reached Boston, accompanied by his father-in-law, Hugh Peters, lately pastor of the English church at Rotterdam, and bringing along with him "men and ammunition, and two thousand pounds in money, to begin a fortification at the mouth of the river."†

18 July. John Winthrop commissioned as governor. 6 October.

A few weeks after his arrival at Boston, Winthrop dispatched a bark of thirty tons, and about twenty men, with all needful provisions, to take possession of the mouth of the Connecticut, and erect some buildings.‡ This was the first regular English occupation of the territory comprehended within Lord Warwick's grant. The officers of the Dutch West India Company had purchased this land from its Indian occupants three years before, and had affixed the arms of the States General to a tree, in token of their possession of the "Kievit's Hook," and of the river above. These arms the English invaders now contemptuously tore down, "and engraved a ridiculous face in their place."§

24 Nov. Winthrop takes possession of the mouth of the Connecticut.

The Dutch arms torn down.

Van Twiller finding that protests were ineffectual to dislodge the English intruders from the Fresh River, had, meanwhile, applied to the West India Company "for commission to deal with" them summarily. Winthrop's new party had scarcely reached the mouth of the Connecticut, before a sloop, which the director had dispatched from

August. The Dutch attempt to dislodge the English.

* Letter of Saltonstall to Winthrop, in Mass. Hist. Coll., xviii., 42, 43.
† Winthrop, i., 161, 169, 170, 172; Trumbull, i., 497; Hildreth, i., 229.
‡ Winthrop, i., 173, 174.
§ Hol. Doc., iv., 110; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 277; *ante*, 234.

Manhattan to secure the possession of the Dutch, arrived at the Kievit's Hook. But the English immediately got "two pieces on shore, and would not suffer them to land."* CHAP. VIII. 1635. December.

The Dutch being thus repulsed, the English changed the name of Kievit's Hook to "Saybrook," in compliment to the leading English proprietors of Connecticut, Lord Say and Lord Brook. A fort was immediately constructed at the point, under the superintendence of Lion Gardiner, an engineer or master workman, who had served under the Prince of Orange in Holland, and who had been induced by John Davenport and Hugh Peters, of Rotterdam, to enter into the service of the English patentees of Connecticut. After remaining four years in command of the post at Saybrook, Gardiner removed his family to the island which now bears his name, at the eastern extremity of Long Island.† 1636. Fort built at Saybrook. Lion Gardiner. 1640.

Though the Massachusetts emigrants had originally gone to the Connecticut valley under a stipulation to continue in allegiance to the General Court, the territory upon which they planted themselves was distinctly admitted to be "out of the claim of the Massachusetts patent." A new settlement was, however, soon commenced at a place which was actually within the chartered limits of Massachusetts Bay. Early in 1636, William Pynchon, with eight other persons, emigrated from Roxbury to the upper part of the Connecticut River, and built a trading-house at "Agawam." The original Indian name of that place was immediately changed to "Springfield," after the town in England where Pynchon had formerly lived. This new settlement brought the English within a few miles of the Dutch post at Fort Orange. A large peltry trade, divert- 1636. William Pynchon begins a settlement at Springfield.

* Winthrop, i., 166, 175; Trumbull, i., 61.

† Winthrop, i., 174, 175; Hubbard, 179; Lion Gardiner, in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxiii., 136; Trumbull, i., 61, 110. De Vries, p. 149, speaks of Gardiner, whom he found in command at Saybrook, on the 7th of June, 1639, as having married a Dutch wife at Woerden, in Holland, where he had "formerly been an engineer and baas-workman." The Dutch phrase "werk-baas," or "work-master"—so familiar to this day in New York—seems to have been quite unintelligible to the learned editor of Winthrop.—Savage's note, i., p. 174. Several interesting particulars of Gardiner's biography (whose baptismal name was Lion, and not David, as Trumbull and Savage affirm) may be found in Thompson's Long Island, i., 305, 306, and in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxiii., 136.

CHAP. VIII. ed from the North River, soon rewarded the enterprise of Pynchon; and the good judgment, which originally led him to occupy so advantageous a spot, has since been amply vindicated in the prosperity of the flourishing city of Springfield.*

1636.

Extent of English settlements.

Thus English progress, step by step, encroached upon the territories of the West India Company, until nearly the whole valley of the "Fresh River" was wrested from its rightful European proprietors. The annals of colonization "can scarcely show the commencement of a settlement so extremely faulty as that of Connecticut." In a short time, the "Hope," at Hartford, was all the foothold which the Dutch had left to them in Eastern New Netherland. From Sagadahoc to Saybrook, the Anglo-Saxon race was now without a European rival; and the advancing tide of its population was soon to roll still nearer to Manhattan. It was its destiny ultimately to triumph; and numbers and assurance carried the day against fewness and equity.

True European title to Long Island and Connecticut.

Yet the true European title, by actual discovery and continuous visitation, to the coasts of Long Island Sound and the valley of the Connecticut, was clearly and undeniably in the Dutch. As far as there was any color of English title to the region south of the Massachusetts line, that title was vested in the grantees of the Earl of Warwick, or, after the surrender of the Plymouth charter, in the crown. The Puritan colonists who first settled themselves on the Connecticut, and endeavored to expel the Hollanders from the territory which they had carefully explored long before it was seen or known by the English, did so without a shadow of title from the Plymouth Company, under whom they professed to claim; and it was not until two years after the Restoration of Charles II., that a royal charter gave the people of Connecticut the territorial security which they desired

1662. April.

* Chalmers, 287; Hutchinson, i., 95; Trumbull, i., 66; Young, Ch. Mass., 283; Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 273. This post is marked on Visscher's and Van der Donck's maps of New Netherland as "Mr. Pinser's handel-huys."

against those whom they denounced as their "noxious neighbors, the Dutch."*

1636.

If the relations of New Netherland with its colonial neighbors were not satisfactory, the condition of its home affairs was quite as unpromising. After conveying to Point Comfort the English prisoners captured at Fort Nassau, and ascertaining that Virginia was "not a good place for Hollanders to trade at," De Vries returned to Manhattan in the following spring. Reaching Sandy Hook toward evening, he piloted the King David safely up to Fort Amsterdam, off which he anchored about two o'clock the next morning, without any one on shore being aware of his arrival. No sentinels were on post; no challenge hailed the ship. At daybreak the vessel fired a salute of three guns, and the sleepy garrison "sprung suddenly out of bed, for they were not accustomed to have one come upon them so by surprise." De Vries, however, was kindly welcomed by the director; and his leaky ship was soon hauled into the "Smid's Vleye," where she was careened and repaired.†

Domestic affairs of New Netherland

8 May. De Vries returns to Manhattan.

16 May. Repairs his ship at the "Smid's Vleye."

A few days afterward, Van Twiller, accompanied by De Vries and Domine Bogardus, went across the river, opposite to Fort Amsterdam, on a visit to Pavonia, where Cornelis van Voorst had just arrived as "head commander" for Michael Pauw, the patroon. Van Voorst had come out in a small English bark, and had brought along with him some "good Bordeaux wine" from the north of England. The director, who was always "glad to taste good wine," therefore hastened across the river to greet Pauw's new officer. While the party were enjoying themselves, Van Twiller and Bogardus had "some words" with the patroon's commissary, about a murder which had just been

25 June. Cornelis van Voorst, Pauw's new superintendent at Pavonia.

* Chalmers, 288; Letter of General Assembly of Connecticut to Lord Say and Seal, 7th of June 1661, in Trumbull, i., 512; N. A. Review, viii., 85; Lambrechtsen, 43; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 98; *post*, p. 695, 702; see also note L, Appendix.

† De Vries's Voyages, 144. This is the first mention of the "Smid's Vleye," or Smith's Valley, which was the old familiar name of the marshy ground between the East River and Pearl Street, and Pine and Fulton Streets. When the "Maagde Padtje," or Maiden Lane, was extended beyond Pearl Street through this marsh, in Lord Bellomont's time, a market-house was built at the head of the slip. This was originally called the "Vleye Market," or market in the swamp. The English soon corrupted the name into "Fly Market," by which it continued to be known until it was taken down a few years ago.—See also Judge Benson's Memoir, p. 128, and Moulton's "New York in 1673," p. 23.

CHAP. VIII. committed at Pavonia. But they eventually parted good friends; and as the director was returning to Fort Amsterdam, Van Voorst fired a salute in his honor from a swivel which was mounted on a pile in front of his house. A spark unfortunately flying on the roof, which was thatched with reeds, set it in a blaze, and in half an hour the whole building was burned down.

1636.

July. Van Twiller's arbitrary conduct.

Another characteristic incident happened soon afterward at Manhattan. Some Englishmen, having captured two small vessels in the West Indies, took them into the South River, where they were found by one of the Dutch trading sloops, which immediately brought them to Fort Amsterdam. There the Englishmen sold their prizes, and shipped their goods on board the company's vessel, the "Seven Stars," which was loading for Holland. The English captain wished to have his goods sent by the ship of De Vries, who was willing to convey all his men at the same time to Europe. But the director would not consent to this arrangement, as it would interfere with the company's monopoly, though he compelled De Vries to take ten of the Englishmen on board his vessel; "all which trading by force was very unreasonable."

8 August. The constable at Fort Amsterdam gives a banquet.

When the ships were nearly ready to sail, the constable of Fort Amsterdam gave a parting banquet to his returning countrymen. A table and benches were arranged under a tent on one of the angles of the fort overlooking the placid bay, and a large company invited. When the feast was at its height, the trumpeter began to blow; and some words passed, because the koopman of the shop, Hendrick Hudden, and the koopman of the cargoes "scolded Corlaer the Trumpeter." As valiant as he was skilled in music, Corlaer instantly gave them each "a drubbing;" upon which they ran home vowing vengeance, and got their swords. But they contented themselves with "many foolish words" at the director's house; their soldiership evaporated over night; and in the morning "they feared the trumpeter more than they sought him."

"Corlaer the Trumpeter."

The irregularities in Van Twiller's government, which

1636.

De Vries had so often witnessed at Manhattan, did not, however, prevent him from appreciating the advantages of a well-organized colony in New Netherland. Not discouraged by his failure at Swaanendael five years before, he now determined to establish a settlement nearer to Fort Amsterdam, where he supposed it would, at all events, be more secure from the attacks of the Indians. Staten Island, which Pauw had already appropriated, seemed to offer unusual advantages; and De Vries requested the director to enter it for him, as he "wished to return and organize again a colony there." Van Twiller readily agreed to do so; and the prospective patroon, after wooding and watering his ship up the river, at the "Grooteval, which lies three miles beyond Menates Island," immediately set sail for Holland.*

De Vries arranges with Van Twiller for a colonie on Staten Island.

13 August.

15 August.

The colonial officers of New Netherland did not neglect the opportunities which they enjoyed of advancing their own private interests. Jacob van Curler, the former commissary at Fort Good Hope, now purchased from the Indians a flat of land called "Castateeuw," on Sewan-hacky or Long Island, "between the bay of the North River and the East River;" and Thomas Hall, the English deserter, was hired to superintend the plantation. At the same time, Andries Hudde, one of the provincial council, in partnership with Wolfert Gerritsen, purchased the meadows next west to Van Curler's. A month afterward, Van Twiller himself secured the level grounds further to the east. These purchases, which were estimated to include nearly fifteen thousand acres, seem to have been made without the knowledge or approbation of the Amsterdam Chamber. Flourishing settlements soon arose, which, collectively receiving the name of New Amersfoordt, after that of the interesting old town in Utrecht, where the illustrious Barneveldt was born, were the germ of the present town of Flatlands.†

Lands taken up by the provincial officers.

16 June.

16 July.

New Amersfoordt, or Flatlands, founded.

About the same time, Roelof Jansen, who had been as-

* De Vries, 145, 146.

† Alb. Rec. G. G., 31-39; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 338; O'Call., i., 172; Thompson's Long Island, ii., 182; Valentine's Manual for 1850, 542-544.

CHAP. VIII. sistant superintendent of farms at Rensselaerswyck, obtained from Van Twiller a grant of thirty-one morgens, or sixty-two acres of land, on Manhattan Island, a little to the northwest of Fort Amsterdam. This was the original conveyance of the very valuable estate north of Warren Street, in the city of New York, now in the possession of the corporation of Trinity church.*

1636. Roelof and Annetje Jansen's farm north of Fort Amsterdam.

Van Twiller's irregular administration did not, however, escape the severe criticism of some of his own subordinates; among whom Van Dincklagen, the schout-fiscal, did not hesitate openly to censure his chief. This conduct was looked upon as contumacious; and Van Dincklagen was refused the payment of his arrears of salary, and ordered to return to Holland. Ulrich Lupold, a Hanoverian, was temporarily appointed in his place. In thus arbitrarily displacing, perhaps, the most learned and accomplished man in the province, Van Twiller relieved himself, indeed, from the presence of an honest censor, but he eventually secured his own recall. Well might De Vries indignantly exclaim, as he observed Van Twiller's incapacity, that "the company had promoted him from a clerkship to a commandership, to act farces" in New Netherland.†

Van Dincklagen ordered to return to Holland.

Ulrich Lupold appointed schout-fiscal.

Colonie of Rensselaerswyck.

The colonie of Rensselaerswyck had meanwhile prospered under the careful superintendence of Arendt van Curler; and the modest hamlet of "Beverswyck" had extended itself around the walls of Fort Orange. The fertile soil yielded abundant crops to the laborious farmers; pike and sturgeon, and other choice fish, abounded in the river and creeks; and deer and wild turkeys overstocked the neighboring forests. The emigrants, happy in abundant prosperity, wrote joyous letters home; and fresh colonists, in large numbers and of substantial means, came

* Paige's Chancery Reports, iv., 178; Benson's Memoir, 119; Rensselaerswyck MSS.; O'Call., i., 142; ii., 35, 581. Roelof Jansen, whose name survives in that of the "Kill" which empties into the North River, between Hudson and Red Hook, died soon after this grant was passed; and his widow married Domine Bogardus, about the year 1638. After that, Annetje Bogardus's farm on Manhattan was called the "Domine's Bouwery." In 1647, Annetje was again a widow, and soon afterward returned to Beverwyck, where she died in 1663.

† Hol. Doc., ii., 167, 169, 171, 173, 177, 178–181; De Vries, Voyages, 113; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 291.

1637.

out from Holland in the autumn of 1636. Van Rensselaer now desired to enlarge his extensive domain; and the schipper of his vessel was instructed to assist the colonial officers in accomplishing this purpose. The next spring they accordingly purchased the tract called "Papsikaen," on the east side of the river, extending southward from Castle Island to Smack's Island, and running a considerable distance into the interior. With this addition, the colonie of Rensselaerswyck, around the West India Company's northernmost fort, now included a territory, on both sides of the North River, comprehending a large part of the present counties of Albany, Rensselaer, and Columbia.*

13 April. Additional land purchased on the east side of the river.

Soon afterward, Van Twiller purchased from the Indians, for his private use, the island which they called "Pagganck," lying a little south of Fort Amsterdam. This island, which was then estimated to contain a hundred and sixty acres of land, was originally called by the Dutch "Nooten," or Nutten Island, "because excellent nut-trees grow there." After its purchase by Van Twiller, it began to be known as "the Governor's Island," which old familiar name survives to the present day. The next month, the director bought two islands in the Hell-gate River, the largest of which, called Tenkenas, contained about two hundred acres, and Minnahonnonck, the smallest, about one hundred and twenty acres. Van Twiller was now one of the largest private land-owners in New Netherland; and the herds of cattle which soon stocked his flourishing farms, gave occasion to shrewd surmises that the director had not hesitated to enrich himself at the expense of the company's interests.†

16 June. Van Twiller purchases Pagganck or Nutten Island.

16 July. Also two islands in the East River.

Some grants of land were likewise obtained by unofficial persons. Among these, Joris or George Rapelje, one of the original Walloon colonists of Long Island, procured

George Rapelje obtains a grant at the Waal-bogt.

* Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 124, 326; De Vries, 153; Megapolensis's Tract on the Mohawk Indians, in Hazard, i., 518. Mr. Barnard affirms that, "about 1637, the patroon of this colony appeared in person to take charge of his estate and his people;" but there does not seem to be any evidence to support this assertion; see *post*, p. 531.

† Alb. Rec., G. G., 41, 46; De Laet, ix.; O'Call., i., 174, 182; Valentine's Manual for 1850, 544, 545.

CHAP. VIII. 1637. 16 June.

the formal confirmation of a tract near the Waal-bogt.* A pleasing tradition asserts, that the Indians had relinquished their title to the Walloons upon the birth of Rapelje's daughter Sarah, in the month of June, 1625, because she was the first white child born in New Netherland.†

Jonas Bronck's purchase in West Chester.

Soon afterward, Jonas Bronck became the owner of the "Ranaque tract," on the "main land" of West Chester, east of and "over against" what is now known as Haerlem.‡

The company secures the island of Quotenis, in Narragansett Bay.

About the same time, the Indian title to the island of "Quotenis," near the "Roode Island," in Narragansett Bay, was secured for the West India Company, and a trading-post was established there, under the superintendence of Abraham Pietersen. Not long afterward, Pietersen obtained for the company the possession of another island, lying near the Pequod, or Thames River, which, for many years after the settlement of Connecticut by the English, continued to be known as "the Dutchman's Island."§

Dutchman's Island.

The directors at Amsterdam also succeeded in purchasing from Michael Pauw his territorial rights as patroon, for which they paid him twenty-six thousand guilders. By this arrangement, Pavonia and Staten Island became the property of the company; and the annoyance which Pauw's independent colony had caused was at length stopped.‖

Pavonia and Staten Island.

Fur trade in New Netherland.

Up to this time the fur trade had steadily increased; and notwithstanding the loss of their sole traffic on the Connecticut, the directors received returns from their province, during the year 1635, amounting to nearly one hund-

* Alb. Rec., G. G.; Valentine's Manual for 1850, 545, 546.

† Judge Benson, in his Memoir, p. 94, gives the following extract from the Council Records in 1656: "Sarah Jorisen, *the first-born Christian daughter in New Netherland*, widow of Hans Hansen, burthened with seven children, petitions for a grant of a piece of meadow, in addition to the twenty morgens (forty acres) granted to her at the Waal-bogt." In consideration of her situation and birth, Stuyvesant and his council assented to her petition.—Alb. Rec., xi. (P.), 332; Moulton, 371, note; *ante*, p. 154.

‡ Benson's Memoir, 97; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 280, 283, 289, 302; O'Call., i., 250; ii., 581. "Bronck's Kill," now known as "Bronx River," derived its name from this Jonas Bronck.

§ Hol. Doc., vii., 78; Verbael van Beverninck, 608; Alb. Rec., i., 89; xviii., 291; O'Call., i., 174. There is an island now marked on the large official map of Massachusetts, of 1844, as "Dutch Island." It is in the channel west of Canonicut, and north of the Beaver Tail Light.

‖ Hol. Doc., v., 400; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 338; O'Call., i., 199.

red and thirty-five thousand guilders.* Besides enjoying the monopoly in New Netherland, the company had opened a profitable commerce with New England; and Dutch vessels brought tobacco and salt from the West Indies, and Flanders mares, and oxen, and sheep, from Holland to Boston. "They came from the Texel in five weeks three days, and lost not one beast or sheep." All these commodities bore high prices in New England, where there was now a scarcity of provisions. Potatoes, from Bermuda, were sold at Boston for two-pence the pound; a good cow was worth twenty-five or thirty pounds, and a pair of oxen readily fetched forty. The cattle in Connecticut did not thrive. In Virginia corn rose to twenty shillings the bushel. The scarcity in New England and Virginia affected the prices of provisions and the value of labor in New Netherland. Before the close of 1637, a schepel, or three pecks of rye, was sold for two guilders, or eighty cents; and a laboring man readily earned two guilders a day during harvest.† These prices were probably caused, in some degree, by the bloody war which was now raging in Connecticut.

CHAP. VIII.

1637.

Traffic with New England.

High prices of provisions.

For the Puritan colonists of New England had become embroiled with their aboriginal neighbors. The Pequods had failed to surrender the murderers of Stone, according to their treaty at Boston; and had tendered, instead, an atonement of wampum. But Massachusetts insisted upon avenging blood with blood. Soon afterward, John Oldham, the adventurous overland explorer of the Connecticut, was assassinated by the Block Island Indians, who seem to have become jealous at his trading with the Pequods, under their treaty with Massachusetts. The magistrates and ministers immediately assembled at Boston, and commissioned John Endicott to proceed, with a force of ninety men, to Block Island, of which he was directed to take possession, after putting to death all the warriors, and making prisoners all the women and children. From

1634.

Origin of the Pequod war.

1636.

July.

Oldham's murder.

25 August.

Endicott's expedition.

* De Laet, App., 30.

† Alb. Rec., i., 89; ii., 59; Winthrop, i., 160, 161, 182, 187, 191, 206.

CHAP. VIII. 1636. Block Island he was to go to the Pequods, and demand the murderers of Stone, and a thousand fathoms of wampum as damages: if satisfaction were refused, the expedition was "to obtain it by force."

Block Island devastated.

Endicott promptly executed his "sanguinary orders." The Block Island savages fled at the approach of the English invaders; and Endicott "burned their wigwams, and all their matts, and some corn, and staved seven canoes, and departed." Thence he went to Saybrook, where he was re-enforced by twenty men. In a few days, the expedition sailed for the Pequod River. After burning all the wigwams, and spoiling the canoes of the Pequods, Endicott returned to Boston, having done more than enough to exasperate, but nothing to subdue the now implacable enemy of the English.

The Pequod wigwams destroyed. 14 Sept.

Exasperation of the Pequods. October.

The fatal consequences of Endicott's expedition were soon felt by the colonists on the Connecticut. The Pequods, aroused to vengeance, lurked about the new fort at Saybrook, and killed several of the garrison. During the whole winter, the post was in a state of siege; and Gardiner, the commandant, going with a small party a little beyond the range of its guns, was surprised by an Indian ambush, and forced to seek safety in a rapid retreat. Wethersfield, too, felt the bitterness of savage revenge. Sequeen, aggrieved by the conduct of the English, whom he had been the means of attracting thither, instigated the Pequods, who killed nine of the colonists, and carried two maidens away into captivity.

1637. 22 Feb.

Revenge themselves at Saybrook and Wethersfield. April.

Apprehension was now felt that the Dutch, "who, by their speeches and supplies out of Holland," had excited the suspicions of their New England neighbors, would repossess themselves of Saybrook. Captain John Underhill was, therefore, promptly sent from Boston to the mouth of the Connecticut, with a re-enforcement of twenty men, "to keep the fort." But Van Twiller, instead of attempting to expel the harassed English from the "Kievit's Hoeck," dispatched a sloop from Manhattan to the Thames River, near which the Dutch had now a trading post, with or-

Saybrook re-enforced. 10 April.

1637.

ders "to redeem the two English maids by what means soever, though it were with a breach of their peace with the Pequods." Touching at Saybrook, the Dutch vessel was stopped by the English, who would not allow her to proceed until her officers stipulated, by "a note under their hands," to make the release of the two Wethersfield girls "their chief design." On reaching the Thames River, the Manhattan officers made large offers to the Pequods for the ransom of the English captives; "but nothing would be accepted." So the Dutch detained six or seven of the Pequods on board of their sloop; and with them they redeemed the two maidens, who were conveyed to Manhattan, and, not long afterward, safely restored to their countrymen at Saybrook.

The Dutch rescue the English captives from the Pequods.

An exterminating war against the Pequods was now decreed by the colonists of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield; and Massachusetts and New Plymouth resolved to assist Connecticut. John Mason, who had been bred a soldier in the Netherlands, was solemnly intrusted with the command; and, after a night spent in prayer, an English force of ninety men, accompanied by Uncas, the chief of the Mahicans, and sixty of his warriors, embarked in three vessels at Hartford, and dropped down to Saybrook, where the party was re-enforced by Underhill with his twenty men. The expedition soon reached the Narragansett Bay, where the English were further strengthened by the chief sachem, Miantonomoh, and two hundred of his warriors; and the combined forces pressed onward to the strong-holds of the Pequods, on the Mistic River. At dawn of day, the assailants, in two divisions, led by Mason and Underhill, attacked the fortified village at the summit of a commanding eminence. The Pequods, taken by surprise, fought with the energy of despair; but their arrows and robes of fur availed them little against the muskets and corselets of the New England men, now "bereaved of pity, and without compassion." No quarter was given; no mercy was shown. Six hundred souls, warriors and women, old men and children, perished in the indiscrim-

1 May. The English unite to exterminate the Pequods.

10 May.

23 May. Expedition reaches Narragansett Bay.

26 May.

The Pequod village destroyed.

CHAP. VIII. 1637.

inate carnage. The rising sun shone on the smoking ruins of the devastated village. A band of warriors from the second Pequod fort pursued the retreating conquerors; but the English safely reached their vessels, where they were joined by Captain Daniel Patrick, who had just come on from Boston with forty men. The victorious expedition returning to Saybrook, was welcomed by Gardiner with joyous salvos of artillery.

June. The savages hunted down west of Saybrook.

The fate of the remaining Pequods was now sealed. Stoughton soon arrived at Saybrook with re-enforcements from Massachusetts; and the flying savages were pursued as far westward as "within twenty or thirty miles of the Dutch." At a head of land, near what is now

13 July.

Guilford, the English beheaded two sachems; "whereupon they called the place Sachem's Head." Near what is now Fairfield, a remnant of the devoted tribe was hunted into "a most hideous swamp," and many warriors perished. Two hundred old men, women, and children were taken prisoners, reduced to bondage, and divided among the conquering European troops; and not long afterward, some of the wretched captives were exported from Boston, and sold as slaves in the West Indies. The scalp of Sassacus, the Pequod chief, was sent in triumph from Connecticut to Massachusetts Bay. Scarcely a sannup, a warrior, a squaw, or a child of the Pequod name sur-

Exterminated.

vived. An aboriginal nation had been almost exterminated.*

The tragedy which was thus awfully accomplished was performed, indeed, within the eastern territories of New Netherland, but by other actors than the Dutch. The victorious warfare of the New England colonists secured for them nearly forty years of comparative peace, and their courageous vigor has well received the most eloquent applause. Yet no habitual veneration of ancestral fame should justify the unvaried panegyric of all ancestral

* Winthrop, i., 189, 193–235; Morton's Memorial, 185–195; Hubbard's Narrative; Col. Rec. Conn., 9; Mason, in Mass. Hist. Coll., xviii., 131–151; Gardiner, in M. H. Coll., xxiii., 136–154; Underhill, in M. H. Coll., xxvi., 4–25; Chalmers, 291, 292; Trumbull, i., 69–93; Bancroft, i., 397–402; Hildreth, i., 238–252.

works, or cloak from calm review the full significance of inconvenient truth. The Pequod war, unrighteously begun, ruthlessly achieved, was the first serious attempt of the white race to extirpate the red race from the northern regions of America. Its injurious effects did not end with the subjugation and enslavement of its surviving victims. Their coveted land was indeed won. But the seeds of enmity were sown for ages; and it was not long after that the Dutch colonists on the North River were obliged to witness as murderous scenes as did the Puritan conquerors of Connecticut.

1637.

Meanwhile, Van Dincklagen, on returning to Holland, had severely reviewed Van Twiller's government, in a memorial to the States General, which was immediately referred to the Amsterdam Chamber, with an intimation that they should make prompt satisfaction to their injured officer, whose salary was now three years in arrear. The schout-fiscal's complaints, however, were not confined to the civil authorities of New Netherland. Domine Bogardus was also censured, and to such an extent that, when the report of the accusations reached Manhattan, the Consistory of the Church felt it their duty to take "ecclesiastical proceedings" against Van Dincklagen, which, several years afterward, they were obliged to defend before the Classis of Amsterdam.* But the answer which the directors tardily gave to the peremptory order of the States General was a virtual denial of justice. It only produced a fresh memorial from the resolute schout-fiscal, who renewed his complaints against the colonial administration of the company, and invoked the interposition of the home government so earnestly, that their High Mightinesses at

1636. 30 August. Van Dincklagen in Holland.

Complains against Van Twiller and Bogardus.

29 October.

1637. 30 April. Action of the Dutch government.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 167, 169; Correspondence of the Classis of Amsterdam. The memorial and papers which Van Dincklagen presented, on the 30th of August to the States General, are not now in the Archives at the Hague—at least, I was unable to find them, after a careful search. They were probably never returned by the Amsterdam directors, to whom they had been sent; and their loss is especially to be regretted, as they, no doubt, contained an interesting review of Van Twiller's administration. The Correspondence of the Classis of Amsterdam, which I procured for the General Synod of the R. D. Church, contains several references to Van Dincklagen's case; and on the 18th of July, 1638, it appears that Bogardus applied to the Council of New Netherland for leave to return to Holland and defend himself.—Alb. Rec., ii., 17; *post*, p. 614, note.

CHAP. VIII. 1637.

length "seriously" urged the College of the XIX. to grant him full redress.*

Van Twiller superseded.

It was now apparent, even to the Amsterdam Chamber, that a change must be made in the government of New Netherland. The constant reiteration of charges against their chief provincial officer damaged the reputation of the company at home; and the testimony of De Vries, on his return to Holland, probably turned against Van Twiller the scale which had been kept wavering through the influence of the directors with whom he was connected. The College of the XIX. resolved to remove him at once, and appoint a successor, who, with perhaps more capacity and experience, seems to have been quite as unfit to direct the destinies of a state.

William Kieft chosen as director.

William Kieft was the person selected. An apparently unfriendly pen has recorded a few indicative anecdotes of his earlier life. He was born at Amsterdam, where he was brought up as a merchant. After doing business awhile at Rochelle, he became a bankrupt; and his portrait, according to the uncompromising rule of those days, was affixed to the gallows of that city. Some time after his failure, he was sent to ransom some Christians in Turkey, where, it was alleged, he basely left in bondage several captives, whose friends had placed in his hands large sums of money for the purchase of their liberty.†

2 Sept.

Kieft commissioned and sworn.

To such an agent the West India Company determined to intrust the government of their American Province. One of the members of the Amsterdam Chamber, Elias de Raedt, was accordingly sent to the Hague, to solicit from the States General a commission for Kieft as Van Twiller's successor. The request was promptly granted; and the new director, in presence of the grave Assembly, took his oath of office.‡

* Hol. Doc., ii., 171–173, 177, 178.

† De Vries, 147, 149; Breeden Raedt, 10; International Mag. for Dec., 1851, p. 597.

‡ Hol. Doc., ii., 183.

CHAPTER IX.

1638–1641.

CHAP. IX.

1638.

EARLY in the spring of 1638, WILLIAM KIEFT, the fifth director general of the West India Company's North American Province, arrived at Manhattan, after an unusually protracted voyage; the "Herring," in which he sailed from Holland, having taken the southerly course, and lingered over winter at the Bermudas, for fear of approaching the coasts of New Netherland, in the stormy season, with inexperienced pilots.*

28 March. William Kieft arrives at Manhattan.

Kieft was an active, "inquisitive," rapacious person; in almost every respect the opposite of Van Twiller. In the judgment of his New England contemporaries, he was "a more discreet and sober man" than his predecessor. But the history of his troubled administration does not warrant us in considering him "a prudent man" or a good chief magistrate.† The official records of New Netherland, which are wanting before, have fortunately been preserved, in an almost unbroken series, from the time of Kieft's inauguration; and they afford authentic and copious materials for the historian.‡

Kieft's character and administration.

The new director organized his council so as to keep the entire control in his hands. Johannes la Montagne, a Huguenot physician, who had emigrated to New Netherland the year before, was appointed a counselor, with one vote at the board, while Kieft reserved two votes to himself. Cornelis van Tienhoven, of Utrecht, who had been for several years the company's book-keeper of wages,

Kieft's council. 8 April.

Provincial secretary and schout-fiscal.

* Alb. Rec., i., 89; De Vries, 149.

† Winthrop, i., 299; ii., 316.

‡ See note M, Appendix.

CHAP. IX. 1638. was now made provincial secretary; and Ulrich Lupold, whom Van Twiller had appointed in the place of Dincklagen, continued for a short time to act as schout-fiscal. Kieft's council managed all the general affairs of the province, and was the supreme court of justice. "It was a high crime," said Van der Donck, a few years afterward, "to appeal from their judgments." This organization, however, was occasionally modified, for "whenever any thing extraordinary occurred, the director allowed some whom it pleased him—officers of the company for the most part—to be summoned in addition; but that seldom happened."*

Condition of things at Manhattan.

Finding that the company's affairs were in a ruinous condition, the director caused a formal statement of their situation to be recorded. Fort Amsterdam was dilapidated, and "open on every side," except "at the stone point;" all the guns were dismounted; the house in the fort, the church, the lodge, and the other buildings "required considerable repair." Even the place where the magazine for merchandise once stood could "with difficulty be discovered." Almost every vessel, except the yacht "Prince William," and another on the stocks, was in the "worst condition." Only one of the three wind-mills was in operation; another was out of repair; the third was burned. The five farms of the company were untenanted, and thrown into commons; and all the cattle with which they had been stocked had "been disposed of in other hands."

Van Twiller's thrift.

But if Van Twiller failed to administer the affairs of the province satisfactorily, he took care to improve his private estate. A few days after his supersedure, he hired from

22 April.

Kieft the company's "farm, number one," at a yearly rent of two hundred and fifty guilders, and a sixth part of all the produce; and the inventory of the late clerk-director's property exhibited such an ample estate, that many could not help contrasting it with the sorry condition in which he had left every thing else.†

* Alb. Rec., ii., 1, 2; Vertoogh van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 74, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 299. † Alb. Rec., i., 3, 89, 91, 101; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 279, 280.

1638.

Abuses existed in every department of the public service, which the bustling Kieft attempted to remedy by proclamations. It was ordered that no person in the company's employ should trade in peltries, and that no furs should be exported without special permission, under penalty of loss of wages and confiscation of goods. The placard forbidding clandestine traffic in New Netherland was republished; and death was threatened against all who should sell powder or guns to the Indians. After nightfall, all sailors must remain on board their ships; hours were fixed for all persons to commence and leave off work; subordination and diligence were enjoined; and fighting, lewdness, rebellion, theft, perjury, calumny, and "all other immoralities," solemnly prohibited. No person was to retail any liquors, "except those who sold wine at a decent price and in moderate quantities." And Thursday in each week was appointed as the regular day for the sessions of the council as a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Tobacco, which had now become a staple production of New Netherland, was also subjected to excise; and regulations were published, to check the abuses which injured "the high name" it had "gained in foreign countries."*

Proclamations. Fur trade regulations. 7 June.

Police regulations.

Tobacco inspection.

19 August.

Another proclamation declared, that no attestations or other public writings should be valid before a court in New Netherland, unless they were written by the colonial secretary. This arbitrary regulation was soon objected to as oppressive, and as intended to restrain popular rights; but the policy of the measure was afterward defended by Secretary Van Tienhoven. "Most of the people living in New Netherland," said the sycophantic official, "are country or sea-faring men, who summon each other frequently before the court for small matters, while many of them can neither read nor write, nor testify intelligibly, nor produce written evidence; and, if some do produce it, it is sometimes written by a sailor or a boor, and is often wholly indistinct and repugnant to the meaning of those who

Writings to be attested.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 3–12, 19, 21, 188; Hazard's Ann. Penn., 49.

CHAP. IX. 1638.

had it written or made the statement. Consequently, the director and council could not know the truth of matters, as was proper, and as justice demanded."*

If, however, the new director seemed chiefly engrossed in reforming the civil administration, he did not neglect the cause of religion. Bogardus, the clergyman at Fort Amsterdam, upon learning the charges which Van Dincklagen, after his return to Holland, had laid before the Classis of Amsterdam, petitioned Kieft for leave to return to the Fatherland and defend himself. But the director and council resolved "to retain the minister here, so that the increase of God's word may in no manner be prevented." The Consistory of the Church, however, earnestly defended and justified their conduct in 1636; and Kieft himself seems to have supported their prayer, that the Classis would "be pleased to look into their case with care, and to decide the same against Lubbertus van Dincklagen, for the protection of the reputation of their esteemed preacher Domine Everardus Bogardus."†

Domine Bogardus retained at Fort Amsterdam.

18 July.

In spite of Kieft's proclamations, abuses continued. The population of New Netherland not having yet become generally agricultural, was too much disposed to a lax morality, owing partly to the mixed character of the persons attracted to Manhattan for purposes of trade, and partly to the example which the late director had himself set. Kieft attempted to introduce a more rigid system of police; and fresh proclamations threatened all evil-doers with fines and penalties. The people were forbidden to leave Manhattan without passports; but, in spite of placards, they would go when they pleased. Complaints were frequently made, that private parties were enriching themselves at the company's expense. All persons were, therefore, ordered to restore, without delay, every thing in their possession belonging to the company, unless they could "prove that they bought it from the former director." And criminal prosecutions, and executions for homi-

Multifarious population at Manhattan.

Passports.

18 Nov. Peculation.

* Hol. Doc., v., 360; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 318, 336.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 17; Cor. Cl. Amst., 19th Nov., 1641, 1st Ap., 1642; *ante*, p. 273.

cide and mutiny, were unhappily too frequent to leave the new director much repose from the cares of his government.* CHAP. IX. 1638.

Though the colony at Rensselaerswyck was steadily prospering, the oppressive trading monopoly of the West India Company retarded the agricultural settlement of other parts of New Netherland. A few "free colonists," however, from time to time came out from Holland, and established themselves chiefly in the neighborhood of Manhattan. Pavonia, having now become the property of the company, Kieft, in the name of the directors, sold some land at Paulus' Hook, east of Ahasimus, to Abraham Isaack Planck, who soon established a flourishing farm upon his purchase; and other tracts in that neighborhood were leased, before long, to respectable emigrants. Near "Corlaer's Hook," on Manhattan Island, a plantation was bought by Andries Hudde, the "first commissary of wares;" and La Montagne and others began to make permanent improvements. In the course of the summer, Kieft also secured for the company the Indian title to a large tract of land upon Long Island, between the East River and the swamps of Mespath, now known as Newtown; and active husbandmen soon began to occupy the fertile regions adjoining the early Waal-bogt.†

Slow progress of agricultural settlement.

Pavonia. 1 May.

20 July. Corlaer's Hook.

1 August

Mespath, on Long Island.

Important events had, meanwhile, occurred on the southern frontier of New Netherland. After the miscarriage of West's scheme in 1635, and the re-occupation of Fort Nassau, the Dutch had retained the tranquil possession of the South River. Arendt Corssen, whom Van Twiller had appointed commissary there, was succeeded, soon after Kieft's arrival, by Jan Jansen, of Ilpendam, in North Holland; and Peter Mey was directed to act as assistant commissary at Fort Nassau during Jansen's absence.‡ Sir John Harvey, having defeated the intrigues of his enemies in London, returned to Virginia with a

Affairs on the South River.

Jan Jansen appointed commissary.

* Alb. Rec., G. G., 57; i., 65; ii., 33; iii., 419.

† Hol. Doc., v., 399; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 338; Alb. Rec., i., 16, 55; O'Call., i., 185; ii., 581. La Montagne's farm, on Manhattan Island, was called Vredendael, or "Peaceful Vale." It was between the Eighth Avenue and Haerlem River.

‡ Hol. Doc., viii., 32, 51.

CHAP. IX. new royal commission as governor, in which post he remained until he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt in
1636. 1639.* Harvey's influence, though weakened by the fac-
2 April. Virginia and Maryland. tions which distracted his administration, was still sufficient to restrain the Virginians from further invasion of New Netherland; and the Maryland colonists, under Lord Baltimore's tolerant government, were too busily occupied in harmonious efforts for peopling the beautiful shores of the Potomac to think of encroaching upon the adjoining territory of the Hollanders. A friendly intercourse was all that they desired; and Calvert, under the official seal of the
1638. province, encouraged trade and commerce "with the
12 Feb. Dutchmen in Hudson's River."† But while English aggression was pausing at the South, fresh annoyance from an unexpected source visited the Batavian possessions.

Colonial policy of Sweden. Sweden was now to become the competitor of France, and England, and Holland for a foothold in North America. The liberal mind of Gustavus Adolphus early discerned the benefits to his people of colonies and an expanded commerce; and William Usselincx, the projector of the Dutch West India Company, visiting the Baltic,
1626. quickened the zeal of the sagacious sovereign. The plan
14 June. which Usselincx proposed was adopted by Gustavus, and
Swedish West India Company. confirmed by the Diet. Even while the gallant northern monarch was sweeping Germany with victorious armies, his views of American colonization became more enlarged;
1632. and at Nuremberg he drew up a recommendation of the
16 October. undertaking as "the jewel of his kingdom." But the fa-
3 Nov. tal field of Lützen soon afterward deprived Sweden of her magnanimous sovereign; and the grand enterprise he had so much at heart was suspended for several years.‡

Queen Christina. On the demise of Gustavus, the crown descended to his daughter Christina, a child of six years of age; and the states intrusted the government, during her minority, to a regency, at the head of which was the illustrious statesman Axel, count of Oxenstierna. One of the few great

* Harvey's commission is in Rymer's Federa, xx., p. 3; Hazard, i., 400; and Wyatt's in Rymer, xx., 484; Hazard, i., 477. † Bozman, ii., 593.

‡ Moulton, 408–411; Bancroft, ii., 284; Hazard's Annals of Penn., 16–20, 30.

men of all time, the Swedish chancellor viewed the consequences of American colonization as "favorable to all Christendom, to Europe, and to the whole world." He therefore published the Nuremberg proclamation, which Gustavus had left unsigned; and the next year, the charter which Oxenstierna proposed for the Swedish West India Company, was confirmed by the deputies of the German circles at Francfort.* CHAP. IX. 1633. 10 April. 1634. 12 Dec.

It was more than three years, however, before the scheme was carried into effect; and when it was at length accomplished, it was by the agency of a former officer of the Dutch West India Company. After his recall from New Netherland, Minuit, going to Stockholm, offered to the regency the benefit of his colonial experience. The counsels of the discarded director won the confidence of the sagacious Oxenstierna; and toward the close of 1637, Minuit sailed from Gottenburg, with a commission from the infant queen, "signed by eight of the chief lords of Sweden," to plant a new colony on the west side of the Delaware Bay. The selection of this region was probably owing to Minuit, who, during his directorship of New Netherland, had become well acquainted with the situation of Swaanendael and the neighboring territories on the South River, and who knew that there was now no European colony there. A man-of-war, "the Key of Calmar," and a tender, "the Griffin," were fitted out, in which about fifty emigrants were embarked, some of whom being "bandits," were to be employed as galley-slaves in erecting fortifications. The care of the Swedish government added a pious Lutheran clergyman, Reorus Torkillus, and supplied the expedition with provisions, ammunition, and goods for traffic with the natives.† Peter Minuit in Sweden. 1637. Minuit sails for the South River.

Early in the spring of 1638—about the time that Kieft anchored at Manhattan—the Swedish expedition put in at Jamestown, where it remained about ten days, "to refresh with wood and water." The treasurer of Virginia, learn- 1638. March. Anchors in the Chesapeake.

* Bancroft, ii., 286; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 34, 39.

† Hol. Doc., viii., 34; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 43–47; Holm, 73, 109; Acrelius, 408.

CHAP. IX. 1638.

ing that it was "bound for Delaware Bay, which is the confines of Virginia and New England," there "to make a plantation," desired to obtain a copy of Minuit's commission. This, however, he declined to furnish, "except he might have free trade for tobacco to carry to Sweden." But Governor Harvey "excused himself thereof," as it was "contrary to his majesty's instructions;" and Minuit, pursuing his voyage, reached the Delaware Bay early in April.*

Arrives in the Delaware Bay.

April. Purchases land at the "Minquas' Kill."

Running up as far as the "Minquas' Kill," Minuit purchased, for "a kettle and other trifles," from the Sachem Mattehoorn, who had his wigwam there, as much land, "included between six trees," as would serve to build a house upon and make a plantation. For this land a deed was given, "written in Low Dutch, as no Swede could yet interpret the Indian." By this conveyance, the Swedes claimed to have obtained all the territory on the west side of the river, from Cape Hinlopen to the falls at "Santickan," or Trenton, and as far inland "as they might want."†

Visited by the Dutch from Fort Nassau.

The news of the Swedes' arrival quickly reached the Dutch at Fort Nassau, about fifteen miles further up the river; and persons were sent down to demand the reasons of their coming. But Minuit represented that he was only on a voyage to the West Indies, and would leave as soon as he had supplied his ships with wood and water. Revisiting the Minquas' Kill soon afterward, the Dutch officers found that the Swedes "had done more," and had already made a small garden. They inquired "what it meant;" and Minuit again excused himself "by various reasons and subterfuges." In a few days, the real intentions of the Swedes were made apparent. Minuit dispatched his tender, the Griffin, up the river to trade; but she was stopped at Fort Nassau, and Peter Mey, the assistant commissary, going on board, demanded to see her

25 April. Minuit sends his tender up the river to trade.

* Murphy's notes on Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 327; Letter from Jerome Hawley, Treasurer of Virginia, to Secretary Windebanke, dated 8th of May, 1638, in Lond. Doc., i., 57; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 20; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 42, 43.

† Hol. Doc., viii., 70; Acrelius, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 409; Hudde's Report in same vol., p. 439.

commission. This the Swedish officer refused to show, avowing that it was their intention to establish a fort on the river, and that "his Queen was as justifiable in building a fort there as was the company."

Kieft's first dispatches to Holland.

As soon as Kieft received intelligence of this new encroachment, he ordered Commissary Jansen to go to the Minquas' Kill, and in case he saw Minuit acting to the injury of the Dutch, "immediately to protest against it in proper form." The director's first dispatches home conveyed an account of the affair to the Amsterdam Chamber.*

28 April.

6 May. Kieft protests against Minuit.

Notwithstanding the warning from Fort Amsterdam, Minuit persisted; and the New Netherland government, therefore, sent him a formal protest, in which the title of the Dutch to the whole of the Delaware was distinctly asserted. "I make known," wrote Kieft, "to you, Peter Minuit, who call yourself commander in the service of Her Royal Majesty of Sweden, that the whole South River in New Netherland has been many years in our possession, and has been secured by us with forts above and below, and sealed with our blood,† which also happened during your own direction in New Netherland, and is, therefore, well known to you. But as you do now make a beginning of a settlement between our forts, and are building a fort there to our prejudice and disadvantage, which we shall never endure or tolerate, and as we also are persuaded that it has never been commanded by Her Swedish Majesty to build fortresses on our rivers and coasts, or to settle people on the adjoining lands, or to trade in peltries, or to undertake any other thing to our prejudice; now, therefore, we protest against all the evil consequences of such encroachments, and declare that, while we will not be answerable for any mishap, bloodshed, trouble, and disaster which you may hereafter suffer, we are resolved to defend our rights in all such ways as we shall deem proper."‡

Minuit, however, was not deterred by proclamations,

* Hol. Doc., viii., 50, 70; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 44, 47; Vertoogh van N. N., ut sup., 282.

† By this expression, Kieft meant the massacre of the Dutch at Swaanendael, during Minuit's time.

‡ Alb. Rec., ii., 7; Acrelius, 409; O'Call., i., 191; Hazard's Ann. Penn., 44.

CHAP. IX. 1638.

which "he did not feel inclined to answer." A trading-house and fort were soon erected on the north bank of the Minquas' Kill, about two miles from its confluence with the South River, near the spot where Wilmington now stands; the name of the kill was changed to that of "Christina Creek;" and the establishment was called "Fort Christina," in honor of the young queen. To define its boundaries, posts were erected, on which were carved the royal initials, surmounted by the crown of Sweden. Perfectly acquainted with the Indian trade, Minuit soon drew "all the skins toward him, by his liberal gifts." Twenty-four men were placed in garrison at Fort Christina, which was well supplied with merchandise and provisions; and the vessels returned to Sweden, about midsummer, with the first cargoes from the new colony.* Thus the Swedes under Minuit, more fortunate than the earlier Dutch colonists under the patroons of Swaanendael, became the first permanent European occupants of the State of Delaware.

Minuit persists in his design.

The Swedes build "Fort Christina" on the Minquas' Kill.

July.

October. Swedish ship seized in Holland by the West India Company.

The new director's first dispatches scarcely reached Amsterdam, before a heavily-laden Swedish vessel arriving at Medemblick, on her return voyage "from the West Indies," was seized by the Chamber at Enckhuysen, for having illegally traded within the company's American territory. The Swedish minister at the Hague, learning the circumstances, immediately demanded her release from the States General. It was not the policy of Holland to offend a power whose victorious generals were humbling Denmark and Austria. The flag of Sweden protected the Swedish ship in the ports of the Fatherland, as it had already commanded respect in New Netherland;

Released by the States General.

* Hol. Doc., viii., 50, 51; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 45, 47; Holm, 85; Acrelius, 17, 307; Hudde's Report, 428; Ferris, 42, 45. Kieft, in writing to the Amsterdam Chamber, on the 31st of July, 1638 (Hol. Doc., viii., 50), says that Minuit, after building the fort on the South River, &c., "is van daer *vertrocken*, met zyn twee byhebbende scheepen," &c. The Dutch word "vertrocken" literally means "departed;" and the phrase seems to imply that Minuit went back to Sweden with his two ships. But Kieft, who wrote his dispatch on hearsay, and not from personal observation, perhaps expressed himself inaccurately; for Acrelius, who drew his narrative from reliable sources, distinctly states that Minuit, "during three years," protected Fort Christina, where he died [in 1641?]; and that "his successor was Peter Hollændare, a native Swede."—ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 410

the arrest was promptly removed; and the liberated vessel sailed onward to the Baltic.*

1638.

In the mean time, several shareholders of the West India Company had represented the unsatisfactory condition of their American province to the States General, who instructed their deputies to the College of the XIX. to aid in concerting such "effective order" as should attract thither proper emigrants from the Fatherland, "so that this state may not be robbed of the aforesaid New Netherland by the indirect intrigues of any of the inhabitants of this country, nor by the intrusions and invasions of the subjects of foreign princes and powers." The report of the deputies was a gloomy picture. The limits of New Netherland, according to the special grant in 1614, and the charter of the West India Company, were claimed by the directors as extending "from Virginia upward; to wit, from Ciçapoa, along the sea-coast, to Terra Nova." Of these territories, the Dutch were in possession of the North River; the English reached to the Fresh River, and their right "is that of the strongest." The company could retain the remaining territory, if it were populated. "From the North River men can go into the interior as far as they please;" but colonization was retarded "because the directors can not agree among themselves." "Would it not then be expedient," asked the deputies, "to place the district of New Netherland at the disposal of the States General?" "We have no such intention," replied the company, "unless we can thereby gain some advantage; we hope that it will prove profitable in time, now that some order has been taken about Brazil. The chief apprehension is about the English; and we are considering the policy of surrendering the Indian trade, or something else."†

The States General inquire into the condition of New Netherland. 26 April.

30 April.

The company decline to surrender their province.

Thus the directors, while obliged to confess their mismanagement of the fertile province which had now been nearly fifteen years under their control, refused to surrender it to the States General. It would have been happy

* Hol. Doc., ii., 228 † Hol. Doc., ii., 186–195; O'Call., i., 176.

CHAP. IX. 1638.

for New Netherland if, instead of remaining the dependency of a mercantile corporation, it could now have become a government colony of the United Provinces. The statesmanship of the Hague did not guide the Chamber at Amsterdam. From the first the company had sought to people its province with its own dependents. This was the cardinal error; for these persons, returning home, took nothing with them, "except a little in their purses, and a bad name for the country." The capital which would have been more wisely employed in bringing over people and importing cattle, was expended at Manhattan "in building the ship New Netherland at an excessive outlay, in erecting three expensive mills, in brick-making, tar-burning, ash-burning, salt-making, and like operations." The Charter of Privileges and exemptions, which offered such large inducements to patroons, discouraged individual enterprise. Private persons who might wish to emigrate "dared not attempt it." Though the company had at first sent over some emigrants, it had not persevered; and while foreigners were quietly allowed to encroach upon the frontiers of New Netherland, the company had not encouraged the colonization of the Fresh and South Rivers by its own countrymen. Its mercantile directors looked more to their immediate interests, than to the welfare of the province which their bad government threatened with ruin.*

Unsuccessful management of the West India Company.

Result of the investigation.

The searching investigation which the government had instituted convinced the company, however, that effectual measures must now be adopted to regenerate New Netherland. After several months' consideration, a draft of new "Articles and Conditions" was accordingly presented, by the historian John de Laet, for the approbation of the States General. But it did not meet the exigency. It was prolix and theoretical, instead of precise and practical. It was a political constitution—which was not the desideratum—instead of a simple plan of emigration, which was really wanted. It promised no abrogation of the op-

New "Articles" proposed by the company. 30 August.

* Vertoogh van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iv., 71; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 288, 289.

pressive trading monopoly of the company, and proposed no effectual method of colonization. It was at once discarded by the States General as "totally inadmissible."

There was another important question to be adjusted. The difficulties between the directors and the patroons had been partially arranged by the purchase of Swaanendael and Pavonia. But the patroons now attempted to enlarge their "privileges," and boldly presented to the States General a "new plan," in which they demanded that they should be allowed to monopolize more territory; have longer time to settle colonists; be invested with the largest feudal powers; be made entirely independent of the control of the company with respect to the internal government of their colonies; enjoy free-trade throughout and around New Netherland; have a vote in the council of the director; be supplied with convicts from Holland as servile laborers, and with negro slaves; and, finally, that all "private persons" and poor emigrants should be forbidden to purchase lands from the Indians, and should be required to settle themselves within the colonies, and under the jurisdiction of the great manorial lords. The Island of Manhattan, the precinct of Fort Orange, and Swaanendael and Pavonia, should alone remain under the company's exclusive authority.

The patroons demand new privileges.

The patroons' grasping demands of new "Privileges and Exemptions" were as offensive to the States General as the diffuse clauses of the company's new "Articles and Conditions" were unsatisfactory. Both the proposed instruments were immediately sent back to the Amsterdam Chamber, with directions to reconsider "the whole business of New Netherland;" so that such measures might be taken by their High Mightinesses, respecting its colonization, "as should be found most advisable for the service of the state and for the benefit of the company."*

Action of the States General. 2 Sept.

The authoritative injunction of the States General was promptly obeyed. The "Privileges" of the patroons were reserved for future consideration; but it was now determ-

* Hol. Doc., ii., 146, 206, 224, 225; O'Call., i., 192-200.

CHAP. IX. 1638.

ined that the experiment of opening to free competition the internal trade of New Netherland should be at once attempted. The Amsterdam Chamber accordingly published a notification, that all inhabitants of the United Provinces and of friendly countries might freely convey to New Netherland, "in the company's ships," any cattle and merchandise they desired, and might "receive whatever returns they or their agents may be able to obtain in those quarters therefor." All shipments were to be made by the company's officers; a duty of ten per cent. was to be paid to the company on all merchandise sent from Holland, and a duty of fifteen per cent. on all goods exported from New Netherland; and freight was also to be paid for the conveyance of goods and cattle. The Director and Council of New Netherland were to be instructed to accommodate every emigrant, "according to his condition and means, with as much land as he and his family can properly cultivate." A quit-rent of a tenth of all the produce was reserved to the company, which would assure legal estates of inheritance to the grantees. In subordination to the States General, the company and its officers were to maintain police and administer justice in New Netherland; and each colonist or trader proceeding thither was to sign a pledge "voluntarily to submit to these regulations and to the commands of the company, and allow all questions and differences there arising to be decided by the ordinary course of justice established in that country."*

The West India Company's proclamation of free trade.

Effects of a more liberal policy.

The more liberal system which the company was thus compelled to adopt, though it fell short of the emergency, was a step in advance, and gave a rapid impulse to the prosperity of New Netherland. Private enterprise and industry were now unshackled; and an anxiety to emigrate was soon manifested at Amsterdam, which the directors wisely encouraged by offering a free passage, and other substantial inducements to respectable farmers.†

* Hol. Doc., ii., 220, 370; O'Call., i., 201–203.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 96; v., 155–157; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 330; O'Call., i., 206.

1638.

The proclamation was no sooner published, than plans of colonization were formed by persons of capital and influence. De Vries, who had arranged with Van Twiller two years before, for lands on Staten Island, now sailed from the Texel with several emigrants, who had agreed to go out with him and commence a colony. Arriving off Sandy Hook in mid-winter, the master of the ship, wanting a pilot, and observing the ground covered with snow, began to talk of returning to the West Indies, and waiting there until summer. He had "old false charts," only, with him. But some of the passengers, "who had lived several years in New Netherland," asked De Vries to pilot them in; for they knew that he had formerly "taken his own ship in by night." De Vries assenting, conducted the vessel safely up to Fort Amsterdam, "where there was great joy, because no ship was expected there at that time of the year." After spending a few days at Kieft's house, where he was cordially welcomed, De Vries sent his people to Staten Island, to build some cabins, and begin a "colonie."*

25 Sept. De Vries again sails for New Netherland.

27 Dec. Arrives at Manhattan.

1639.

5 January. Builds on Staten Island.

In the course of the following summer, several other persons of substantial means came out from Holland, bringing along with them emigrants and cattle. Among them was Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, of Darmstadt, who had formerly been a commander in the East Indies under the King of Denmark. Cornelis Melyn, of Antwerp, also came to see the country; which pleased him so well that he soon returned to bring his family out to Manhattan. Both Kuyter and Melyn afterward rose to prominence in their new home.†

16 June. J. P. Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn arrive at Manhattan

The liberal policy which the West India Company had now adopted not only encouraged the emigration of substantial colonists from the Fatherland, but also attracted strangers from Virginia and New England. Conscience had always been unshackled in New Netherland; and now the internal trade and commerce of the province were made free to all. In Massachusetts, where political fran-

Strangers from the neighboring colonies attracted to New Netherland.

* De Vries, 148, 149.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 365; De Vries, 151.

CHAP. IX. 1639.

chises were limited to members of the Church, "many men began to inquire after the southern parts;" and it was not because the necessaries of life or a healthy climate were wanting, that that colony was "disesteemed of many." Besides seeking relief in Virginia and the West Indies, the dissatisfied began to escape from their "insupportable government," to find more congenial homes in New Netherland. From Virginia, too, numbers of persons, whose terms of service had expired, were attracted to Manhattan, where they introduced improved modes of cultivating tobacco. Cherry and peach trees, which hitherto had been seen only near Jamestown, now began to flourish around the walls of Fort Amsterdam. Prosperity and progress replaced dilapidation and ruin. Instead of "seven bouweries and two or three plantations," full thirty, "as well stocked with cattle as any in Europe," were soon under cultivation. The numerous applications for land promised "full one hundred more;" and there was a prospect that, in two or three years' time, provisions could be furnished for fourteen thousand men.*

Prosperity of the province.

15 January. Kieft purchases lands on Long Island for the company.

In view of the increasing demand for homesteads near Fort Amsterdam, Kieft purchased from the chief of the tribe living near Manhassett, or Schout's Bay, all the lands from Rockaway eastward to "Sicktew-hacky," or Fire Island Bay; thence northward to Martin Gerritsen's, or Cow Bay, and westward along the East River, "to the Vlaeck's Kill;" and thus secured to the West India Company the Indian title to nearly all the territory now forming the county of Queens. A few months afterward, the Indian owners of "Kekesick" appeared at Fort Amsterdam, and ceded to the company all the territory "which lies over against the flats of the Island of Manhates," adjoining "the great Kill." This purchase is supposed to have included a part of the present town of Yonkers, in the county of West Chester.†

3 August. Acquires Kekesick in West Chester.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 370, 371; iii., 98, 99; Alb. Rec., i., 109; O'Call., i., 208, 222, 418; Winthrop, i., 331; De Vries, 109; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 6.

† Alb. Rec., G. G., 59, 62; xxii., 8; O'Call., i., 210; ii., 335; Thompson's L. I., i., 94; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 401.

CHAP. IX.

1639.

Among the prominent men in New England whose attention was turned toward New Netherland, was Captain John Underhill, one of the heroes of the Pequod war, and now Governor of Piscataqua, or Dover. Dissatisfied with his abode, he applied to Kieft for permission to reside with a few families under the protection of the Dutch, provided they might enjoy all the privileges of the inhabitants of New Netherland. The director and council promptly granted Underhill's request, upon condition that "he and his adherents take the oath of allegiance to their High Mightinesses the States General, and his highness the Prince of Orange."*

Captain John Underhill proposes to come under the Dutch protection.

8 Sept.

The only obligation required from strangers was an oath of fidelity and allegiance, similar to that which was imposed upon Dutch colonists. The liberal maxims of the Fatherland in regard to citizenship were adopted and proclaimed in New Netherland. In no one respect were foreigners subjected to greater restraints than natives, or excluded from any privilege which Hollanders themselves enjoyed. New Amsterdam was to be as much a city of the world as was old Amsterdam; and the provincial records show how readily the English new-comers bound themselves by oath "to follow the director, or any one of the council, wherever they shall lead; faithfully to give instant warning of any treason or other detriment to this country that shall come to their knowledge; and to assist to the utmost of their power in defending and protecting with their blood and treasure the inhabitants thereof against all its enemies."†

Obligations and privileges of foreigners in New Netherland.

September.

Numerous grants of land were soon obtained by the adopted citizens of New Netherland. Anthony Jansen, of Salee, a respectable French Huguenot, entered two hundred acres opposite Coney Island, and began the set-

Grants of land to foreigners.

1 August.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 64. Underhill, however, did not come to New Netherland until 1643. In 1642, after undergoing ecclesiastical discipline at Boston, he removed to Stamford; and the next year entered the military service of the Dutch.—See Winthrop, i., 270, 291, 306, 326; ii., 14, 63, 97; and Thompson's L. I., ii., 353–361. In a letter, dated the 28th of June, 1638, Underhill gives an account of the proceedings of the "proud Pharisees" against him, somewhat more circumstantial than Winthrop's statements.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 63.

CHAP. IX. 1639.

tlement of Gravesend. Thomas Belcher soon afterward took up a tract at "Marechkaweick," in what is now Brooklyn. And George Holmes, the leader of the expedition against Fort Nassau in 1635, who had been carried back to Virginia, returning to Manhattan, in conjunction with Thomas Hall, his former companion, obtained a grant of land, and built a house near "Deutel Bay," a beautiful secluded nook on the East River.*

15 Nov.

Deutel Bay.

Kieft's domestic administration.

While every thing was now beginning to wear an air of progress and improvement around Manhattan, the active director employed himself diligently in reforming the colonial administration. Discipline was enforced among the soldiers, and the company's mechanics and laborers obliged to regulate their working hours by the ringing of the bell. Jacob van Curler and David Provoost were appointed inspectors of the new staple, tobacco. Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, who had come out with Kieft from Holland as a soldier in the service of the company, was promoted to be commissary of the shop. A change was also made in the office of schout-fiscal, but not by Kieft's agency. This important post was now conferred, by the Amsterdam Chamber, upon Cornelis van der Huygens. Van Dincklagen, whose representations had so materially contributed to the changes introduced into the administration of New Netherland, was neither reinstated nor received into the company's favor. Upon the arrival of Van der Huygens at Manhattan, Ulrich Lupold, who had acted as schout-fiscal for three years, was immediately appointed commissary of wares by Kieft, who frequently invited his presence at the colonial council board.†

1 July.

Cornelis van der Huygens appointed schout-fiscal.

13 July.

* Alb. Rec., i., 116; ii., 54; O'Call., i., 208, 211; ii., 581; Thompson's L. I., ii., 171, 218. Deutel Bay is the small cove on the East River about two miles above Corlaer's Hook, now known as "Turtle Bay." The original name, "Deutel," which the English soon corrupted to "Turtle," signified, according to Judge Benson (Memoir, p. 96), a peg with which casks were "gedeutelt," or secured. As these pegs were short, but broad at the base, and as the bay was narrow at its entrance and wide within, the supposed resemblance between it and the peg probably suggested the name of "Deutel."

† Alb. Rec., ii., 57, 61, 83, 99, 132; O'Call., i., 211, 228; Hol. Doc., 398; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 299, 337. Van Cortlandt left the company's service in 1648, and afterward became prominent in colonial affairs. Notices of his descendants, who form one of the most respectable families in the state, may be found in O'Call., i., 212; and in Bolton's West Chester, i., 51.

The emancipation of the internal trade of the province, however, soon began to produce irregularities; and a new proclamation warned all persons, of whatever rank or condition, against selling guns or ammunition to the Indians. A similar edict prohibited any person from sailing to Fort Orange, the South River, or Fort Hope, without a permit from the director general, and from returning without a passport from the company's commissary. But Kieft's indiscretion hurried him into the adoption of another measure, which produced, before long, the most disastrous results. Under the plea that the company was burdened with heavy expenses for its fortifications and garrisons in New Netherland, the director arbitrarily resolved to "demand some tribute" of maize, furs, or sewan from the neighboring Indians, "whom we thus far have defended against their enemies," and threatened, in case of their refusal, to employ proper measures "to remove their reluctance."*

CHAP. IX.

1639. 30 March. Proclamation against irregular trading.

15 Sept. Kieft resolves to levy a tribute on the savages.

Meanwhile, the colonists of New England had been rapidly narrowing the eastern frontier of New Netherland. The exterminating war against the Pequods had revealed a territory hitherto unknown to the English; and Stoughton and Underhill, returning in triumph to Boston, extolled the beauty of the fertile coasts between Saybrook and Fairfield. "The place whither God's providence carried us, that is, to Quillipeage River, and so beyond to the Dutch," wrote Stoughton to Winthrop, "is abundantly before" Massachusetts Bay. "The Dutch will seize it if the English do not," he urged, "and it is too good for any but friends." Just then Davenport, the former Non-conformist clergyman at Rotterdam, and Eaton and Hopkins, "two merchants of London, men of fair estate and of great esteem for religion, and wisdom in outward affairs," arrived at Boston, and were besought to settle themselves in Massachusetts. But they could not be satisfied to "choose such a condition," and determined to remove to the "parts about Quillipieck." Sailing from Boston, the English colonists soon

Progress of English encroachment in Connecticut.

1637. 14 August.

1638. 30 March.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 46, 47, 65.

CHAP. IX.

reached the place which Block had first named the "Roodenberg," or Red Hills. The Dutch title was, however, disregarded; and Davenport, under the shadow of a spreading oak, laid the foundations of New Haven. A simple "plantation covenant" bound the colonists to be "ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them;" land was purchased from the Indian sachems; and the vigorous settlement throve apace. In a year, its population exceeded two hundred; and Theophilus Eaton was chosen governor by electors, whose qualification was church membership.*

1638. Colonists sent from Boston to New Haven. 18 April.

1639. 25 October.

With a boldness fostered by the consciousness of superior numbers, English emigrants now aimed at possessing "all the land" as far westward as the Hudson River.† At the mouth of the Housatonic, the village of Stratford already contained more than fifty houses. Enterprising emigrants were also beginning to build at Norwalk and Stamford; and even at Greenwich two houses were already erected. One of these was occupied by Captain Daniel Patrick, "who had married a Dutch wife from the Hague." Patrick, who had been in command of a portion of the troops sent from Massachusetts during the Pequod war, had ample opportunities of observing the country in the neighborhood of the Dutch. Becoming dissatisfied with Watertown, he resolved to seek a more congenial home; and in company with Robert Feake, who had married the daughter-in-law of Winthrop, he removed to Connecticut, and commenced the settlement of Greenwich.‡

June. Stratford.

Norwalk.

Patrick and Feake at Greenwich.

At the mouth of the Connecticut "a strong fort" was now completed by Gardiner, the governor of Saybrook. Hartford was already a little town, with over one hundred houses and a fine church. The Dutch, however, continued in possession of the flat lands around "the Hope," where Gysbert op Dyck was now commissary, with a gar-

Fort at Saybrook.

Growth of Hartford.

* Winthrop, i., 228, 400, 405; Hutch. Coll., 62; Trumbull, i., 96–99, 104; *ante*, p. 56. De Vries, 149, says, that on the 6th of June, 1639, he anchored over night at New Haven, where he found "about three hundred houses built, and a handsome church."

† Mather's Magnalia, i., 6.

‡ De Vries, 151; Winthrop, i., 69, 74; ii., 151; Trumbull, i., 118; O'Call., i., 298. The maiden name of Captain Patrick's wife was Annetje van Beyeren.

rison of fourteen or fifteen soldiers. At their first coming, the English conducted themselves discreetly; but increasing in numbers, they boldly began to plow up the reserved lands around the Dutch redoubt. Op Dyck endeavored to resist; but the English cudgeled some of the garrison who attempted to stop their proceedings, and Haynes, the newly-elected governor of Connecticut, justified his countrymen. The Dutch, he said, had been many years in possession, and had done nothing to improve the land, which "was lying idle" around their house. "It would be a sin to leave uncultivated so valuable a land, which could produce such excellent corn." Thus the Hartford people vindicated their conduct. They "gave out that they were Israelites, and that the Dutch in New Netherland, and the English in Virginia, were Egyptians."*

1639.

Aggressions of the Hartford people.

9 June.

Grounds of English justification

The next year witnessed still bolder aggression. The right of the Dutch to any of the land around their little fort was openly denied. In vain Commissary Op Dyck pleaded Dutch discovery before English knowledge of the river, and Dutch possession under a title from the Indian owners, anterior to English purchase and settlement. "Show your right," said Hopkins, who had succeeded Haynes as governor, "and we are ready to exhibit ours." Evert Duyckingk, one of the garrison, while sowing grain, was struck "a hole in his head with a sticke, soe that the blood ran downe very strongly." Ingenuity was taxed to devise modes of worrying the Hollanders; and to fortify the English claim of title, Sequasson, the son of the sachem who had assented to Van Curler's original purchase, was brought into court, to testify "that he never sold any ground to the Dutch, neither was at any time conquered by the Pequods, nor paid any tribute to them." Kieft's repeated protests brought no alleviation of annoyance; for no re-enforcements came from Manhattan to vindicate the rights of the West India Company. Disgusted with a post where he was so constantly insulted, Op Dyck resigned his office,

1640.

Continued aggressions at Hartford.

23 April.

25 April.

12 July.

25 October.

* De Vries, 149, 150, 151; *ante*, p. 261, note.

CHAP. IX. 1640. and Jan Hendricksen Roesen succeeded him as commissary at the Hope.*

The progress of English encroachment along the shores of the Sound naturally awakened the anxiety of the New Netherland government. Excepting Bronck and his lessees, there were as yet scarcely any Dutch colonists east of the Haerlem River. In order to "maintain the charter and privileges" of the West India Company, Kieft dispatched Secretary Van Tienhoven, early in the spring of 1640, with instructions to purchase the "Archipelago," or group of islands at the mouth of the Norwalk River, together with all the adjoining territory on the main land, "and to erect thereon the standard and arms of the High and Mighty Lords States General; to take the savages under our protection; and to prevent effectually any other nation encroaching on our limits." These directions were executed; and the West India Company thus obtained the Indian title to all the lands between Norwalk and the North River, comprehending much of the present county of West Chester.†

19 April. Kieft purchases the lands between Norwalk and the North River.

Patrick and Feake, who had been quietly settled for some time at Petuquapaen, or Greenwich, now purchased, from one of the neighboring sachems, his title to that region. Kieft, however, who had already secured a formal cession from the savages, soon afterward protested against Patrick's intrusion, and warned him and his associates that they would be ejected, unless they recognized the sovereignty of the Dutch. But Patrick, though he immediately declared that he would do nothing "that should be in the least against the rights of the States General," continued in adverse possession at Greenwich for two years longer, before he formally acknowledged the jurisdiction of the authorities of New Netherland.‡

$\frac{20}{30}$ April.

15 October. Requires Patrick and Feake to submit themselves to the Dutch.

* Hol. Doc., ix., 192–197; Alb. Rec., ii., 104; Hazard, ii., 263, 264; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 272, 273; Col. Rec. Conn., 51, 52; *ante*, p. 235, note.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 78, 147; De Laet, viii.; Hazard, ii., 213; O'Call., i., 215; Bolton's West Chester, i., 120, 283; ii., 16, 145.

‡ Hol. Doc., ix., 198, 204; Hazard, ii., 264, 265; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 274, 275; O'Call., i., 218, 252; Trumbull, i., 118.

CHAP. IX.

1640.

Up to this time, the Dutch settlements on Long Island had been confined to the neighborhood of the present city of Brooklyn. By purchases from the Indians, the West India Company had already become the proprietary of Mespath, or Newtown, and of the regions eastward as far as Cow Bay, and southward to the Atlantic coast. Kieft now bought from "the great chief Penhawitz," the head of the tribe of Canarsee Indians, who claimed the territory forming the present county of Kings, and a part of the town of Jamaica, his hereditary rights to lands on Long Island. Thus all the Indian title to that part of the island westward of Oyster Bay, comprehending the present counties of Kings and Queens, became vested, by purchase, in the West India Company. The territory east of Oyster Bay, now forming the county of Suffolk, however, remained in the hands of its aboriginal lords. But the Dutch, who were the first Europeans that occupied any part of Long Island, always considered it the "crown of New Netherland," whence they obtained their supplies of wampum; and the possession which they had formally asserted, by affixing to a tree the arms of the States General, they were determined to maintain.*

Extent of the Dutch jurisdiction over Long Island.

10 May.

A new encroachment now threatened this "crown" itself. Under his grant from the council of Plymouth in 1635, Lord Stirling soon afterward gave a power of attorney to James Farrett, to dispose of any part of his property upon Long Island or its neighborhood. Farrett accordingly visited New England; and, having selected for his own private use Shelter Island and Robins' Island, in Peconick Bay, extinguished the Indian title by a formal purchase.† Previously to Farrett's arrival, however, Lion Gardiner, the commandant at Saybrook, had purchased of "the ancient inhabitants" the island near Montauk Point, "called by the Indians Manchonack; by the English, the Isle of Wight." This valuable purchase was soon after-

1637.

$\frac{20}{30}$ April.

James Farrett comes to New England as Lord Stirling's agent.

1639.

Lion Gardiner purchases Gardiner's Island.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 83; Thompson's L. I., i., 93; O'Call., i., 215; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 275.

† Hartford Records, Towns and Lands, i., 5; Southampton Rec.; Thompson's L. I., i., 364, 367; Winthrop, i., 231; *ante*, p. 259.

CHAP. IX. ward confirmed by Farrett, who, in the name of Lord Stirling, granted to Gardiner and his heirs the full possession of the island, and the power "to make, execute, and put in practice such laws for church and civil government as are according to God, the king's, and the practice of the country." Gardiner immediately removed from Saybrook, and fixed his residence on the island, which has since been known by his name. The next year his daughter Elizabeth was born at "Gardiner's Island;" and thus was commenced the first permanent English settlement within the present limits of the State of New York.*

1640. 10 March.

1641. 14 Sept.

Had Lord Stirling's agent limited his grants to the eastern portion of Long Island, no difficulties would probably have occurred with the Dutch. A month after the confirmation of Gardiner's purchase, however, Farrett, on behalf of Lord Stirling, made an agreement with Lieutenant Daniel Howe, Edward Howell, Job Sayre, and other inhabitants of Lynn, in Massachusetts, by which they were authorized to settle themselves upon any lands on Long Island that they might purchase from the native Indians. Soon afterward, Farrett visited Manhattan in person; and, in the name of Lord Stirling, boldly laid claim to the whole of Long Island. But he was instantly arrested by Kieft, by whom "his pretension was not much regarded; and so he departed without accomplishing any thing, having influenced only a few simple people."†

1640. 17 April. Farrett authorizes some Lynn people to settle themselves on Long Island.

Farrett arrested at Manhattan.

May. The Lynn emigrants at Cow Bay.

10 May.

The Lynn emigrants arriving at Manhassett, at the head of Cow Bay, found the Dutch arms erected upon a tree; and Howe, the leader of the expedition, pulled them down. But the Sachem Penhawitz, who had just before ceded all his rights to the Dutch, promptly informed Kieft that some "foreign strollers" had arrived at Schout's Bay, where they were felling trees and building houses, and "had even hewn down the arms of their High Mighti-

* Thompson's Long Island, i., 305, 306; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 685. Mr. Thompson given the date of the confirmation as the 10th of March, 1639; but as the English then used the *old style*, it was actually in 1640, according to our present system of reckoning.

† Thompson's L. I., i., 326; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 275.

nesses." Commissary Van Curler was sent to ascertain the facts; and the sachem's story was found to be true. The arms of the States General had been torn down, and in their place had been drawn "an unhandsome face."

14 May. Van Tienhoven sent to dislodge the intruders.

Kieft's "high displeasure" was instantly aroused; and Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, was promptly dispatched with the under-schout, a sergeant, and twenty men, to break up the settlement, arrest the trespassers, and bring them to Fort Amsterdam. It was a whole day before the expedition reached the Schout's Bay. When

15 May.

Van Tienhoven arrived at the English settlement, he found one house already built, another in progress, and "eight men, one woman, and a babe;" for Howe and the rest of his party, anticipating the danger which threatened them, had already prudently retired. The trespassers stated that they had been authorized to settle themselves there by "a Scotchman named Farrett, the agent of Lord Stirling," who had left for New Haven, after the Dutch arms had been thrown down. Sayre and five more of the party were immediately arrested and conveyed to Fort Amsterdam, where they were examined by the director and council. Satisfied that they had been instigated by others, Kieft liberated them from arrest, three days afterward, upon their signing an agreement to "leave the territory of their High Mightinesses."

The English trespassers brought to Manhattan.

16 May.

19 May.

Thus ended the attempt to plant an English colony within the present county of Queens. Kieft immediately addressed a letter, "in Latin," to Governor Dudley at Boston, complaining of "the English usurpations," both at Connecticut and on Long Island, and of the insult offered to the Dutch arms at Schout's Bay by the Lynn trespassers. Dudley returned an answer, also in Latin, professing the desire to maintain a neighborly correspondence; and that as to the Connecticut people, "they were not under our government, and for those at Long Island, they went voluntarily from us."*

Kieft writes to Governor Dudley at Boston.

Dudley's reply.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 83–93; Hazard, ii., 213, 264; Winthrop, ii., 6, 7; Lechford, 44; O'Call., i., 216; Thompson, ii., 52; Wood, 9; Vertoogh van N. N., ut sup., 275; Trumbull, i.,

CHAP. IX.

1640. Settlement of Southampton.

The ejection of the trespassers from Manhassett led, however, to the immediate settlement of the town of Southampton, within the present county of Suffolk. Finding that the New Netherland authorities, while they utterly derided Lord Stirling's claim, were chiefly anxious to maintain their possession of the western extremity of Long Island, Farrett now determined to gain a permanent foothold at the east, near Lion Gardiner's settlement. He

12 June. therefore released to Howe, Sayre, and Howell, and their associates, "all patent right of all those lands lying and being bounded between Peaconeck and the easternmost point of Long Island, with the whole breadth of the said island from sea to sea." The consideration stated by Farrett was "barge hire, besides they being drove off by the Dutch from the place where they were by me planted," and a sum of money, "all amounting unto four hundred pounds sterling."* Under this release, Howe and his associates came to Southampton, and obtained a conveyance

13 Dec. of the Indian title in the following winter. The new plantation extended eastward from Canoe Place, on Shinnecock Bay, nearly to Sag Harbor, opposite Shelter Island, "com-

1641. 6 April. monly known by the name of Mr. Farrett's Island." The first town meeting was held early the next spring; and regular records were then commenced, which exist in good preservation.†

1640. Southold colonized under the jurisdiction of New Haven.

The adjoining town of Southold, on the north side of Peconick Bay, was settled nearly at the same time. Its first colonists were natives of England, who accompanied their minister, John Youngs, from Hingham, in Norfolk, and first came to New Haven. From there they crossed over to "Yennecock," near Greenport, and secured the Indian title to the land. The conveyance was taken in the name of New Haven, which for some years exercised a limited control over the settlement. A church

119, 122. Savage, in a note on Winthrop, ii., p. 5, justly remarks that Trumbull's account is "not very satisfactory;" and adds, "the right appears to me to have been on the side of the Dutch."

* Lond. Doc., i., 60, 63; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 21, 22; App., note N.

† Southampton Rec.; Thompson's L. I., i., 326–328. In 1644, Southampton became "associated and joined" to the jurisdiction of Connecticut.—Col. Rec. Conn., 112, 566.

1640.

was "gathered anew;" and the English colonists at Southold, like their neighbors at Southampton, quietly pursued their own way, without any opposition from the government at Fort Amsterdam.* 21 October.

Though an air of progress and improvement was already manifest in the neighborhood of Manhattan and Fort Orange, the unadjusted difficulties between the company and the patroons hindered the prosperity of the rest of New Netherland. Even the plantation which De Vries had established at Staten Island languished for want of proper colonists, for whom he had depended upon his partners at Amsterdam; and finding "a beautiful situation" of full sixty acres of natural meadow-land on the river side, about five miles above Fort Amsterdam, he went there to live, partly "for the pleasure of it," and partly as there was hay enough for two hundred head of cattle, "which was a great article there." Well, however, as the patroon was acquainted with the southern and eastern coasts of New Netherland, he had never yet gone up the North River. His enterprising nature now led him to visit Fort Orange, to "see the country there;" and his circumstantial Journal—the only known narrative of any Dutch navigator, except those given by De Laet and Purchas—has left us an interesting record of the North River in the year 1640.

Tardy agricultural colonization of New Netherland.

10 Feb.

Voyage of De Vries to Fort Orange.

Sailing from Fort Amsterdam in his own sloop, De Vries arrived in the evening at "Tapaen," where he found a beautiful valley under the mountains, of about five hundred acres in extent, and through which ran a fine stream, offering attractive mill-seats. Delighted with the spot, which, moreover, was so near Fort Amsterdam, he purchased it from the Indians. From Tappan he crossed over to Weckquaesgeek,† where he observed the beautiful un-

15 April.

Tappan.

Weckquaesgeek.

* Trumbull, i., 119; Thompson, i., 374, 391.

† Van Tienhoven, in 1650, described this region, which is now the town of Greenburg, in West Chester county, as a fine land for cultivation, and well watered. "It is situated between two streams called Sintsinck and Armonck."—Hol. Doc., v., 134. Bolton supposes these streams to be, the one which runs through Sing Sing, and the Byram River. This region is even now remarkable for its deciduous trees, among which are many of that most beautiful of all evergreens, the American hemlock.

CHAP. IX. 1640. dulating country full of evergreens, whence the ship-builders at Manhattan were accustomed "to procure green masts."

26 April. Haverstraw. While passing Haverstraw, a creek was noticed, where there was a waterfall, which "made such a noise that it could be heard from the river." At noon the sloop entered

The Highlands. the majestic Highlands, "which are prodigiously high stony mountains," where the river, at its narrowmost, was "not over five or six hundred paces wide." About sun-

Dans-kamer. set, reaching the "Dans-kamer," where there was a party of riotous savages, who only threatened trouble, the sloop's company "stood well on their guard."*

27 April. Esopus. The next day they came to the "Esoopes," where "a creek emptied, and the Indians had some cleared corn-

Catskill. land." In the evening they reached "the Catskill," where there was some open land, upon which the Indians were planting corn. Up to this place the river banks were "all stony and hilly," and were judged to be "unfit for

28 April. Beeren Island. dwellings." At the "Beeren Island" many Indians were found fishing, and the beautiful meadows which skirted the river's banks were noticed as very "good for cultiva-

Brandt Peelen's Island. tion." Toward evening the sloop arrived at Brandt Peelen's, or Castle Island, "which lies a little below Fort Orange." Inviting De Vries to his house, Peelen astonished his guest by telling him that, for ten successive years, he had raised beautiful wheat there without ever summer-fallowing the land.†

30 April. Great freshet. While De Vries was enjoying Peelen's hospitality, a sudden freshet inundated the island, which was ordinarily seven or eight feet above the tides. The flood lasted three days, during which the colonists were obliged to desert their houses and betake themselves to the woods, where

* The "Dans-kamer" is a point on the west side of the river, above Newburg, which still retains the name that the Dutch gave it before 1640. It means "Dance Chamber."

† De Vries, 151–153. This statement is confirmed by Megapolensis, in his Tract upon the Mohawk Indians, Hazard, i., 519; and by Van der Donck, in his Description of N. N., p. 27; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 159, who says, "I had the land adjoining this same farm, and have seen the eleventh crop, which was tolerably good. The name of the man who did this was Brandt Peelen, a native of the province of Utrecht, and at that time a schepen in the colonie of Rensselaerswyck."

they "pitched tents and kindled great fires." The waters even ran into Fort Orange. This freshet was probably the highest that had occurred on the North River since the great flood, which in 1617 swept away the first Fort Nassau.

Proprietors of Rensselaerswyck.

The experience which De Vries had gained as a patroon of Swaanendael did not incline him to look very favorably upon the proprietors of Rensselaerswyck; who, "being commissaries of New Netherland," had taken good care of themselves, while the "naked fort" Orange was the West India Company's sole possession. The patroons had all "the farms around, and the traffic, and every peasant was a trader."

Abundant natural products of the colony.

Yet the colonists lived amid nature's richest profusion. In the forests, by the water-side, and on the islands, grew a rank abundance of nuts and plums; the hills were covered with thickets of blackberries; on the flat lands, near the rivers, wild strawberries came up so plentifully, that the people went there to "lie down and eat them." Vines covered with grapes, "as good and sweet as in Holland," clambered over the loftiest trees. Deer abounded in the forests, in harvest-time and autumn, "as fat as any Holland deer can be." Enormous wild turkeys, and myriads of partridges, pheasants, and pigeons, roosted in the neighboring woods. Sometimes the turkeys and deer came down to the houses and hog-pens of the colonists to feed; and a stag was frequently sold by the Indians for "a loaf of bread, or a knife, or even for a tobacco-pipe." The river produced the finest fish; and there was a "great plenty of sturgeon," which at that time the "Christians did not make use of, but the Indians eat them greedily." Flax and hemp grew spontaneously; peltries and hides were brought in great quantities by the savages, and sold for trifles; "the land was very well provisioned with all the necessaries of life." European manufactured goods, cloths, woolens, and linens were alone scarce and dear.*

Progress of population.

The colonie of Rensselaerswyck was the only successful

* De Vries, 152, 153; Megapolensis, in Hazard, i., 517–519.

CHAP. IX. 1640.

patroonship under the charter of 1629; and the marvelous crops of corn which Peelen raised on his fertile island were for many years the wonder of New Netherland. Constant emigration from Holland rapidly increased its population; and comfortable farm-houses, many of them built at the patroon's expense, arose at various points. Beverswyck was already a village. Had the colonists contented themselves with agriculture, instead of seeking to become traders as well, the prosperity of the frontier settlement of the province would have been assured.

Beverswyck.

Jurisdiction of the patroons.

Arendt van Curler continued to act as the commissary of the colonie and the representative of the patroon. His jurisdiction included all the territory on both sides of the North River, between Beeren Island and the mouth of the Mohawk, except the precinct of Fort Orange. This post, which was the property of the West India Company when the first purchases in its neighborhood were made by Van Rensselaer, was always occupied by a small garrison, commanded by officers under the immediate direction of the provincial authorities at Manhattan.*

Fort Orange.

Judicial powers of the patroons.

According to the Charter of Privileges, the patroon was invested with the "chief command and lower jurisdiction" within his colonie. In person, or by deputy, he might administer justice, and pronounce and execute sentences for all degrees of crime. He had the power of life and death. He could decide civil suits. The right of appeal to the director and council at Manhattan was, indeed, nominally reserved to the colonists; but the right was virtually annulled by the obligation under which all the colonists upon the manor were obliged to come, not to appeal from the judgments of the manorial tribunals. The civil law, the ordinances of the Province of Holland and of the United Netherlands, and the edicts of the West India Company, and of the director and council at Manhattan, were the legal code of New Netherland. The same code obtained when

Colonial jurisprudence and government.

* Mr. Barnard, in his sketch (p. 127), affirms that the Company "did not own a foot of land within the colony;" and that "the soil on which Fort Orange stood was included in the purchase made by the patroon." These statements, however, do not agree with the evidence in our colonial records; see *post*, p. 521

duly published within the colonie; and the colonists, in addition, were subjected to such laws and regulations as the patroon or his local officers might establish. Theoretically, the patroon was always present in his court baron. Practically, the government of the colony was administered by a court composed of two commissaries and two schepens, assisted by the colonial secretary and the schout. The laws and customs of the colonie partook largely of the spirit of feudalism. The terms of the leases under which the farms were held required a return of all produce; and of this produce the patroon had the pre-emptive right. An annual ground-rent was levied on each house erected. When property changed hands, the patroon was privileged to have the first offer; and if he declined to purchase, he was entitled to a certain proportion of the consideration money received. He was the legal heir of all intestates. Without his leave, none could fish or hunt within the manor. At the patroon's mills alone could the colonists grind their corn.

1640.

Feudal spirit of the manorial institutions.

The greater part of the colonists were farmers and their servants, who had been sent out from Holland at the patroon's expense. For these farmers lands were set apart, houses erected, and stock and agricultural implements provided. Besides these substantial encouragements, small advances of money and supplies of clothing were frequently furnished to the emigrant on his leaving Holland. These advances the colonist was to repay after his arrival with a large interest. The capital of the patroon was freely and liberally expended; and the emigrant began his frontier toil with more ample resources and with greater facilities than the first tenants of a wilderness generally enjoy. Yet the scheme of feudal colonization was not a happy one, either for emigrant or patroon. Apart from the political evils which it entailed, it necessarily introduced a system of accounts which encouraged deceit and tempted to dishonesty. The payments of the colonists began to fall in arrear; the patroon's revenue suffered; and he felt himself obliged, before long, to instruct his colonial

Condition of the colonists.

Results of the system at Rensselaerswyck.

CHAP. IX. 1640.

officers that there was "no latitude to be given to the consciences or discretion of the boors, but the law to be stringently enforced."*

De Vries visits the Cohooes.

Anxious to see the interior of the country, De Vries went through the forests with several Indians to visit the Mohawk. The Falls of the Cohooes seemed to him "as high as a church;"† the waters, as they ran over, were "as clear as crystal, and as fresh as milk." Within the sound of their roar lived "Broer Cornelis,"‡ at that time the frontier colonist of New Netherland. The Mohawks were noticed as a brave people, who had "brought the other tribes under contribution." They had enormous canoes, hollowed out of trees, and easily conveying eighteen or twenty men. Their arms were bows and arrows, and stone axes and hammers, until they got guns from the Dutch. "But he was a rascal who first sold them, and showed their use; for they said that it was the Devil, and did not dare to touch them. There used to be but one Indian who went about with a gun, whom they called Kallebacker."§

The Mohawk Indians.

14 May. De Vries returns to Manhattan.

After a six weeks' sojourn, De Vries took leave of the commander at Fort Orange, and sailing rapidly down the river, anchored, in the evening, at Esopus, "where a creek empties, and there is some corn land where some Indians live."‖

15 May.

Setting sail at dawn of the next day, he observed at the Dans-kamer "many Indians a fishing;" and passing onward through the Highlands without any adven-

* Hol. Doc., v., 364, 380, ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 330, 334; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i, 320–326, 442; Moulton, 391; Barnard's Sketch, 118–121.

† With less accuracy than De Vries, Van der Donck several years afterward "guessed" these falls to be one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet high.—Besch. van N. N., p. 9. Megapolensis (Hazard, i., 519), on the other hand, exactly coincides with De Vries. There is a remarkable similarity—almost an identity—in parts of the descriptions by these two writers. Megapolensis's tract was written in 1644, and published in 1651. As De Vries did not print his journal until 1655, several years after his return to Holland, I think it very probable that he adopted much of Megapolensis's work, in regard to affairs at Fort Orange, in preference to his own less polished language. This would account for his anachronism about Jogues.

‡ This person was otherwise known as Cornelis Antonissen van Slyck, whose name survives in that of an island opposite Schenectady. § De Vries, 158.

‖ De Vries uses almost the same expressions in referring to Esopus, on the 27th of April, as he passed up the river. On neither occasion does he speak of any redoubt as then existing; nor to the presence, at that or any previous time, of Dutch traders there.

ture, he anchored over night at Tappan. The next morning, a strong ebb tide and a fresh gale from the northwest carried the sloop, in three hours, safely to Fort Amsterdam. In the judgment of De Vries, the mountain-bordered stream was "little fitted to be peopled;" for he had seen only "here and there a little corn-land, which the Indians had prepared by removing the stones." Yet his mariner's eye observed with admiration that "the tide runs up the whole river to Fort Orange;" and perhaps, even at that early day, there were not wanting those who foresaw the swelling commerce which now rolls between its cultivated banks.* CHAP. IX. 1640. 16 May.

Up to this time, the intercourse between the Dutch and the Indians had been, upon the whole, friendly; and with the opening of the fur trade, a large prosperity promised to visit New Netherland. But freedom soon ran into abuses; and the temptation of gain led to injurious excess. The colonists soon began to neglect agriculture for the quicker profits of traffic with the savages. To push their trade to the best advantage, the colonists separated themselves from each other, and settled their abodes "far in the interior of the country." Presently they began to allure the savages to their houses "by excessive familiarity and treating." This soon brought them into contempt with the Indians, who, not being always used with impartiality, naturally became jealous. Some of the savages, too, were occasionally employed as domestic servants by the Dutch. This unwise conduct only produced evil. The Indians frequently stole more than the amount of their wages; and, running away, they acquainted their tribes with the habits, mode of life, and exact numerical strength of the colonists. The knowledge thus gained was used, before long, with fatal effect against the Europeans, whose presence now began to inconvenience the aborigines. For the colonists, in their avidity to procure peltries, neglected their cattle, which, straying away without herdsmen, injured the unfenced corn-fields of the savages.

Relations with the Indians.

Results of the freedom of the fur trade.

Difficulties with the savages.

* De Vries, 152–161.

CHAP. IX. 1640. Finding this the cause of much complaint, Kieft issued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants whose land adjoined that of the Indians to inclose their farms, so as to prevent trespasses upon the red men. The evil, however, continued; and the Indians avenged themselves by "killing the cattle, and even the horses," of the Dutch.*

9 May.

The Iroquois supplied with fire-arms.

The most unhappy result of all was the supplying of the savages with new weapons of offense. The Iroquois warriors, from the day they first recoiled before the arquebuses of Champlain, dreaded the superiority of the Europeans. At first they considered a gun "the Devil," and would not touch it. But the moment they became accustomed to their use, they were eager to possess the fire-arms of Europe. No merchandise was so valuable to them. For a musket they would willingly give twenty beaver skins. For a pound of powder they were glad to barter the value of ten or twelve guilders. Knowing the impolicy of arming the savages, the West India Company, in wise sympathy with the English government, had declared contraband the trade in fire-arms; and had even forbidden the supply of munitions of war to the New Netherland Indians, under penalty of death. But the lust of large gains quickly overcame prudence. The extraordinary profits of the traffic early became generally known; and the colonists of Rensselaerswyck and "free traders" from Holland soon bartered away to the Mohawks enough guns, and powder, and bullets for four hundred warriors. In the neighborhood of Manhattan, where a more rigid police was maintained, the supply of arms was prevented.

The river Indians offended.

This, however, only excited the hatred of the river tribes against the Dutch; for the Iroquois, in full consciousness of their renovated power, now not only carried open war into their enemies' country along the Saint Lawrence and the Great Lakes, but, more haughtily than ever, exacted the tribute which they claimed from the subjugated tribes between the Mohawk and the sea.†

* Journal van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iii., 97–102; Alb. Rec., ii., 81.

† Journal of N. N., in Hol. Doc., iii., 103; Report, in Hol. Doc., ii., 368; O'Call., I., 224, 419; De Vries, 158; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 5, 6, 7, 8.

1640.

While the river Indians were brooding over what they thought the unjust partiality of the Dutch toward the Iroquois, a new provocation was added to the existing annoyance. Kieft, alleging "express orders" from Holland, unwisely determined to exact the contribution of corn, furs, and wampum from the savages in the neighborhood of Fort Amsterdam, which he had resolved upon the previous autumn. The directors of the Amsterdam Chamber afterward positively denied that they had ever authorized the measure, or even knew that the contribution had been exacted.* But the mischief was already done.

The Indians near Manhattan become more exasperated.

The river Indians were now totally estranged. "The Hollanders," said the irritated savages, "are Materiotty—men of blood: though they may be something on the water, they are nothing on the land: they have no great sachem or chief." Perceiving the temper of the Indians in his neighborhood, Kieft, in apprehension of a sudden attack, ordered all the residents of Manhattan to provide themselves with arms; and, at the firing of three guns, to repair, under their respective officers, "to the place appointed," properly equipped for service.†

Kieft anticipates a rupture.

The Dutch ordered to arm themselves. 10 May.

But without waiting to be attacked, the imprudent director soon found an opportunity to become the aggressor. It happened that some persons in the company's service, on their way to the South River, landed at Staten Island for wood and water; and, on re-embarking, stole some swine belonging to De Vries and to the company, which had been left there in charge of a negro. The blame was thrown on the innocent Raritan Indians, who lived about twenty miles inland. These savages were also accused of having attacked the yacht Vrede, which had been sent among them to trade for furs. No lives were lost, though the Indians made off with the trading party's canoe.‡

The Raritans charged with excesses at Staten Island.

Kieft rashly resolved to punish the alleged offenders

* Alb. Rec., ii., 65, 81; Vertoogh van N. N., 289, 300; *ante*, p. 293; Hol. Doc., v., 30.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 82; Journal van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iii., 104; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 8.

‡ De Vries, 161, 163

CHAP. IX. 1640. with admonitory severity. Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, was commissioned to lead a party of fifty soldiers and twenty sailors to attack the Indians and destroy their corn, unless they should make prompt reparation. When he reached his destination, Van Tienhoven demanded satisfaction; but his men, knowing the director's temper, wished to kill and plunder at once. This Van Tienhoven refused to permit; but at last, vexed with their importunity, he left the party, protesting against their disobedience. Several of the Indians were killed; their crops were destroyed; and "such tyranny was perpetrated" by the company's servants, that there was now little hope of regaining the friendship of the savages.*

16 July. Expedition dispatched against the Raritans.

Thus was laid the foundation of a bloody war, which, before long, desolated New Netherland, whose provincial government had now read to the Raritans the lessons which, four years before, Massachusetts had read to the Block Island Indians. Determined to pursue his policy of levying contributions on the river tribes, Kieft soon afterward sent sloops up to Tappan; but the savages demurred against the novel tribute. "They wondered how the sachem at the fort dared to exact such things from them." "He must be a very shabby fellow; he had come to live in their land when they had not invited him, and now came to deprive them of their corn for nothing."†

20 October. Contribution levied on the Tappans.

The savages refuse to pay.

They refused to pay the contribution, because the soldiers in Fort Amsterdam were no protection to the savages, who should not be called upon for their support; because they had allowed the Dutch to live peaceably in their country, and had never demanded recompense; because when the Hollanders, "having lost a ship there, had built a new one, they had supplied them with victuals and all other necessaries, and had taken care of them for two winters, until the ship was finished," and therefore the Dutch were under obligations to them; because they had paid full price for every thing they had purchased, and there was,

* De Vries, 161; Alb. Rec., i., 263; ii., 95; Hol. Doc., iii., 165; v., 314; O'Call., i., 227.
† De Vries, 162.

therefore, no reason why they should supply the Hollanders now "with maize for nothing;" and, finally, said the savages, because, "if we have ceded to you the country you are living in, we yet remain masters of what we have retained for ourselves."*

13 March. The Company's differences arranged.

In the mean time, the States General had instructed their deputies to the College of the XIX. to aid in reconciling the differences between the patroons and the company, and devise some plan by which the colonization of the province might be promoted, and its inhabitants put "in the best condition." The company accordingly agreed upon a new charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions" for all patroons, masters, and private persons, which was sent to the Hague, and promptly approved. 19 July.

New charter for patroons.

The new charter amended materially the obnoxious instrument of 1629. "All good inhabitants of the Netherlands" were now allowed to select lands and form colonies, which, however, were to be reduced in size. Instead of four Dutch miles, they were limited to one mile along the shore of a bay or navigable river, and two miles into the country. A free right of way by land and water was reserved to all; and, in case of dispute, the director general of New Netherland was to decide. The feudal privileges of erecting towns and appointing their officers; the high, middle, and lower jurisdiction; and the exclusive right of hunting, fishing, fowling, and grinding corn, were continued to the patroons as an estate of inheritance, with descent to females as well as males. On every such change of ownership, the company was to receive a pair of iron gauntlets and twenty guilders, within one year.

Heads of colonies.

Besides the patroons, another class of proprietors was now established. Whoever should convey to New Netherland five grown persons besides himself, was to be recognized as a "master or colonist;" and could occupy two hundred acres of land, with the privilege of hunting and fishing. If settlements of such colonists should increase in numbers, towns and villages might be formed, to which

* Breeden Raedt, 14, 15.

CHAP. IX. 1640.

municipal governments were promised. The magistrates in such towns were to be selected by the director and council, "from a triple nomination of the best qualified in the said towns and villages." From these courts, and from the courts of the patroons, an appeal might lie to the director and council at Manhattan. The company guaranteed protection, in case of war, to all the colonists; but each adult male emigrant was bound to provide himself, before he left Holland, with a proper musket, or a hanger and side arms.

Commercial privileges extended.

The commercial privileges, which the first charter had restricted to the patroons, were now extended to all "free colonists," and to all the stockholders in the company. Nevertheless, the company adhered to a system of onerous imposts, for its own benefit; and required a duty of ten per cent. on all goods shipped to New Netherland, and of five per cent. on all return cargoes, excepting peltries, which were to pay ten per cent. to the director at Manhattan before they could be exported. All shipments from New Netherland were to be landed at the company's warehouses in Holland. The prohibition of manufactures within the province was, however, abolished. The company renewed its pledge to send over "as many blacks as possible;" and disclaiming any interference with the "high, middle, and lower jurisdiction" of the patroons, reserved to itself supreme and sovereign authority over New Netherland, promising to appoint and support competent officers "for the protection of the good, and the punishment of the wicked." The provincial director and council were to decide all questions respecting the rights of the company, and all complaints, whether by foreigners or inhabitants of the province; to act as an Orphan's and Surrogate's Court; to judge in criminal and religious affairs, and generally to administer law and justice. No other religion "save that then taught and exercised by authority, in the Reformed Church in the United Provinces," was to be publicly sanctioned in New Netherland, where

The Reformed Dutch Church to be the religious worship of the province.

the company bound itself to maintain proper preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick.* CHAP. IX.

1640.

New Netherland soon felt a fresh impulse to her prosperity. De Vries now "took hold" in earnest of his purchase, the previous spring, from the Indians at Tappan, and began a colonie at his new estate, which he named "Vriesendael." It was beautifully situated along the river side, sheltered by high hills; and the fertile valley, through which wound a stream, affording handsome mill seats, yielded hay enough, spontaneously, for two hundred head of cattle. Buildings were soon erected, and Vriesendael became, for several years, the home of its energetic owner.† Progress of colonization.

1 Dec. De Vries at "Vriesendael."

1641

Early the next year, another colonie was established, "within an hour's walk" of Vriesendael, by Myndert Myndertsen van der Horst, of Utrecht. The new plantation extended from "Achter Cul,"‡ or Newark Bay, north toward Tappan, and included the valley of the Hackinsack River. The head-quarters of the settlement were about five or six hundred paces from the village of the Hackinsack Indians, where Van der Horst's people immediately commenced the erection of a post, to be garrisoned by a few soldiers.§ Van der Horst's colonie at Hackinsack.

20 August. Melyn on Staten Island.

Cornelis Melyn now returned to New Netherland, with his family and servants, to begin a colonie on Staten Island, an order for which he had procured in Holland from the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber. De Vries, who was already in possession of a part of that island, felt aggrieved at this interference; but Kieft, who had himself just established a small distillery and a buckskin manufactory there, soon obtained the patroon's consent to Melyn's establishing a plantation near the Narrows, provided "his rights should not be prejudiced." The Staten Island Indians soon afterward committing acts of hostility, the

* Hol. Doc., ii., 234–262; O'Call., i., 218–222. † De Vries, 162, 180, 182.

‡ "Achter Cul," or "Achter Kol," now called "Newark Bay," was so named by the Dutch, because it was "achter," or "behind" the Great Bay of the North River. The passage to the Great Bay was known as the "Kil van Cul," from which has been derived the present name of "the Kills." The English soon corrupted the phrase into "Arthur Cull's" Bay.—Benson's Memoir, 93.

§ De Vries, 165; Hol. Doc., iii., 99, 135; O'Call., i., 238; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 51, 56.

CHAP. IX. director and council ordered a small redoubt to be built on one of the headlands; and the soldiers stationed there were ordered to make a signal by raising a flag, to warn the officers at Fort Amsterdam whenever any vessels arrived in the lower bay. In the course of the following summer, Kieft issued a formal patent, granting to Melyn the privileges of a patroon over all Staten Island, excepting De Vries's reserved "bouwerij."*

1641.
12 Sept. Redoubt Flagstaff at the Narrows.

Municipal affairs engaged much of the attention of the bustling director. Fresh regulations were published for the better observance of Sunday; and the tapping of beer during Divine service, and after ten o'clock at night, was forbidden. The currency of the province, too, was reformed. The coins of Europe were seldom seen in New Netherland. Payments were almost universally made in sewan or wampum; and for many years the Sunday contributions in the churches continued to be paid in this native currency, of which that of Long Island and Manhattan was always esteemed the best. Of this "good splendid sewan, usually called Manhattan's sewan," four beads were reckoned equal to one stiver. By degrees, however, inferior wampum, loose and unstrung, began to take the place of the better currency; and even, in the judgment of the director, to threaten "the ruin of the country." An order in council, therefore, directed that the loose beads should pass at the rate of six for a stiver. The only reason why the "loose sewan" was not entirely prohibited was, "because there was no coin in circulation, and the laborers, boors, and other common people having no other money, would be great losers." To encourage the growing tendency toward agricultural pursuits, two annual fairs, the one for cattle and the other for hogs, were soon afterward established at Manhattan.†

11 April. New police regulations.

Provincial currency reformed.

18 April. Value of wampum fixed by law.

Fairs established. 15 Sept.

Had the government of New Netherland been in the hands of a "prudent" director, its prosperity would, per-

* De Vries, 163; Alb. Rec., ii., 133; O'Call., i., 228, 239; ii., 592. De Vries's statement is the first record of the establishment of a marine telegraph in New York harbor.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 110, 118, 134; Van Tienhoven's Korte bericht, in Hol. Doc., v., 360; and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 332.

haps, have now been permanently established. But prudence was not an element in Kieft's character. His levy of contributions had already alienated the savages around Manhattan; and the cruelties inflicted upon the Raritans had aroused a feeling of revenge, which only waited a fitting moment for its display. CHAP. IX. 1641. Temper of the savages.

That moment came. While they cajoled the director by peaceful messages, the Raritans suddenly attacked De Vries's unprotected plantation on Staten Island. Four of his planters were killed, and his dwelling and tobacco house burned. Thus the feeble colony was smothered at its birth, through Kieft's blind folly in "visiting upon the Indians the wrongs which his own people had done."* The Raritans destroy De Vries's colony at Staten Island. June.

Folly breeds folly. The director no sooner heard how the Raritans had avenged their wrongs, than he resolved upon their extermination. "The savages of Raritan daily grow bolder"—so began the proclamation, in which Kieft offered a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum for the head of every one of that tribe. For each head of the actual murderers, twenty fathoms were promised.† Kieft offers rewards for the offenders. 4 July.

Incited by the offered bounties, some of the River Indians attacked the Raritans. In the autumn, a chief of the Tankitekes, or Haverstraw tribe, named Pacham, "who was great with the governor at the fort," came in triumph to Manhattan, with a dead man's hand hanging on a stick. This he presented to Kieft as the hand of the chief who had killed the Dutch on Staten Island. "I have taken revenge for the sake of the Swannekens," said Pacham, "for I love them as my best friends."‡ 2 Nov. Hostilities provoked.

Meanwhile, the island of Manhattan had become the scene of a bloody retribution. Revenge never dies in the breast of the Indian. It may slumber for years, but it is never appeased until the "just atonement" which Indian law demands is fully paid. The young Weckquaesgeek savage, whose uncle had been murdered near "the Kolck," during the building of Fort Amsterdam, was now grown

* De Vries, 163; Alb. Rec., ii., 128; Winthrop, ii., 32. † Alb. Rec., ii., 128, 129.

‡ De Vries, 163. The Indians, both on the South and North Rivers, were in the habit of calling the Dutch "Swannekens."

CHAP. IX. 1641. to man's estate, and upon him Indian usage imposed the duty of avenging his kinsman's unatoned death. The Weckquaesgeeks were in the constant habit of visiting Manhattan; and their beaten trail passed near the Deutel Bay, on the East River, where Claes Smits, a harmless Dutchman, had built a small house, and was carrying on the trade of a wheel-wright. The nephew of the murdered savage, coming to the wheel-wright's humble dwelling, stopped to barter some beaver skins for duffels. While the unsuspecting mechanic was stooping over the great chest in which he kept his goods, the savage, seizing an axe, killed him by a blow on the neck. The murderer quickly plundered his victim's lonely abode, and escaped with his booty.

A Dutchman murdered at Deutel Bay August.

The Weckquaesgeeks justify the murderer.

Kieft promptly sent to Weckquaesgeek to demand satisfaction. But the murderer replied, that while the fort was building, he, and his uncle, and another Indian, bringing some beaver skins to trade, were attacked by some Dutchmen, near the "Fresh Water," who killed his uncle, and stole his peltries. "This happened while I was a small boy," said the savage, "and I vowed to revenge it upon the Dutch when I grew up; I saw no better chance than with this Claes the wheel-wright." The sachem of the tribe refused to deliver up the criminal; who, he said, had but avenged, after the manner of his race, the murder of his kinsman by the Dutch, more than twenty years before. Some soldiers were then sent out from the fort to arrest the assassin; but they returned disappointed.*

20 August.

Kieft's anxiety for a war.

The director burned to treat the Weckquaesgeeks as he had treated the Raritans, and commence open hostilities. Yet he feared to exasperate the people, who charged him with seeking a war in order to make "a wrong reckoning with the company," and who now began to reproach him for personal cowardice. It was all very well, they said, for him, "who could secure his own life in a good fort, out of which he had not slept a single night in all the

* De Vries, 164; *ante*, p. 166, 292; Hol. Doc., ii., 373; v., 314; Journal van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iii., 105; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 8, 9.

years he had been here." Kieft perceiving that he would have to bear the whole responsibility of the proposed war, reluctantly sought the counsel of the community.* CHAP. IX. 1641.

All the masters and heads of families at Manhattan and its neighborhood were accordingly summoned to meet at Fort Amsterdam, "to resolve there on something of the first necessity."† On the appointed day, Kieft submitted these questions to the first popular meeting ever held in New Netherland. "Is it not just that the murder lately committed by a savage upon Claes Smits be avenged and punished; and in case the Indians will not surrender the murderer at our requisition, is it not just to destroy the whole village to which he belongs? In what manner, and when ought this to be executed? By whom can this be effected?" 23 August. 29 August. First meeting of the commonalty of the province.

The assembly promptly chose "Twelve Select Men" to consider the propositions submitted by the director. These persons were Jacques Bentyn, Maryn Adriaensen, Jan Jansen Dam, Hendrick Jansen, David Pietersen de Vries, Jacob Stoffelsen, Abram Molenaar, Frederik Lubbertsen, Jochem Pietersen (Kuyter), Gerrit Dircksen, George Rapelje, and Abram Planck. Of these first representatives of the people of New Netherland, De Vries was chosen president. The "Twelve Men" were all Hollanders, or emigrants from Holland.‡ "Twelve men" appointed.

The popular representatives did not delay their answers to Kieft's questions. While they agreed that the murder of Smits should be avenged, they thought that "God and the opportunity" ought to be taken into consideration; 29 August. Action of the Twelve Men.

* De Vries, 165. † Alb. Rec., ii., 130.

‡ Hol. Doc., v., 327–329; Alb. Rec., ii., 136, 137; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 277, 278. De Vries, 165, says that Kieft caused the election of the Twelve Men "to aid him in managing the affairs of the country;" but Van der Donck, in his "Vertoogh," written eight years afterward, affirms that they "had in judicial matters neither vote nor advice, but were chosen in view of the war, and some other occurrences, to serve as cloaks and catspaws."—ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 300. Of these "Twelve Men," Bentyn was one of Van Twiller's council; Adriaensen came out as a colonist to Rensselaerswyck in 1631; Dam was also a colonist there in 1634; Hendrick Jansen was a tailor at Manhattan; Stoffelsen was one of Van Twiller's commissaries, and had married the widow of Van Voorst, of Pavonia; Lubbertsen was "first boatswain;" Pietersen, or as he usually wrote, Kuyter, came out in 1639; Rapelje was one of the original Walloon settlers at the Waal-bogt; Planck, or Verplanck, was a farmer at Paulus' Hoeck; of Molenaar and Dircksen the records say little; of De Vries much.

CHAP. IX. 1641. and that the director should make the necessary preparations, and especially procure a sufficient number of coats of mail "for the soldiers, as well as for the freemen, who are willing to pay their share in these expenses." Trade and intercourse with the savages should, nevertheless, be temporarily maintained, and no hostile measure be attempted by any one, "of whatever state or condition," except against the murderer himself, until the hunting season. Then it would be proper to send out two parties, the one to land near the "Archipelago," or Norwalk Islands, and the other at Weckquaesgeek, "to surprise them from both sides." As the director was commander of the soldiery as well as governor, he "ought to lead the van;" while the community offered their persons "to follow his steps and obey his commands." Yet they humanely added, "we deem it advisable that the director send further, once, twice, yea, for the third time, a shallop, to demand the surrender of the murderer in a friendly manner, to punish him according to his deserts."*

De Vries's pacific counsels.

To these official answers of the Twelve Men De Vries, who keenly felt his double losses at Swaanendael and Staten Island, added his own opinion. The Dutch were all scattered about the country, and their cattle running wild in the woods. "It would not be advisable to attack the Indians until we had more people, like the English, who had built towns and villages." Besides, the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber were resolutely opposed to war; for when applied to for permission to commence hostilities against the South River Indians, who had destroyed Swaanendael, they had replied, "you must keep at peace with the savages." But Kieft "did not wish to listen."†

Kieft urges war.

At length the hunting season came; and Kieft, impatient to attack the Weckquaesgeeks, was even more anxious to secure the concurrence of the Twelve Men. To accomplish his favorite design, he now asked them, separately, for their opinions on the question of immediate hostil-

1 Nov.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 136, 137; Hol. Doc., v., 326–329. † De Vries, 165.

ities. Had he convened them in a body, he suspected, and with reason, that the popular delegates would hardly content themselves with answering his queries; they would very probably turn their attention to the condition of the provincial government. But the impatient director was again foiled. The separate opinions of a majority of the Twelve Men were for procrastination. The savages were still too much on their guard: it was better, at all events, to await the arrival of the next vessel from the Fatherland. De Vries, the president, was decidedly opposed to hostilities with the Indians under any circumstances.* For a time longer war was averted.

The Twelve Men oppose hostilities.

The Swedes had, meanwhile, continued in quiet possession of Fort Christina, on the South River. The first year after their settlement they prospered abundantly, and did "about thirty thousand florins' injury" to the trade of the Hollanders. During the second winter of their residence, however, receiving no succors from home, they were reduced to great extremities, and so much discouraged, that the next spring they resolved "to break up, and come to Manhattan."† But unexpected relief was at hand.

The Swedes on the South River.

1640. April.

The fame of the pleasant valley of the South River, which had now reached Scandinavia, began also to spread through the United Provinces; and several prominent Hollanders, in apparent disregard of the claims of their own West India Company, undertook to send out emigrants there, under the authority of the Swedish government. A letter, signed by Oxenstierna and his colleagues, was accordingly obtained by Van der Horst and others, of Utrecht, declaring that they were permitted "to establish themselves on the north side of the South River, and there to found a colony;" and a passport was also issued in favor of the ship Fredenburg, commanded by Jacob Powelson, who was about departing from Holland with colonists for New Sweden. Van der Horst, however, upon further consideration, apparently preferring to avail himself of the

24 January. The Swedish government encourage emigration from Holland to the South River.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 140, 141; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 278.

† Hol. Doc., viii., 50, 52, 53; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., v., 45, 50, 56.

CHAP. IX. 1640. Hockhammer's grant.

new charter for patroons, did not accept the Swedish grant, which was, therefore, transferred to Henry Hockhammer. It authorized him and his associates to send out vessels, cattle, and colonists from Holland under the royal protection, and to take up as much land on both sides of the South River as should be necessary for their purposes, provided it be "at least four to five German miles from Fort Christina." The exercise of the Reformed religion of Holland was guaranteed, and the support of ministers and schoolmasters enjoined. Joost de Bogaerdt was appointed special commandant of the new colony, at an annual salary from the Swedish government of five hundred florins, or two hundred rix dollars, "to be remitted to his banker in Holland" by the Swedish resident at the Hague.*

30 January. Joost de Bogaerdt commandant.

April. The Swedes encouraged.

Powelson reached the Delaware early in the spring. His arrival gladdened the desponding Swedes, who had determined to abandon Fort Christina the next day. The new colonists from Holland were soon settled a few miles south of the fort, under the superintendence of De Bogaerdt. Traffic with the Indians was now prosecuted with vigor, and the Dutch West India Company's trade on the South River was "entirely ruined." In the following autumn, Kieft wrote from Manhattan to the Amsterdam Chamber, informing them of the "re-enforcement of people" which the Swedes had received the previous spring, "otherwise it had been arranged for them to come here;" but stating his intention to treat them "with every politeness, although they commenced, with many hostilities, forcibly to build, attack our fort, trading, and threatening to take our boats."†

15 October.

Peter Hollændare.

Mounce Kling.

The same autumn, Peter Hollændare arrived from Gottenburg, at Fort Christina, as deputy governor of New Sweden, bringing a number of fresh colonists and the promised supplies. Mounce Kling, who had formerly acted as deputy to Minuit, followed soon afterward with two vessels. The Swedes now purchased additional lands

* Swedish Documents, in Hazard's Reg. of Penn., iv., 177; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 51–56.

† Hol. Doc., viii., 53, 54; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 56, 57; Acrelius, 411; Ferris, 52–5

from the Indians; and, in token of the sovereignty of their queen, set up "the arms and crown of Sweedland." The next year, it is said, that Peter Minuit died at his post, and was buried at Fort Christina, which he had "protected during three years." On his death, Hollændare, the deputy governor, succeeded to the command, "who, after one year and a half, returned to Sweden, and obtained a military post there."*

CHAP. IX. 1641. Death of Minuit.

The enterprising men of Connecticut were now hoping to obtain a foothold on the Delaware, which, hitherto, had been occupied exclusively by the Dutch and the Swedes. Sometime during the year 1640, Captain Nathaniel Turner, as the agent of New Haven, is said to have made a large purchase of lands "on both sides of Delaware Bay or River." In the following spring, a "bark or ketch" was fitted out at New Haven by George Lamberton, a principal merchant there, and dispatched to the Delaware, under the command of Robert Cogswell. When the vessel reached Manhattan, Kieft learning her destination, and warned by his experience with the Hartford people, instantly protested against the enterprise; and notified the New England adventurers not to "build nor plant upon the South River, lying within the limits of New Netherland, nor on the lands extending along there," unless they would agree to settle themselves under the States General and the West India Company, and swear allegiance to them. But upon Cogswell's assurance that they did not intend to intrude upon any territory over which the States General had authority; and that if they found no land free from claims, they would either peaceably return, or else settle themselves in allegiance to the Dutch government, the New Haven bark was allowed to proceed.†

New Haven proposes a plantation on the South River.

Lamberton and Cogswell's expedition

8 April. Stopped at Manhattan.

Allowed to proceed.

Aided by a refugee Pequod sachem, the New Haven adventurers succeeded in purchasing from the Indians "what land they desired" on both sides of the South Riv-

* Acrelius, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 410; Ferris, 57; O'Call., i., 366; Mulford, 83; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 57, 59, 60; *ante*, p. 284, note.

† Hol. Doc., ix., 205; Hazard, ii., 213, 265; Trumbull, i., 119; O'Call., i., 231; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 58.

CHAP. IX. er. Trading-houses were immediately commenced at the Varkens' Kill, near Salem in New Jersey, and also "on the Schuylkill," where about twenty English families settled themselves. The same summer, the General Court of New Haven resolved that the plantations in Delaware Bay should be considered "in combination with this town;" and Turner was formally authorized to go there, "for his own advantage and the public good, in settling the affairs thereof."*

1641. Settlements at Varkens' Kill and the Schuylkill. 30 August.

Vexatious conduct of the Hartford people. 15 April.

While adventurers from New Haven were thus intruding within southern New Netherland, the English colonists at Hartford were pertinaciously vexing the Dutch, and endeavoring, by petty annoyances around Fort Good Hope, to drive them out of the valley of the Connecticut. "Will ye three resist the whole English village?" cried the assailants, as the Holland plowmen sturdily endeavored to maintain their rights. An appeal to Governor Hopkins brought no redress. Upon receiving intelligence of these new provocations, Kieft ordered a force of fifty men to be dispatched, in two yachts, to Fort Good Hope, under the command of La Montagne. "But," wrote Winthrop, "it pleased the Lord to disappoint the purpose" of the Dutch; for the Staten Island Indians just then suddenly attacking De Vries's plantation, the New Netherland authorities "were forced to keep their soldiers at home to defend themselves." The Hartford people, however, thought it prudent to lay a statement of their case before the government of Massachusetts, "for advice about the difference between them and the Dutch." Bellingham, by direction of the General Court, accordingly "returned answer, without determining of either side, but advising to a moderate way, as the yielding some more land to the Dutch house—for they had left them but thirty acres."† Thus Massachusetts quietly reproved the cupidity of Connecticut.

6 June. Kieft's proceedings.

The Hartford people refer their case to Massachusetts. 21 June.

Reply.

* S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 59; Winthrop, ii., 62, 76; Ferris, 59; Mulford, 71.

† Hol. Doc., ix., 199–203; Alb. Rec., ii., 123; Winthrop, ii., 32; Hazard, ii., 264, 265; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., 274, 275.

In the mean time, events had occurred in England which were to have a material influence upon the rival European colonies in America. Soon after the meeting of the "Long Parliament," among the members of which were many zealous friends of New England, the Puritan emigrants were urged to "send over some" to solicit favors for them in that body, to which the king had now left "great liberty." At first, the suggestion was declined. But the next year, news of the fall of the Earl of Strafford, and of Archbishop Laud, their "great enemy," reaching Massachusetts, the General Court thought fit "to send some chosen men into England, to congratulate the happy success there," and "to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer, for the good of the country here." The persons chosen for this service were the "fiery" Hugh Peters, pastor of the church in Salem, Thomas Welde, pastor of the church in Roxbury, and William Hibbins, of Boston. The younger Winthrop also accompanied the commissioners, who presently sailed for England by way of Newfoundland.*

CHAP. IX.

1640. Progress of the Puritans in England.

1641. 2 June. Delegates sent from Massachusetts. 3 August.

The Hartford people now determined to arrange, if possible, their controversy with the Dutch. Edward Hopkins, who had just been succeeded by John Haynes as governor, being about to visit London, the General Court desired him "to arbitrate or issue the difference betwixt the Dutch and us, as occasion shall be offered when he is in England."† As Peters was well acquainted with some of the leading members of the West India Company, it was thought that advantage might be taken of that circumstance to "pacify" the directors, and arrange, if possible, the questions in dispute between New Netherland and New England.‡ Winthrop and Haynes, as governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, accordingly signed a joint letter authorizing Peters, "if occasion permit him to go to the Netherlands, to treat with the West India Company there concerning a peaceable neighborhood between"

Hopkins goes from Hartford. 9 Sept.

* Winthrop, ii., 25, 26, 31, 32; Chalmers's Revolt of the Colonies, i., 83, 84.

† Col. Rec. Conn., 68.

‡ Winthrop, ii., 32.

CHAP. IX. the New England and New Netherland colonists. A series of "propositions," the scope of which was to induce

1641. 10 October. Peters commissioned to negotiate with the West India Company.

the Amsterdam directors to define the limits between the Dutch and English territory; "abstain from molesting" the English on the Connecticut; and "see in the inhabitants of New England, who number about forty thousand souls, a people who covet peace in their ways, the planting of the Gospel above all things, and not to cause trouble or injury in any manner whatever to the company," was also sent out to Peters.*

The New England agents, on reaching London, found many warm friends of the Puritan colonies. Among these,

Dr. Lawrence Wright, of London.

was Dr. Lawrence Wright, of the Charter House, an "honored friend" of Hopkins.† Wright was also a familiar correspondent of Sir William Boswell, the English minister at the Hague; to whom he immediately sent a memo-

1642. 22 January.

rial which Hopkins had drawn up, on the subject of the English settlements in Connecticut. In a few days, Bos-

1 February. Boswell's letter to Wright.

well replied to Wright, lamenting that the unsettled state of English domestic politics had diminished his own influence with the Dutch government; but suggesting that the parties in London who had drawn the memorial should procure from Parliament, or, "at least, from the House of Commons," some declaration, "whereby it may appear that they take notice and care of our people and plantations in those parts." Formal instructions on the subject should also be sent him from the council; and "persons of quality" should acquaint the Dutch ambassador in London with the state of the case. But, above all, Boswell urged that, in the mean time, the English in Connecticut should "not forbear to put forward their plantations, and crowd on—crowding the Dutch out of those places where they have occupied."‡

* Hol. Doc., vii., 131; ix., 224, 225; O'Call., i., 235, 236. As these papers are re-translated from the Dutch in the Archives at the Hague, they may not be precisely identical with the original English. But they show, at all events, that Winthrop is strangely inaccurate in stating that, when Peters "undertook to pacify the West India Company," they "would not treat with him," "*for want of commission from those of Hartford.*"

† Winthrop, i., 229.

‡ Trumbull's Col. Rec. Conn., App., p. 565, 566.

CHAPTER X.

1642–1643.

CHAP. X.

1642.

Free spirit of the Dutch colonists at Manhattan.

THE spirit of popular freedom which the Dutch colonists brought with them to New Netherland had already made itself felt by the provincial government. Under the pressure of public sentiment, Kieft, though intrusted with almost dictatorial authority, had been compelled to summon the people into council, and yield his personal wishes to the judgment of their representatives. The war which the director was anxious to begin, had been postponed by the votes of the Twelve Men. But Kieft did not abandon his design; the moment winter had fairly set in, he convoked again the popular delegates.

21 January. The Twelve Men again convoked.

The Twelve Men met accordingly. The murderer of Smits had not been delivered up; and the Indians were now on their hunting excursions. It was, therefore, agreed that an expedition should be prepared at once to attack the Weckquaesgeeks. The director should head it in person, and the commissariat of the company should provide ammunition and necessary provisions. Such of the expedition as might be wounded while on service should be nursed, and their families maintained at the expense of the company, which had promised to "protect and defend" all the colonists.* Upon these conditions the Twelve Men assented to the hostile measures which Kieft so urgently pressed. Their assent was unwillingly given; it was conditional, specific, and limited; it was obtained only after repeated solicitations had failed to procure the surrender of an identified murderer; it had no ultimate

Assent to the proposed expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks.

* Hol. Doc., v., 330, 332.

CHAP. X. 1642.

design to exterminate an aboriginal race, that strangers might turn the red man's pleasant hunting grounds into fields of waving corn.

Popular spirit of the Twelve Men.

But the popular representatives were not content to limit their action to the registry of a proposed decree of their director. The time had now come for the people to take the initiative. For many generations, the towns and villages of the Fatherland had been accustomed to the government of magistrates elected by their fellow-citizens. Domineering arrogance was restrained, and honest ambition encouraged, by the system of rotation in office, under which the burghers of Holland annually invested new candidates with municipal dignities. The self-relying men, who had won their country from the sea, and their liberties from the relaxing grasp of feudal prerogative, knew that they could govern themselves; and they did govern themselves.*

Why should the system, under which Holland had prospered and grown great, not be transplanted into New Netherland? It was true, indeed, that the circumstances of the Fatherland differed somewhat from those of its province. The supreme government at the Hague had unwisely committed the management of New Netherland to a commercial corporation, whose enormous monopoly, at the same time, comprehended interests in comparison with which even the affairs of an embryo empire were too often esteemed insignificant. But if the Fatherland sometimes forgot its transatlantic province, the emigrants from Holland did not, in their wilderness home, forget the country of their birth, nor her local names, her religion, her laws, and her freedom. When they first emigrated, they voluntarily pledged themselves to submit to the government of the West India Company. For many years they did patiently submit to that government; and though experi-

Desire the franchises of the Fatherland.

* Alb. Rec., x., 221; xix., 131; "It is customary in our Fatherland, and other well-regulated governments, that some change takes place annually in the magistracy, so that some new ones are appointed, and some are continued to inform the newly appointed." See also Meyer's "Institutions Judiciaires," iii., 47–70, 165–185; Davies, i., 76–106; O'Call., i., 392; *post* p. 453.

ence had prompted many to long for those franchises which they had enjoyed in Holland, no opportunity for introducing any political reforms had yet occurred.

Organization of the Provincial Council the chief grievance.

The grievance which they felt most oppressively was the organization of the Council of New Netherland. This, in effect, was the director alone; for La Montagne, the only nominal counselor, had but one vote, while Kieft reserved two votes to himself. It often happened, however, that the director found it necessary to have the assistance of other persons; and on these occasions, instead of calling upon such of the colonists as were the most competent and worthy, he invariably chose some of the inferior agents of the company; "common people," who were dependent immediately upon himself for their daily emoluments. This naturally excited criticism and distrust; and the discontent of the community was now officially expressed in a memorial to the director. The Twelve Men demanded that the colonial council should be reorganized, and the number of its members increased, so that there should be at least five; for, argued the popular representatives, "in the Fatherland the council of even a small village consists of five or seven schepens." To save "the land from oppression," four persons, elected by the commonalty, should have seats in the colonial council. Two of these four counselors should annually be replaced by two others, to be chosen from the Twelve Men selected by the people. The company's "common men" should no longer have seats in the council. Judicial proceedings should be had only before a full board. The militia of the province should be mustered annually, and every male, capable of bearing arms, should be required to attend with a good gun; the company to furnish each man with half a pound of powder for the occasion. Every freeman should be allowed to visit vessels arriving from abroad, "as the custom is in Holland." All the colonists should enjoy the right freely to go to and trade with the neighboring places belonging to friends and allies, always paying the company's duties and imposts. To these demands,

21 January. The Twelve Men demand reforms.

CHAP. X. 1642. conceived in an enlarged and liberal spirit, the Twelve Men added two others, dictated by a short-sighted impolicy. As some kinds of cattle imported from Holland had fallen in value, in consequence of the sale of English stock within New Netherland, they asked that, in future, English traders should be allowed to introduce oxen and poultry only, and should be forbidden to sell cows or goats. And, to prevent the currency of the province being exported, they solicited that its nominal value should be increased.

Kieft's concessions.

Kieft's jealousy was aroused by the demands of the popular delegates; but he saw the imprudence of refusing any concessions. He replied, that he had already written to Holland, and expected, by the first ships, "some persons of quality," and "a complete council." The "common men" had been called upon because the council was so small; but the commonalty might now choose four persons "to help in maintaining justice for them." Two of these persons should be changed every year; they should be called into council "when need required," and certain times in the year should also be appointed for them to assemble together "upon public affairs," and advise upon specific propositions—"thus far their authority should extend." With respect to the Twelve Men, added the director, "I am not aware that they have received from the commonalty larger powers than simply to give their advice respecting the murder of the late Claes Smits." An annual muster of the militia should be required; but as the company was bound to provide ammunition only in cases of emergency, he could not furnish powder merely for practice. The freemen could not be allowed to visit vessels arriving from abroad; it would be contrary to the company's instructions, and "would lead to disorder," especially as several prizes were soon expected in port. The inhabitants might, however, freely trade with neighboring friendly colonies, upon condition of paying the company's recognitions, and abstaining from trade with the enemy. The English should be prohibited, in future, from selling

cows and sheep within New Netherland; and the value of the provincial currency should be raised.

1642.

Thus ended the first attempt to ingraft upon New Netherland the franchises of the Fatherland. The demand of the commonalty was the spontaneous act of the emigrants from Holland, who composed the Twelve Select Men of the Province. It was prompted by no desire to imitate any other form of government than that to which they had been accustomed in their Fatherland.

The action of the commonalty spontaneous.

But Kieft was no friend to popular reform. He had secured the assent of the representatives of the people to the hostilities which he longed to commence against the savages. In return, a reluctant promise of very limited concessions had been extorted, which, if he ever intended to do it, the event proved he never did fulfill. He therefore determined to save himself from further embarrassment by dissolving the Twelve Men. A proclamation was presently issued, thanking them for their advice in respect to the war against the savages, which would be adopted, "with God's help and in fitting time;" and forbidding the calling of any assemblies or meetings of the people without an express order of the director, as they "tend to dangerous consequences, and to the great injury both of the country and of our authority."*

Kieft dissolves the "Twelve Men." 18 Feb.

The director did not delay the execution of his cherished design, which the people had now formally sanctioned. Early the next month, an expedition of eighty men was dispatched against the Weckquaesgeeks, with orders to punish that tribe with fire and sword. Kieft did not head the forces in person, but intrusted the command to Ensign Hendrick van Dyck, who had now been about two years in garrison service at Fort Amsterdam. A guide, who professed a full knowledge of the country, accompanied the expedition, which pressed on vigorously toward the enemy's village. Crossing the Haerlem River, Van Dyck arrived in the evening at Armenperal,† where he halted his

March. Unsuccessful expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 175–180, 214, 215; O'Call., i., 244–249; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 9.

† This was the Sprain River, which rises back of Dobbs's Ferry, and empties into the Bronx.—Bolton, ii., 490, 491.

CHAP. X. 1642.

command. The men were eager to push on before the savages should be warned of their coming. But more than an hour was lost by delay; night set in dark and clouded; and the guide missed his way. Van Dyck, in the midst of embarrassment, losing his temper, ordered a retreat; and the expedition, which Kieft had dispatched to lay waste the wigwams of the West Chester savages, returned to Fort Amsterdam in all the mortification of failure.

Treaty with the Weckquaesgeeks at Bronx River.

Yet a fortunate result followed. The Indians, alarmed at the danger to which the trail of the white men showed them they had been exposed, sent to ask for peace. Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, was therefore dispatched to West Chester, and a treaty was made with the Weckquaesgeeks, on the Bronx River, at the house of the pioneer colonist, Jonas Bronck. The Indians bound themselves to surrender the murderer of Smits; but they never fulfilled their promise.*

Hostile temper of the Connecticut Indians.

The treaty with the Weckquaesgeeks had scarcely been concluded before rumors began to spread that the Connecticut savages were meditating a bloody vengeance against the European colonists. Uncas, the chief of the Mohegans, who was in high favor with the English for his assistance in exterminating the Pequods, sought to discredit his rival Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansetts; and accused him of combining with the sachems on the Connecticut, to destroy the colonists throughout New England. Anxiety and alarm prevailed; Hartford and New Haven concerted measures of defense; and a constant vigilance was thought indispensable to the security of the English plantations.†

The settlement at Greenwich submits to the Dutch.

Under these circumstances, Captain Patrick and his friends, who had now been established about two years at Greenwich, determined to submit themselves to the government of New Netherland. They declared that they

* De Vries, 164; Journal van N. N.; Hol. Doc., iii., 107, 146, 166, 371, Alb. Rec., ii., 202; iii., 25; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 9.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 106, 107; Col. Rec. Conn., 71, 73; Winthrop, ii., 78, 79, 80–84; Trumbull, i., 121; Hutchinson, i., 108, 109; Hubbard's Indian Wars, 42.

1642.

could no longer remain usurpers against the "lawful rights" of the Dutch, on account "both of the strifes of the English, the danger consequent thereon, and these treacherous and villainous Indians, of whom we have seen sorrowful examples enough." Patrick, therefore, went to Fort Amsterdam, and, for himself and his associates at Greenwich, swore allegiance to the States General, the West India Company, and the Dutch colonial authorities, upon condition of being protected against their enemies as much as possible, and of enjoying the same privileges "that all patroons of New Netherland have obtained agreeably to the Freedoms."*

Religious intolerance of Massachusetts.

The Puritan colonists, who, in their new home in America, were exulting over the fall of Laud, had, meanwhile, been reading a significant lesson to the world. In their turn, the founders of Massachusetts became persecutors; and, so far from recognizing the grand principle of the freedom of every one's conscience, required the submission of all to their peculiar ecclesiastical system. "The arm of the civil government," says Judge Story, "was constantly employed in support of the denunciations of the Church; and, without its forms, the Inquisition existed in substance, with a full share of its terrors and its violence."†

Roger Williams.

A shining mark was soon offered. Among the earliest who followed Winthrop to Massachusetts was Roger Williams, "a young minister, godly, zealous, having many precious parts." Revolving the nature of intolerance, his capacious mind found a sole remedy for it in "the sanctity of conscience." "The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion." The mind of Williams, however, was in advance of the spirit of his neighbors. His ideas of "intellectual liberty" shocked the religious despotism of Massachusetts; and the General Court sentenced him to depart out of their jurisdiction within six weeks, "all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence."‡ Flying to the South, the exile wandered through

1635. October. Exiled from Massachusetts.

* Hol. Doc., ix., 204; O'Call., i., 252; Hazard, ii., 214; *ante*, p. 296. "Captain's Island," on which stands the light-house off Greenwich, no doubt derived its name from Captain Patrick. † Story's Miscellanies, 66. ‡ W[illiams]

CHAP. X.

1636. January. June. Founds Providence.

the forests, in mid-winter, for fourteen weeks, until at last he found a refuge in the wigwam of the chief of Pokanoket. The next summer, the father of Rhode Island laid the foundations of Providence; desiring, he said, "it might be a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."*

Anne Hutchinson.

The banishment of Williams was soon followed by other persecutions in Massachusetts. Anne Hutchinson, for maintaining "the paramount authority of private judgment," was denounced as "weakening the hands and hearts of the people toward the ministers," and as being "like Roger Williams, or worse." She was, therefore, excommunicated, and, with several of her friends, banished, as "unfit for the society" of their fellow-citizens. The exiles instinctively followed the footsteps of Williams. His influence aided them in obtaining from the chief of the Narragansetts the cession of the island of Adquidnecke, which, from its "reddish appearance," its early Dutch discoverers had named the "Roode," or Red Island. A form of government, resting on "the principle of intellectual liberty," was soon established; and the first Democratic Constitution of Rhode Island nobly ordained that "none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine;" and declared that "liberty of conscience was perpetuated."†

1637. August. November. Banished.

1638. 24 March. Rhode Island founded.

1641. March.

Proposed emigrations from Massachusetts to New Netherland.

The same spirit which had driven Williams and Hutchinson from Massachusetts soon brought to Manhattan "a number of Englishmen" from Lynn and Ipswich, to "solicit leave to settle" among the Dutch, and to treat with the director for a patent for lands on Long Island. Kieft readily agreed to grant them all the franchises which the charter of 1640 allowed. Upon condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to the States General and the West India Company, they were to have the free exercise of religion, a magistracy nominated by themselves and approved by the director, the right to erect towns, lands free of rent for ten years, and "an unshackled commerce, in conformity to the privileges of New Netherland."‡

6 June. Liberality of the Dutch provincial government.

* Bradford; Winthrop, i., 171; Backus, i., 94; Bancroft, i., 366, 367, 379.

† Hutchinson, ii., 447; R. I. Records; Bancroft, i., 388, 392, 393; Chalmers, 271; *ante*, p. 58.

‡ Alb. Rec., ii., 122, 123, 169; O'Call., i., 237.

1641.

These "very fair terms" delighted the English applicants. The General Court of Massachusetts, however, offended at the thought of their "strengthening the Dutch, our doubtful neighbors," and at their being willing to receive from them a title for lands which the king had granted to Lord Stirling; but, above all, at their "binding themselves by an oath of fealty," sought to dissuade them from their purpose. The arguments of the court prevailed, and the discontented colonists "were convinced, and promised to desist."*

October. Opposition of the General Court of Massachusetts.

1642.

Early the next year, Francis Doughty, a dissenting clergyman, while preaching at Cohasset, was dragged out of the assembly for venturing to assert that "Abraham's children should have been baptized." Accompanied by Richard Smith, and several other liberal-minded men, Doughty came to Manhattan, to secure a happy home. He betook himself to the protection of the Dutch, "that he might, in conformity with the Dutch Reformation, have freedom of conscience, which, contrary to his expectation, he missed in New England." Kieft received the strangers kindly, and immediately granted to Doughty and his associates "an absolute ground-brief" for more than thirteen thousand acres of land at Mespath, or Newtown, on Long Island. The patent guaranteed to them the freedom of religion, and all the political franchises which had before been offered to the people of Lynn and Ipswich, "according to the immunities granted and to be granted to the colonists of this province, without any exception."†

Francis Doughty betakes himself to the Dutch.

28 March. Patent for Mespath, or Newtown.

In the autumn of the same year, John Throgmorton, whom Hugh Peters had judged "worthy of the same persecution that drove Williams to Providence," came to Manhattan to solicit a residence under the jurisdiction of the States General. Kieft readily listened to Throgmorton's request; and granted him permission to settle himself, "with thirty-five English families," within twelve miles

John Throgmorton and his friends settle themselves at Throg's Neck. 2 October.

* Winthrop, ii., 34.

† Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 301, 333; Lechford, 40, 41; Alb. Rec. G. G., 49; O'Call., i., 425; Thompson, L. I., ii., 70; Riker's Newtown, 17, 413.

CHAP. X. 1642.

of Fort Amsterdam, "to reside there in peace, and enjoy the same privileges as our other subjects, and be favored with the free exercise of their religion."* The refugees selected for their home the lands on the East River, now known as West Chester, which the Dutch appropriately named "Vredeland," or the "Land of Peace;" and the next summer, Throgmorton obtained a patent for a portion of the territory where he and his companions had found an asylum.†

Vredeland.

Anne Hutchinson removes to New Netherland.

Even Rhode Island seemed hardly as desirable an abode as New Netherland. Becoming dissatisfied with her first retreat, and fearing that the implacable vengeance of Massachusetts would reach her even there, the widowed Anne Hutchinson, in the summer of 1642, removed, with Collins, her son-in-law—"a young scholar full of zeal"—and all her family, beyond New Haven, into the Dutch territory, and chose for her residence the point now known as Pelham Neck, near New Rochelle, a few miles eastward of Throgmorton's settlement. The spot was soon called "Annie's Hoeck;" and a small stream, which separates it from the town of East Chester, still preserves in its name, "Hutchinson's River," the memory of the remarkable woman who there found her last home.‡

Settlement at "Annie's Hoeck."

Motives to the large emigrations from New England.

These large emigrations to New Netherland, where five English colonies were soon established, did not fail to attract the notice of the Puritan authorities. The "unsettled frame of spirit" of many was attributed to the sudden fall of land and cattle, and the scarcity of foreign commodities; and there was "much disputation" in Massachusetts "about liberty of removing for outward advantages."§ There were doubtless some who emigrated merely to enlarge their estates. But there were many others, whose only motive for the change was the religious intolerance

* Alb. Rec., ii., 185.

† Alb. Rec. G. G., 98, 173, 174; Winthrop, i., 42; Hutchinson, i., 371; Benson's Memoir, 121; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 145, 146, 152. The point now known as "Throg's Neck" was comprehended within this grant, and, no doubt, derives its name from Throgmorton.

‡ Winthrop, ii., 8, 39, 136; Neal, i., 178; Hutchinson, i., 72, 73; Bolton, i., 514, 515.

§ Winthrop, ii., 85, 87; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 6.

of their own countrymen. They left New England to seek, in New Netherland, "freedom to worship God." CHAP. X. 1642.

Besides the numerous strangers whose "insupportable government" drove them to seek permanent homes in the Dutch Province, there flocked from Virginia and New England many fugitive servants, "who too often carry their passports with them under the soles of their shoes." Their conduct at Manhattan was soon found to occasion mischief and complaint. Kieft, therefore, issued a proclamation forbidding the inhabitants to harbor any strangers, or give them more than one meal or a single night's lodging, without notifying the director, and furnishing him with the names of the new-comers.* The numbers of strangers at Manhattan constantly increasing. 13 April. New police regulations.

The constant intercourse at this time between New England and Virginia brought many transient visitors to Manhattan. On their way to and from Long Island Sound and Sandy Hook, the coasting vessels always stopped at Fort Amsterdam; and the increasing number of his guests occasioned great inconvenience to the director, who frequently could afford them but "slender entertainment." Kieft, therefore, built "a fine hotel of stone" at the company's expense, where travellers "might now go and lodge." This hotel, or "Harberg," was conveniently situated on the river side, a little east of Fort Amsterdam, near what is at present known as "Coenties Slip."† Kieft builds a stone hotel for travellers.

The old church had now become dilapidated; and De Vries, dining with Kieft, told him it was a shame that the English, when they visited Manhattan, "saw only a mean barn in which we preached." "The first thing they built in New England, after their dwelling-houses, was a fine church; we should do the like," urged De Vries; "we have fine oak wood, good mountain stone, and excellent lime, which we burn from oyster-shells—much better than our lime in Holland." "Who shall oversee the work?" asked Kieft, whose anxiety "to leave a great name after him" was the more earnest, as a church was then in A new church proposed.

* Journal van N. N., in Hol. Doc., iii., 98; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 6; Alb. Rec., ii., 161.
† De Vries, 163; Winthrop, ii., 96; Moulton's New Orange, 21.

CHAP. X. 1642.

contemplation at Rensselaerswyck. "There are friends enough of the Reformed religion," answered De Vries, who immediately subscribed one hundred guilders, upon condition that the director should head the list. Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, "a devout professor of the Reformed religion," and Jan Jansen Dam, who lived "close by the fort," were immediately appointed, with De Vries and Kieft, church masters to superintend the building; toward the cost of which the director agreed to advance "some thousand guilders" on the company's account. For greater security "against all sudden attacks of the Indians," the church was ordered to be erected within the fort. This decision, however, was not satisfactory; for as it was to be built chiefly by public subscription, the people thought that it should be placed where it would be generally convenient. Besides, the fort was small enough already, and a church within it would be "a fifth wheel to a wagon." It would intercept, too, the southeast wind, and prevent the working of the grist-mill hard by. But Kieft insisted, and all objections were overruled.*

Church masters appointed.

It only remained to secure the necessary subscriptions. Fortunately, it happened that the daughter of Domine Bogardus was married just then; and Kieft thought the wedding-feast a good opportunity to excite the generosity of the guests. So, "after the fourth or fifth round of drinking," he showed a liberal example himself, and let the other wedding guests subscribe what they would toward the church fund. All the company, with light heads and glad hearts, vied with each other in "subscribing richly." Some of them, when they went home, "well repented it;" but "nothing availed to excuse."†

Subscriptions obtained.

May.

A contract was made with John and Richard Ogden, of Stamford, for the mason-work of a stone church seventy-two feet long, fifty wide, and sixteen high, at a cost of twenty-five hundred guilders, and a gratuity of one hundred more if the work should be satisfactory. The walls

* De Vries, 164; Vertoogh van N. N., 293.

† Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 293.

1642.

were soon built; and the roof was raised and covered by English carpenters with oak shingles, which, by exposure to the weather, soon "looked like slate." The honor and the ownership of the work were both commemorated by a square stone inserted in the front wall, bearing the ambiguous inscription, "Anno Domini, 1642, William Kieft, Director General, hath the Commonalty caused to build this Temple."*

Church in Fort Amsterdam.

The Provincial government before long felt some inconvenience from "the large number of Englishmen" who daily came to reside in New Netherland. Though Kieft himself was "roughly acquainted with the English language," his subordinate officers were not; and the English strangers knowing the language of the province as little as the Dutch did of that of the new-comers, it was found necessary to have an official interpreter. One of the exiles from New England, George Baxter, was accordingly appointed "English secretary," at an annual salary of two hundred and fifty guilders.†

11 Dec. George Baxter appointed English secretary.

The party which Lamberton had sent, the previous summer, from New Haven to the South River, having, in violation of their pledge, established themselves upon Dutch territory, "without any commission of a potentate," Kieft, on finding how he had been cajoled, determined "to drive these English thence in the best manner possible." The yachts Real and Saint Martin were therefore dispatched to Jansen, the commissary at Fort Nassau, who was instructed to visit the intruders, and "compel them to depart directly in peace." Their personal prop-

Affairs on the South River.

22 May. An expedition dispatched from Manhattan.

* Alb. Rec., iii., 31; Hol. Doc., iv.; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 382; ii., 293; O'Call., i., 262; Breeden Raedt, 22. It appears, from the Breeden Raedt, that the church was not inclosed until 1643. When the fort was demolished in 1790, to make way for the Government House, which was built on the site of what is now the "Bowling Green," the stone with the inscription was found among the rubbish. The following paragraph from the "*New York Magazine*" for 1790, records the circumstance: "June 23. On Monday last, in digging away the foundation of the fort in this city, a square stone was found among the ruins of a chapel (which formerly stood in the fort), with the following Dutch inscription on it: 'Ao. Do. MDCXLII. W. Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de Gemeenten dese Tempel doen Bouwen.'" This stone was removed to the belfry of the Reformed Dutch church in Garden Street, where it remained until both were destroyed in the great fire of December, 1835.—ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 328; Benson's Mem., 103; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 402.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 202.

CHAP. X. 1642.

erty was not to be injured; but the commissary was to "remain master," and, above all, "maintain the reputation of their High Mightinesses, and the noble directors of the West India Company."

The English settlements broken up.

Jansen executed his orders promptly. The settlement on the Schuylkill was broken up at once. That on the Varkens' Kill, or Salem Creek, was next visited, and, with the hearty co-operation of the Swedes, who had agreed with Kieft "to keep out the English," the intruders were expelled. The trespassers were conveyed to Fort Amsterdam, and from there sent back to New Haven. Lamberton, however, persisting in trading at the South River, was soon afterward arrested at Manhattan, on his return to New Haven, and compelled to give an account of his peltries, and pay duties on his cargo. The New Haven people protested, and threatened retaliation. But Kieft furnished the Dutch who had occasion to visit the "Red Hills" with passports, in which he boldly avowed his own responsibility for all that had happened. The damages which the English sustained at the South River were estimated at one thousand pounds; but though they complained bitterly, they never obtained redress.*

28 August. Lamberton compelled to account at Manhattan.

Difficulties at Hartford.

The difficulties between the Dutch garrison at the Hope and the English at Hartford continued unabated. Every vexation that ingenuity could contrive was practiced against the Hollanders, who, on the other hand, were charged with enticing away and sheltering the servants of the English colonists; with helping prisoners in jail to escape; and with purchasing and retaining goods stolen from the English. Under these circumstances, Kieft, finding that his protests were of no effect, had recourse to retaliatory measures; and all trade and commercial intercourse with the Hartford people, in the neighborhood of the Dutch post, was formally prohibited.†

3 April. Kieft forbids intercourse with Hartford.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 162, 164, 177, 185; Acrelius; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 413; ii., 281; O'Call., i., 254; Hazard, ii., 164, 214; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 61, 62; Ferris, 59, 60; Trumbull, i., 122, 123.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 157, 158; Hazard, ii., 216, 265; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., 276; Trumbull, i., 122.

1642.

It was not long before the Hartford authorities felt the inconvenience of their position. The General Court, therefore, ordered that the magistrates "shall have liberty to agitate the business betwixt us and the Dutch, and, if they think meet, to treat with the governor concerning the same."* Under this authority, Whiting, a magistrate, and Hill, a deputy of Hartford, came to Manhattan, to arrange with the director for the purchase of the West India Company's lands around the Hope. Kieft, after explaining in detail the antiquity of the Dutch title, offered to lease "the field at Hartford" to the English, for an annual rent of a tenth part of the produce, as long as they should occupy it. The delegates, on their return, submitted these conditions to the General Court. But no abatement of annoyance followed. The coveted field was again despitefully plowed up by the Hartford people, who even prevented "cattle that belonged not to them" from being driven toward New Netherland.†

11 May. Delegation from Hartford visits Manhattan. July. 9 July. The Dutch propositions.

There was a strong, though not, perhaps, an honorable motive for this system of petty annoyance. Hopkins had now returned from London, bringing with him Boswell's letter to Wright. The recommendation of the British minister at the Hague, "Crowd on—crowd the Dutch out," was now to be the system by which New Netherland was, by degrees, to be dismembered of her territory, and gradually separated from Holland. The General Court directed that "a letter be returned to the Dutch, in answer to their letter brought by Mr. Whiting;" and also that letters should be written to Dudley and Bellingham, the former governors of Massachusetts, "concerning what the Dutch governor reporteth that they have wrote to him about our differences." Dudley, in 1640, had written to Kieft in conciliatory terms; and Bellingham, the next year, had advised moderation on both sides;‡ but the Hartford authorities now seemed apprehensive that Massachu-

Policy and motives of the Hartford people. 29 Sept.

* Col. Rec. Conn., 72.

† Hazard, ii., 265; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., 276; Col. Rec. Conn., 72; Alb. Rec., ii., 171, 172; Smith, Hist. N. Y., i., 6.

‡ Winthrop, ii., 7, 32; Col. Rec. Conn., 75, 566; *ante*, p. 299, 322.

CHAP. X. setts had committed herself to more liberal views than those which suited the policy of Connecticut.

1642. The agents in England, in the mean time, had not been unsuccessful. Though Peters failed in his undertaking to "pacify" the Dutch West India Company, the New England delegates, acting on Boswell's advice, succeeded in inducing "persons of quality" to communicate with the representative of the States General at London. Lord Say, as one of Lord Warwick's original grantees, was warmly interested; and, in the course of the summer, he addressed a letter to Joachimi, the Netherlands' ambassador, in which he strenuously advocated the cause of the Connecticut colonists, and severely censured the Dutch. They, he said, had protested and threatened, and used "haughty arguments" against the English; yet, though there were only five or six Netherlanders residing on the river, "where there are more than two thousand English," no violent proceedings had been taken against the Dutch, who, it was asserted, had been treated "with all civility." The Pequod Indians, of whom the Hollanders claimed to have purchased a portion of the land, "had no other than a usurped title." The "weakness" of the Dutch title was inferred, because "the English having addressed sundry letters to their governor, William Kieft," he had refused to accept their proposal to refer the settlement of the question to impartial arbitrators. The Dutch should be ordered to demean themselves peaceably, and be content with their own limits, "or to leave the river." This last suggestion would "tend most to their master's profit," as the returns from their post never had, and never would repay expenses. "Moreover," added Lord Say, "they live there in an ungodly way, in no wise beseeming the Gospel of Christ. Their residence there will never produce any other effect than expense to their masters and trouble to the English." Other influential persons in London, moved by the representations of the New England agents, openly threatened that, before the end of the year, the Hollanders should be utterly expelled from the valley of

Puritan agents in England.

23 July.

Lord Say's letter to the Dutch ambassador.

Threats against the Dutch.

the Connecticut. Joachimi therefore sent Lord Say's communication to the States General; and, in subsequent dispatches, explained the irritated feeling which existed among the friends of the Puritan colonists, and urged the king should be asked to command his New England subjects not to molest the Dutch, who had possession of New Netherland before the English ever came there. "For such commands must proceed from his majesty; and it might be taken ill that redress should be sought from the House of Parliament, whose orders would probably not be received in those far-distant quarters." The Dutch ambassador at London, however, little knew the temper of the men of New England.

1642.
31 July. 8 August. 17 Sept. 17 October.

Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and the civil war began. Parliament was supreme at London, but the king was still sovereign in the rural districts. The sympathies of the Puritan colonists in America were with the Puritan House of Commons. The States General promptly referred Joachimi's dispatches to the West India Company; but though the ambassador was instructed to represent that it need not be apprehended that his countrymen in New Netherland could ever "prevail" against their stronger neighbors, the threats of the London friends of New England were entirely disregarded at the Hague.* The distracted kingdom caused no present anxiety to foreign powers.

22 August. Beginning of the civil war.

25 October.

Interesting events were now occurring at Rensselaerswyck. Adriaen van der Donck, of Breda, in North Brabant, a man of intelligence and learning, having taken a lease from the patroon of the westerly half of Castle Island, known as "Welysburg," adjoining the fertile farm of Brandt Peelen, was appointed schout-fiscal of the colonie, and arrived at Manhattan in the autumn of 1641. As the colonists had shown a disposition "to pass by the carpenters and other of the patroon's laborers," and to employ whom they pleased, Van der Donck was specially instructed to repress this spirit of independence, and pros-

1641. Adriaen van der Donck schout-fiscal of Rensselaerswyck.

18 July.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 276–307; O'Call., i., 255–257; Aitzema, ii., 932; Lingard, x., 152.

CHAP. X. 1642. ecute the offenders before the colonial court. He was also charged to procure the enactment of "stricter statutes or ordinances, and to punish the delinquents by penalties and fines, according to law."*

The want of a permanent clergyman, and the need of a proper church edifice, had now for some time been felt in the colonie; and, early the next year, the patroon took measures to place his colonists in as good a condition in these respects as the inhabitants of Manhattan.

6 March. Johannes Megapolensis the first clergyman in the colonie. He therefore made an agreement with the Reverend Doctor Johannes Megapolensis, a learned clergyman belonging to the Classis of Alckmaer, to send him out to Rensselaerswyck, "for the edifying improvement of the inhabitants and Indians." The patroon bound himself to convey the Domine and his family to New Netherland free of expense, provide him with a proper residence, and assure him, for six years, an annual salary of one thousand guilders, with a promise of an addition of two hundred guilders annually for the three following years, "should the patroon be satisfied with his service." On the other hand, Megapolensis agreed "to befriend and serve the patroon in all things wherein he could do so without interfering with or impeding his duties." As the Classis of Amsterdam was the ecclesiastical superior of all the Dutch colonial clergy, it was necessary to obtain its assent to the arrangement; and

18 March. the Domine accordingly appeared before the committee of that body, "ad res exteras," and explained his views in wishing to settle himself in New Netherland. A few

22 March. days afterward, the classis attested a formal "call" for Megapolensis to preach the Gospel and govern the Church at Rensselaerswyck, "in conformity with the Government, Confession, and Catechism of the Netherland churches, and the Synodal acts of Dordrecht." The Amsterdam Chamber, however, as the political superior of New Netherland, claimed the right of approving this instrument. The patroon, on the other hand, at first demurred to what he thought a curtailment of his feudal

* Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 327, 328.

rights; but, after several months' delay, he agreed that the directors should affix their act of approbation, under protest that the rights of both parties should remain unprejudiced. The Amsterdam Chamber accordingly approved the call. Domine Megapolensis was furnished with a detailed memorandum, respecting the settlement of the colonists, and the arrangement of the new church and parsonage; a plan for all the buildings was provided; and a small theological library was supplied at the patroon's expense. The transportation of the colonists to Fort Orange was to be arranged under the advice of Kieft, to whom the patroon sent a present of a saddle and military equipments, "as the noble director hath heretofore had much trouble with my people and goods." A number of respectable emigrants embarked with Megapolensis and his family in the ship Houttuyn, which, after a prosperous voyage, arrived in August.

His call approved by the Amsterdam Chamber. 6 June.

Arrives at Manhattan.

At this period it was not uncommon for ships to lie a fortnight at Manhattan before intelligence of their arrival was received at Rensselaerswyck. Prompt measures, however, were taken to convey up the river the new emigrants, who, upon reaching their destination, were registered by Arendt van Curler, the commissary. To concentrate the inhabitants as much as possible, and thus avoid danger of their lives from the Indians, "as sorrowful experience hath demonstrated around Manhattan," the patroon required that all the colonists, except the farmers and tobacco-planters, should live near each other, so as to form a "Kerck-buurte," or church neighborhood. This was to be settled near the Beaver's Creek; where a ferry was at once established for the accommodation of the colonists across the river at Greenbush. The patroon's directions were followed, and Van Curler notified all the colonists to "regulate themselves accordingly."

The new emigrants at Rensselaerswyck. 11 August.

The church, however, was not built until the following year; but the houses which were to surround it were planned; the dwelling of Maryn Adriaensen, one of the colonists who was about to remove to Manhattan, was

CHAP. X. bought for a parsonage; and the first clergyman at Rensselaerswyck began to execute the duties of his holy office.

1642. The colonists revered and esteemed their faithful monitor, whose influence was soon exerted in restraining immoralities, which the license of a frontier life had hitherto allowed to pass unrebuked. The counsels of the Domine were received with respect by Commissary Van Curler, who always asked his opinion upon public affairs before he "concluded to undertake any thing."*

Megapolensis begins his clerical labors.

Soon after the arrival of Domine Megapolensis at Rensselaerswyck, an occasion arose to test the characteristic benevolence of the Dutch. Champlain had early planned the scheme of extending the empire of France over North America, by means of religious missions; and his sagacious conception was zealously seconded by the heroic and self-denying emissaries of the Church. Just before the

Progress of the Jesuits in Canada.

1635. Father of New France was buried upon the field of his noble toils, and a year before Massachusetts made provision for what afterward became Harvard University, a missionary college was founded at Quebec. A few years afterward, the festival of the Assumption was solemnly celebrated on the island of Montreal, before vast crowds of savages and Frenchmen. "There," said Father Le Jeune, "shall the Mohawk and the feebler Algonquin make their home; the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and a little child shall lead them."

1641. 15 August.

From the time Champlain first penetrated the valley of Onondaga in 1615, the French had seen the advantage of possessing a post on the territory of Western New York. The settlements of the Dutch were as yet confined to the valleys of the Mohawk and of the North River. The views of the French in Canada did not, however, conflict with those of the Hollanders in New Netherland. France desired to control the great West; Holland looked more to the possession of the sea-coast. "Could we but gain the mastery," argued the missionaries of Canada, "of the shore of Ontario, on the side nearest the abode of the Iro-

Views of the French.

* Corr. Classis Amst.; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 328–330, 448–462.

quois, we could ascend by the Saint Lawrence without danger, and pass free beyond Niagara."

1641.

But the hereditary enmity between the Iroquois Confederates and the Hurons and Algonquins of Canada thwarted the plans of the French missionaries. The navigation of Lake Ontario was closed against their enterprise; and a French canoe had never yet been launched upon Lake Erie. The Dutch traders at Rensselaerswyck had now supplied the Iroquois warriors with the fire-arms of Europe; and the proud Konoshioni burned to be supreme. In the autumn of 1641, two Jesuit Fathers, Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, pushing onward from the Huron mission station, coasted, in their birch-bark canoe, along the Manitoulin Islands, and, stemming the swift current of the Saint Mary's, reached the Sault, where they found two thousand Chippewas assembled, expecting their arrival. Returning to Quebec, Jogues prepared, the next year, to repeat his visit. But as he was ascending the Saint Lawrence with an escort of Hurons, the party was surprised by a band of Mohawks lying in ambuscade. A part of the expedition was captured; and Jogues and his fellow-prisoners were conducted through the country of the Iroquois to the valley of the Mohawk. Horrible savage cruelties were inflicted upon the captives. From village to village their tortures were renewed; but the faithful missionaries, as they ran the gauntlet, consoled themselves with visions of heavenly glory.

September.

4 October.

1642.

4 August. Capture of Father Jogues.

15 August.

The Dutch at Fort Orange attempt to ransom Jogues.

Intelligence that three Frenchmen were prisoners among the Iroquois soon reached Fort Orange; and, prompted by a noble humanity, Commissary Van Curler, in company with Labbatie and Jansen, two of the colonists, went on horseback to the Mohawk country to attempt their rescue. The Dutch visitors were received with "great joy," and the presents which they brought were thankfully accepted by the warriors at the three castles. Before each castle they were obliged to halt a quarter of an hour, until the Mohawks had saluted them "with divers musket-

CHAP. X. shots." Indians were sent out to shoot, and brought them in excellent turkeys. On the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin, Van Curler reached the village where Jogues was detained. Inviting the chiefs to assemble together, he pressed them to release the French prisoners, "one of whom was a Jesuit, a very learned scholar." But the Mohawk sachems refused. "We shall show you every friendship in our power," said the chiefs, "but on this subject we shall be silent." Days were spent in vain attempts to procure the release of the captives: six hundred guilders worth of goods, "to which all the colony would contribute," were offered as their ransom, and inexorably refused. In the end, Van Curler "persuaded them so far, that they promised not to kill them, and to convey them back to their country." As the party set out on their return to Fort Orange, the French captives ran after them, beseeching the Dutch to rescue them out of the hands of the barbarians. An escort of ten or twelve armed savages conducted the embassy home, through "the most beautiful land on the Mohawk River that eye ever saw." But the Hollanders had scarcely left, before the "clamorous braves" insisted upon blood; and René Goupil, a "donné," or novice, who had accompanied Jogues, was struck dead with a tomahawk, invoking the name of Jesus as he fell. The life of the Father was, however, spared. Carving the emblem of his faith upon a majestic tree, the devoted Jesuit, during the following winter, held lonely communion with his God. For a time he was unmolested; but the Mohawks at length finding him at prayer, "attacked him most violently, saying that they hated the cross; that it was a sign unknown to them and their friends, the neighboring Europeans" at Fort Orange.*

1642. 7 Sept. Van Curler among the Mohawks.

19 Sept.

Jogues' life spared.

1643. In the annals of New Netherland, 1643 was, emphatically, "the year of blood." While New England was filled with alarm at the suspicion of a general rising of

* Relation, 1640–41, 50, 211; 1647, 56, 111; Jogues's Letters of the 5th and 30th of August, 1643, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii.; Tanner's "Societas Jesu," &c., 510–531; Megap., in Hazard, i., 522; De Vries, 157; Creuxius, 338; Charlevoix, i., 234–250; Renss. MSS., O'Call., i., 463, 464; Bancroft, iii., 122–134; Warburton's Conquest of Canada, i., 101, 356.

1643.

the Indians, and benighted travellers could not halloo in the woods without causing fear that savages were torturing their European captives, the neighboring Dutch province partook of the universal panic. Miantonomoh, "the great sachem of Sloup's Bay," was reported to have come with one hundred men to the neighborhood of Greenwich, and to have passed through all the villages of the Indians, soliciting them to a general war against the English and the Dutch. The wildest stories were circulated among the fireside gossips at Manhattan. The outlaying Indians were accused of setting fire to the powder of the Dutch, wherever they could find it, and of attempting to poison and bewitch the director.* Anxiety and terror already pervaded the defenseless hamlets around Fort Amsterdam, when an event occurred which precipitated open hostilities, and nearly annihilated the rising hopes of the West India Company.

Forebodings of a general war with the savages. January.

De Vries, while rambling, gun on shoulder, toward Van der Horst's new colony at Hackinsack, which was "but an hour's walk" from Vriesendael, met an Indian "who was very drunk." Coming up to the patroon, he "stroked him over the arms" in token of friendship. "You are a good chief," said the Indian; "when we visit you, you give us milk to drink, for nothing. But I have just come from Hackinsack, where they sold me brandy, half mixed with water, and then stole my beaver-skin coat." The savage vowed a bloody revenge. He would go home for his bow and arrows, and then shoot one of the "roguish Swannekens" who had stolen his things. De Vries endeavored to soothe him; and, on reaching Hackinsack, warned Van der Horst's people against the danger of treating the wild natives as they had the one he had just met. Scarcely had he returned to his own house, before some of the chiefs of the Hackinsacks and of the Reckawancks, in his neighborhood, came to Vriesendael. The revengeful savage had kept his vow. Watching his opportunity, he had shot one of the Dutch colonists, Garret Jansen van

A Dutchman murdered by an Indian at Hackinsack.

* Winthrop, ii., 84; Hol. Doc., iii., 107; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 9.

CHAP. X. 1643.

Voorst, as he was quietly thatching the roof of one of Van der Horst's houses. The chiefs had hastened to seek counsel of De Vries. They dared not go to Fort Amsterdam, for fear Kieft would keep them prisoners; but they were willing to pay two hundred fathoms of wampum to the widow of the murdered man, "and that should purchase their peace."* They offered the full expiation which Indian justice demanded—a blood-atonement of money; and the custom, so universal among the red men of America, was in singular accordance with the usage of classic Greece.†

The savages offer a blood atonement.

At length, persuaded by De Vries, who answered for their safe return, the chiefs accompanied him to Fort Amsterdam. Explaining to Kieft the unhappy occurrence at Hackinsack, they repeated their offer of a "just atonement." The director inexorably demanded the murderer. Imitating the example of Massachusetts in the case of the Pequods, he would be content with nothing but blood. But the chiefs could not bind themselves to surrender the criminal. He had gone "two days' journey off, among the Tankitekes;" and, besides, he was the son of a chief. Again they proposed an expiatory offering of wampum to appease the widow's grief. "Why do you sell brandy to our young men?" said the chiefs. "They are not used to it—it makes them crazy. Even your own people, who are accustomed to strong liquors, sometimes become drunk, and fight with knives. Sell no more strong drink to the Indians, if you would avoid mischief." With this, they took leave of the director, and returned to Vriesendael; and Kieft soon afterward sent a peremptory message to Pacham, the crafty chief of the Tankitekes, to surrender the refugee.‡

Kieft demands the murderer.

But before Pacham obeyed the mandate, more serious

* De Vries, 166; Hol. Doc., iii., 107; Breeden Raedt, 16; Bancroft, ii., 289.

† "If a brother bleed,
On just atonement we remit the deed;
A sire the slaughter of his son forgives,
The price of blood discharged, the murderer lives."
POPE, *Iliad*, ix.

‡ De Vries, 166; Hol. Doc., iii., 108; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 10; Alb. Rec., ii., 212.

1643.

events occurred. In the depth of winter, a party of eighty or ninety Mohawk warriors, "each with a musket on his shoulder," came down from the neighborhood of Fort Orange, to collect tribute from the Weckquaesgeeks and Tappans. The river tribes quailed before the formidable Iroquois. No resistance was offered by the more numerous but subjugated Algonquins; seventy of whom were killed, and many women and children made prisoners. Half-famished parties fled from West Chester to Manhattan, where they were kindly entertained. In their despair, four or five hundred of the cowering tributaries flocked to Vriesendael, to beg assistance and protection. The patroon told them, however, that the Fort Orange Indians were "friends of the Dutch," who could not interfere in their wars. Finding his house full of savages, and only five men besides himself to defend it, De Vries went, in a canoe, through the floating ice, down to Fort Amsterdam, to ask Kieft to assist him with some soldiers. The director, however, had none to spare. The next day, "troops of savages," who had come down from Vriesendael, encamped near the "oyster banks" at Pavonia, among the Hackinsacks, who were "full a thousand strong." Some of them, crossing the river to Manhattan, took refuge at "Corlaer's Bouwerÿ," where a few Rockaway Indians from Long Island, with their chief, Nainde Nummerus, had already built their wigwams.*

February. The Mohawks attack the River Indians.

The tributary savages seek refuge at Vriesendael, Pavonia, and Manhattan.

21 Feb.

In this conjuncture, public opinion at Manhattan was divided in regard to the policy to be observed toward the savages. Now that they were fugitives from the dreaded Iroquois, and felt grateful for the temporary protection which they had received from the Dutch, the river Indians could easily be won to a sincere friendship, thought De Vries and a majority of the community. But there were other spirits—active, unquiet, panting for war, who, though few, were aided by the influence of Van Tienhoven, the astute provincial secretary. As Kieft was dining, at Shrovetide, at the house of Jan Jansen Dam, one of the

Public opinion at Manhattan.

22 Feb.

* De Vries, 177, 178; Hol. Doc., ii., 375; iii., 109; Breeden Raedt, 15.

CHAP. X. 1643.

Petition for leave to attack the savages presented to the director.

"Twelve Men," the host, with Adriaensen and Planck, two of his former colleagues, assuming to speak in the name of the commonalty, presented a petition to the director, urging instant hostilities against the unsuspecting savages. Van Tienhoven, who had drafted the petition, well knew the temper of his chief. The Indians, it was argued, had not yet made any atonement for their murders, nor had the assassins of Smits and Van Voorst been delivered up. While innocent blood was unavenged, the national character of the Dutch must suffer. God had now delivered their enemies into their hands; "We pray you," urged the petitioners, "let us attack them; to this end we offer our persons, and we propose that a party of freemen and another of soldiers be dispatched against them at different places."*

Kieft resolves on war.

The sanguinary director was delighted with the prospect of war; and, "in a significant toast," announced the approaching hostilities. Just one year before, Kieft had dissolved the board of "Twelve Men," and had forbidden any public meetings without his express permission. He had, moreover, distinctly denied that the Twelve Men had any other function than simply to give their advice respecting the murder of Smits. But now that a self-constituted committee, falsely claiming to represent the Twelve Men elected by the commonalty, counseled violence, the director rashly resolved to make the savages "wipe their chops." They had unanimously refused to pay the contribution he had imposed; and, seeing himself deprived of this source of revenue, "of which he was very greedy," Kieft was charged with now devising other means "to satisfy his insatiable avaricious soul."†

Van Tienhoven and Corporal Hans Steen were, therefore, promptly dispatched to Pavonia to reconnoitre the position of the savages. But Domine Bogardus, who was invited to the council, warned Kieft against his rashness. La Montagne begged him to wait for the arrival of the

24 Feb.

* De Vries, 178; Breeden Raedt, 15; Hol. Doc., ii., 374; iii., 146, 220; O'Call., i., 266, 419; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 10, 11. † De Vries, 178; Breeden Raedt, 15; *ante*, p. 329

1643.

next ship from the Fatherland, and predicted that he was building a bridge over which, before long, "war would stalk through the whole country." De Vries protested that no warlike steps could be taken without the assent of the commonalty; and that the advice Kieft had received was not that of the Twelve Men, of whom he was the president. The destruction of the colonies at Swaanendael and at Staten Island, and the bootless expedition against the Raritans, were held up as warning examples. The Dutch colonists in the open country, it was urged, were all unprepared, and the Indians would wreak their vengeance on the unprotected farmers. It was all in vain. Taking De Vries with him into the great hall which he had just completed at the side of his house, Kieft showed him "all his soldiers ready reviewed," to pass over the river to Pavonia. "Let this work alone," again urged De Vries; "you want to break the Indians' mouths, but you will also murder our own people."*

Kieft warned against his rashness.

All remonstrance was idle. The director doggedly replied, "The order has gone forth; it can not be recalled." Van Tienhoven had reconnoitered the position of the savages at Pavonia, and his "false report" had confirmed Kieft's resolution. Orders were issued to Sergeant Rodolf to lead a troop of soldiers to Pavonia, and "drive away and destroy" the savages who were "skulking" behind the bouwery of Jan Evertsen Bout. A similar commission directed Adriaensen, with a force of volunteers, to attack "a party of savages skulking behind Corlaer's Hoeck," and "act with them in every such manner as they shall deem proper." "The commonalty solicit," was the false pretense by which Kieft endeavored to screen himself from any unhappy consequences of his bloody purposes; which his impious orders declared were undertaken "in the full confidence that God will crown our resolutions with success."†

All remonstrance vain.

25 Feb.

* De Vries, 178; Hol. Doc., ii., 161, 174; iii., 110; v., 51, 52; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 10.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 210, 211; Hol. Doc., iii., 148, 204; v., 333, 334; O'Call., i., 267, 268; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 278; ii., 300.

CHAP. X. 1643.

During the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of February, the tragedy which Kieft and his coadjutors had been meditating, was terribly accomplished. Crossing over to Pavonia, Rodolf cautiously led his force of eighty soldiers to the encampment of the refugee Tappans, near the bouweries of Bout and Wouterssen. About midnight, while the savages were quietly sleeping in fancied security from their Mohawk subjugators, the murderous attack commenced. The noise of muskets mingled with the shrieks of the terrified Indians. Neither age nor sex were spared. Warrior and squaw, sachem and child, mother and babe, were alike massacred. Daybreak scarcely ended the furious slaughter. Mangled victims, seeking safety in the thickets, were driven into the river; and parents, rushing to save their children whom the soldiery had thrown into the stream, were driven back into the waters, and drowned before the eyes of their unrelenting murderers. Eighty savages perished at Pavonia. "I sat up that night," said De Vries, "by the kitchen fire at the director's. About midnight, hearing loud shrieks, I ran up to the ramparts of the fort. Looking toward Pavonia, I saw nothing but shooting, and heard nothing but the shrieks of Indians murdered in their sleep." A few minutes afterward, an Indian and a squaw, who lived near Vriesendael, and who had escaped from Pavonia in a small skiff, came to the kitchen fire, whither De Vries had returned with an aching heart. "The Fort Orange Indians have fallen on us," said the terrified savages, "and we have come to hide ourselves in the fort." "It is no time to hide yourselves in the fort—no Indians have done this deed. It is the work of the Swannekens—the Dutch," answered the humane De Vries, as he led the undeceived fugitives to the gate, "where stood no sentinel," and watched them until they were hidden in the woods. In the mean time, Adriaensen and his party had surprised the Weckquaesgeek fugitives at Corlaer's Hook, and murdered forty of them in their sleep. The carnage of that awful night equaled in remorseless cruelty the atrocities,

Massacre at Pavonia.

Attack on the savages at Corlaer's Hook.

six years before, at the fort on the Mistic; in the number of victims alone were the murderous exploits of the New Netherland Dutch against the North River savages less shocking to humanity, than the ruthless achievements of the New England Puritans against the devoted tribe of the Pequods.

Morning at length came, and the victorious parties returned to Fort Amsterdam with thirty prisoners and the heads of several of their victims. The "Roman achievement" of the conquerors was acknowledged by largesses to the soldiery, who were welcomed back by Kieft personally, with "shaking of the hands and congratulations." The example of the exulting director was infectious. Even women joined in the triumph, and insulted the bloody trophies. Cupidity, too, followed the track of carnage. A small party of Dutch and English colonists went over to Pavonia to pillage the deserted encampment. In vain the soldiers left there on guard warned them to return. They persisted; and Dirck Straatmaker and his wife were killed by some outlaying Indians, whose wigwams they attempted to plunder. The English, "who had one gun amongst them," narrowly escaped a similar fate.*

26 Feb. Return of the soldiers to Fort Amsterdam.

The success of the expeditions against the refugee savages at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hoeck provoked emulation. Wolfertsen, and some of his neighbors at New Amersfoort, signed a petition to the director for permission to attack the Marechkawiecks, who resided between them and Breuckelen. But Kieft, yielding to the advice of Bogardus and others of his council, refused his assent. The Marechkawiecks had never done any thing unfriendly to the Dutch, and were "hard to conquer;" to attack them now would only be to add them to the number of already exasperated foes; it would lead to a destructive war, and bring ruin on the aggressors. Nevertheless, if these Indians showed signs of hostility, the director authorized every colonist to defend himself as best he might.

27 Feb. The Long Island Indians attacked.

* De Vries, 179; Breeden Raedt, 16, 17; Alb. Rec., iii., 117; Hol. Doc., ii., 375; iii., 112; O'Call., i., 269; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 11.

CHAP. X. 1643.

Kieft's proviso was unfortunate. The red man's corn was coveted; and some movements of the Marechkawiecks were conveniently construed into those signs of hostility for which the ambiguous decree had provided. A secret foraging expedition was presently set on foot, and two wagon-loads of grain were plundered from the unsuspecting savages; who, in vainly endeavoring to protect their property, lost three lives in the skirmish which followed.*

The savages aroused to vengeance.

It only needed this scandalous outrage to fill the measure of Indian endurance. Up to this time, the Long Island savages had been among the warmest friends of the Dutch. Now they had been attacked and plundered by the strangers whom they had welcomed, and to whom they had done no wrong. Common cause was at once made with the North River Indians, who burned with frenzied hate and revenge, when they found that the midnight massacres at Pavonia and Manhattan were not the work of the Mohawks, but of the Dutch. From swamps and thickets the mysterious enemy made his sudden onset. The farmer was murdered in the open field; women and children, granted their lives, were swept off into a long captivity; houses and bouweries, haystacks and grain, cattle and crops, were all destroyed. From the shores of the Raritan to the valley of the Housatonic, not a single plantation was safe. Eleven tribes of Indians rose in open war; and New Netherland now read the awful lesson which Connecticut had learned six years before. Such of the colonists as escaped with their lives, fled from their desolated homes to seek refuge in Fort Amsterdam. In their despair, they threatened to return to the Fatherland, or remove to Rensselaerswyck, "which experienced no trouble." Fearing a general depopulation, Kieft was obliged to take all the colonists into the pay of the company, to serve as soldiers for two months. At this conjuncture, Roger Williams, who, "not having liberty of taking ship" in Massachusetts, "was forced to repair unto

Despair of the colonists.

1 March.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 110; v., 320, 337, 338; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 11.

the Dutch," arrived at Manhattan, on his way to Europe. CHAP. X.
"Before we weighed anchor," wrote the liberal-minded 1643.
founder of Rhode Island, eleven years afterward, "mine eyes saw the flames at their towns, and the flights and hurries of men, women, and children, the present removal of all that could for Holland."*

Even Vriesendael did not escape the general calamity. Vriesendael attacked.
The outhouses, and crops, and cattle on the plantation were destroyed. The terrified colonists escaped into the manor house, in which De Vries had prudently constructed loop-holes for musketry. While all were standing on their guard, the same Indian whom the patroon had humanely conducted out of Fort Amsterdam on the night of the massacre at Pavonia, coming up to the besiegers, related the occurrence, and told them that De Vries was "a good chief." The grateful savages at once cried out to De Vries's people that, if they had not already destroyed the cattle, they would not do so now; they would let the little brewery stand, although they "longed for the copper kettle, to make barbs for their arrows." The siege was instantly raised, and the relenting red men departed. Hastening down to Manhattan, De Vries indignantly demanded of Kieft, "Has it not happened just as I said, that you were only helping to shed Christian blood?" "Who will now compensate us for our losses?" But the humiliated director "gave no answer." He was surprised that no Indians had come to the fort. "It is no wonder," retorted De Vries; "why should they, whom you have treated so, come here?"†

Kieft now sent a friendly message to the Long Island Fruitless message to the Long Island savages.
Indians. But the indignant savages would not listen. "Are you our friends?" cried the Indians from afar; "you are only corn-thieves;" and the messengers returned to Fort Amsterdam, to report the taunting words with which the red men had rejected the advances of the faithless chief at Manhattan.‡

* Breeden Raedt, 17, 18; Hol. Doc., ii., 375; Alb. Rec., ii., 213; Winthrop, ii., 97; R. I. H. S. Coll., iii., 155; O'Call., i., 271, 420; Bancroft, ii., 291.

† De Vries, 180. ‡ Hol. Doc., iii., 111; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 11.

CHAP. X. 1643.

All this time the obstinate director had remained safely within the walls of Fort Amsterdam, where flocked the victims of his rashness. It was hard to bear the wrath of ruined farmers, and childless men, and widowed women. To divert the public clamor, several other expeditions were sent out against the Indians, under the command of Adriaensen. But the marauding force, which was partly composed of English colonists, returned without having accomplished any thing; while Adriaensen himself, in witnessing the destruction of his own bouwery, was made to taste the bitter fruits of that war which his own counsels had assisted to provoke. The proud heart of the director began to fail him at last. In one week, desolation and sorrow had taken the place of gladness and prosperity. The colony intrusted to his charge was nearly ruined. It was time to humble himself before the Most High, and invoke from Heaven the mercy which the Christian had refused to the savage. A day of general fasting and prayer was proclaimed. "We continue to suffer much trouble and loss from the heathen, and many of our inhabitants see their lives and property in jeopardy, which is doubtless owing to our sins," was Kieft's contrite confession, as he exhorted every one penitently to supplicate the mercy of God, "so that his holy name may not, through our iniquities, be blasphemed by the heathen."*

Public clamor against the director.

4 March. Proclamation for a day of fasting.

But while the people humbled themselves before their God, they still held the director personally responsible for all the consequences of the massacres at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook; and some of the burghers, and of the former board of Twelve Men, boldly talked of imitating the example which Virginia had set, in the case of Harvey, by deposing Kieft, and sending him back to Holland. The director, in alarm, endeavored to shift the responsibility upon Adriaensen and his coadjutors, who had so wrongfully used the name of the commonalty in the petition

The people propose to send Kieft back to Holland.

Kieft's mean subterfuge.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 214, 215; Hol. Doc., iii., 111; O'Call., i., 271, 272. The custom of setting apart, by the secular authority, days of public humiliation and public thanksgiving, obtained in Holland, as we have seen, before the settlement of New Netherland or New England; *ante*, p. 41.

which urged the war. "For what has occurred," pleaded Kieft, "you must blame the freemen." "You forbade those freemen to meet, on pain of punishment for disobedience," retorted the indignant burghers; "how came it, then?" The convicted director was silenced.*

Finding that Kieft was endeavoring to divert from himself the odium of the slaughter of the Indians and the misery of the colonists, Adriaensen, now himself an almost ruined man, had no disposition to bear all the bitterness of popular reproach. Arming himself with a hanger and pistol, he rushed into the director's room, demanding "What lies are these you are reporting of me?" The would-be assassin was promptly disarmed and imprisoned; but his servant, with another of his men, armed with guns and pistols, hastened to the fort, where one of them, firing at the director, was shot down by the sentinel, and his head set upon the gallows. The prisoner's comrades now crowded around the director's door, demanding their leader's release. Kieft refused; but agreed to submit the question to the commonalty, with liberty to the prisoner's friends to select some of their number to assist at the examination. This, however, they declined to do, and insisted that the prisoner should be discharged upon his paying a fine of five hundred guilders, and absenting himself for three months from Manhattan. The director, wishing to show some deference to the commonalty, proposed to call in some of the most respectable citizens, to sit with his council in deciding the case. But the commonalty, unwilling to countenance the abuse which the director had deceitfully neglected to amend, refused; and Kieft, finding that "no one would or dared" assist him, determined to send Adriaensen to Holland for trial.†

Adriaensen attacks the director. 21 March.

28 March

* Alb. Rec., iii., 109; Hol. Doc., iii., 149–154.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 216–219; iii., 94; Hol. Doc., iii., 112; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 12; O'Call., i., 273, 274; Winthrop, ii., 97. The New England historians who allude to this case, account for Adriaensen's attack on Kieft on the ground of his jealousy of Underhill. But Underhill was not then in the service of the Dutch; nor did he enter it until the autumn of 1643. Adriaensen, returning to New Netherland, obtained a patent on the 11th of May, 1647, for "Awiehaken," on the west side of the North River, now known as Weehaken, just north of Hoboken.—Alb. Rec. G. G., 491

CHAP. X.

1643.

4 March. The Long Island Indians desire a peace.

Meanwhile, the Long Island Indians had begun to relent. Spring was at hand, and they desired to plant their corn. Three delegates from the wigwams of Penhawitz, their "great chief," approached Fort Amsterdam, bearing a white flag. "Who will go to meet them?" demanded Kieft. None were willing but De Vries and Jacob Olfertsen. "Our chief has sent us," said the savages, "to know why you have killed his people, who have never laid a straw in your way, nor done you aught but good?" "Come and speak to our chief on the sea-coast." Setting out with the Indian messengers, De Vries and Olfertsen, in the evening, came to "Rechqua-akie," or Rockaway, where they found nearly three hundred savages, and about thirty wigwams. The chief, "who had but one eye," invited them to pass the night in his cabin, and regaled them with oysters and fish.

5 March. De Vries and Olfertsen at Rockaway.

At break of day, the envoys from Manhattan were conducted into the woods about four hundred yards off, where they found sixteen chiefs of Long Island waiting for their coming. Placing the two Europeans in the centre, the chiefs seated themselves around in a ring, and their "best speaker" arose, holding in his hand a bundle of small sticks. "When you first came to our coasts," slowly began the orator, "you sometimes had no food; we gave you our beans and corn, and relieved you with our oysters and fish; and now, for recompense, you murder our people;" and he laid down a little stick. "In the beginning of your voyages, you left your people here with their goods; we traded with them while your ships were away, and cherished them as the apple of our eye; we gave them our daughters for companions, who have borne children, and many Indians have sprung from the Swannekens; and now you villainously massacre your own blood." The chief laid down another stick; many more remained in his hand; but De Vries, cutting short the reproachful catalogue, invited the chiefs to accompany him to Fort Amsterdam, where the director "would give them presents to make a peace."

1643.

The chiefs, assenting, ended their oration; and, presenting De Vries and his colleague each with ten fathoms of wampum, the party set out for their canoes, to shorten the return of the Dutch envoys. While waiting for the tide to rise, an armed Indian, who had been dispatched by a sachem twenty miles off, came running to warn the chiefs against going to Manhattan. "Are you all crazy, to go to the fort," said he, "where that scoundrel lives, who has so often murdered your friends?" But De Vries assured them that "they would find it otherwise, and come home again with large presents." One of the chiefs replied at once, "Upon your words we will go; for the Indians have never heard lies from you, as they have from other Swannekens."

The sachems visit Fort Amsterdam.

Embarking in a large canoe, the Dutch envoys, accompanied by eighteen Indian delegates, set out from Rockaway, and reached Fort Amsterdam about three o'clock in the afternoon. A treaty was presently made with the Long Island savages; and Kieft, giving them some presents, asked them to bring to the fort the chiefs of the River tribes, "who had lost so many Indians," that he might make peace with them also.*

25 March. Treaty of peace concluded.

Some of the Long Island sachems accordingly went to Hackinsack and Tappan. But it was several weeks before the enraged savages would listen to the counsels of the mediators, or put any faith in the director. At last, Oritany, the sachem of the Hackinsacks, invested with a plenipotentiary commission from the neighboring tribes, appeared at Fort Amsterdam. Kieft "endowed him with presents;" and peace was covenanted between the River Indians and the Dutch. Mutual injuries were to be "forgiven and forgotten forever;" future provocations were re-

Peace covenanted with the River Indians. 22 April.

* De Vries, 182; Alb. Rec., ii., 214, 215; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 12; O'Call., i., 276. Winthrop, ii., 97, says that the Indians, "by the mediation of Mr. Williams, who was then there to go in a Dutch ship for England, were pacified, and peace re-established between the Dutch and them." But Winthrop errs in this statement. Williams, in his letter of the 5th of October, 1654, to the General Court of Massachusetts, in which he speaks of the war (R. I. H. S. Coll., iii., 155), says nothing whatever in respect to his own agency with the Indians in bringing about the peace. Indeed, he seems to have sailed for Europe while the war was yet raging. On the other hand, De Vries's own minute and faithful journal seems to be conclusive.

CHAP. X. 1643.

ciprocally to be avoided; hostile movements of other tribes, not included in the treaty, were to be prevented within the territories of the Hackinsacks, Tappans, and West Chester Indians; while timely warning was to be given to "the Christians" of any brewing mischief.

The Indians still discontented.

But the savages went away "grumbling at their presents"—for their young men would think them only a trifling atonement. Nor was confidence fully restored. The trembling farmers planted their corn, in peace indeed, but in constant dread of the murmuring Indians' sudden war-whoop. The director himself distrusted the ominous re-

18 June.

pose; and a new proclamation from Fort Amsterdam prohibited all tavern-keepers, and other inhabitants of New Netherland from selling any liquors to the savages.

20 July.

At midsummer a neighboring chief visited Vriesendael in deep despondency. The young Indians were urging war; for some had lost fathers or mothers, and all were mourning over the memory of friends. "The presents you have given to atone for their losses are not worth the touch;" "we can pacify our young men no longer," said the well-meaning sachem, as he warned De Vries against venturing alone into the woods, for fear that some of the Indians, who did not know him, might kill their constant friend. At the patroon's entreaty, the chief accompanied

Kieft's vain attempt to bribe a chief.

him down to Fort Amsterdam. "You are a chief—you should cause the crazy young Indians who want war again with the Swannekens to be killed," said Kieft, as he treacherously offered the sachem a bounty of two hundred fathoms of wampum. But the indignant red man spurned the proffered bribe. "This can not be done by me," he replied; "had you, at first, fully atoned for your murders, they would all have been forgotten; I shall always do my best to pacify our people; but I fear I can not, for they are continually crying for vengeance."* And so the boding sachem went his way.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 220, 224; De Vries, 182; O'Call., i., 277; Bancroft, ii., 292.

CHAPTER XI.

1643–1644.

1643. The United Colonies of New England.

THE "Old Colony" of Plymouth was founded by emigrants who, as we have seen, had learned valuable lessons in popular constitutional liberty, during a twelve years' sojourn in Holland. The example which the union of the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands had given to Europe in 1579, was now, after more than sixty years' experience, to be followed in America. Troubles were prevailing in England; the Puritan colonies were threatened with danger; the savages and the French were both to be feared; and Connecticut alone could not overawe and "crowd out" her Dutch neighbors in New Netherland. New Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, therefore, determined to form a political league for offense and defense. Commissioners from these several colonies assembled at Boston in the spring of 1643; and, on the nineteenth day of May, agreed upon Articles of Confederation, by which the "UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND" became "all as one."

19 May.

The administration of the affairs of the confederacy was intrusted to a board, consisting of two commissioners from each colony. They were to assemble annually, or oftener, if necessary. The commissioners were always to be "in church fellowship." They were invested with extraordinary powers for making war and peace; they had the exclusive management of Indian affairs; and they were to see that the common expenses of the confederacy were justly assessed. The spoils of war, "whether it be in lands, goods, or persons," were to be proportionably di-

CHAP XI. 1643.

vided among the confederates. Specific provision was made for the surrender of runaway servants, and of fugitives from justice; who, upon proper proof, were to be sent back to their masters, or to the authorities of the colony from which they might have escaped. Neither of the colonies was to engage in a war without the consent of at least six of the commissioners. Local "peculiar jurisdiction and government" was carefully reserved to each separate colony in the New England confederation, as it had been carefully reserved, sixty years before, to each separate province of the United Netherlands. The doctrine of "State Rights" is nearly three centuries old. The Union of Utrecht—the first Constitutional Union of Sovereign and Independent States—was essentially the model for the first Union of American colonies.*

Kieft addresses the commissioners. 20 July.

As soon as intelligence of the New England confederation reached Manhattan, Kieft, wishing to open a communication with the commissioners, dispatched a sloop to Boston, with letters in Latin, addressed to "the Governor and Senate of the United Provinces of New England." Congratulating them on their recent league, the director complained of the "insufferable wrongs" which the English had done to the Dutch on the Connecticut, and of the misrepresentations of Lord Say, Peters, and others to the States' ambassador at London; and desired "a categorical answer," whether the commissioners would aid or desert the Hartford people, that so the New Netherland government "may know their friends from their enemies."

Winthrop replies.

The commissioners were not in session when the Dutch sloop arrived at Boston. But Governor Winthrop, the presiding commissioner, after "advising with some of the elders who were at hand, and some of the deputies," replied in his own name. Referring Kieft to their "chiefest authority," from which he "should receive further answer in time convenient," Winthrop expressed his grief at the differences with his brethren of Hartford, which, he suggest-

$\frac{2}{12}$ August.

* See Articles at length, in Hazard, ii., 1–6; and in Winthrop, ii., 101; Morton's Memorial, 229; Hutch., i., 119, 120; Bancroft, i., 420–422; Hildreth, i., 285, 286; *post*, p. 445.

ed, "might be composed by arbiters, either in England or Holland, or here." The confederates were bound "to seek the good and safety of each other;" but the difficulty "being only for a small parcel of land, was a matter of so little value in this vast continent, as was not worthy to cause a breach between two people so nearly related both in profession of the same Protestant religion and otherwise." CHAP. XI. 1643.

When the commissioners met, a month afterward, Connecticut made complaints on her side, and New Haven handed in statements of the grievances which their people had suffered from the Dutch and Swedes on the South River. Winthrop was now instructed to communicate their complaints to Kieft, "requiring answer to the particulars, that as we will not wrong others, so we may not desert our confederates in any just cause." The president accordingly wrote to Kieft, recapitulating the injuries which New Haven had suffered on the South River, the charges against Provoost, the Dutch commissary at Fort Good Hope, "for sundry unworthy passages," and expressing the opinion of the commissioners in favor of the "justice of the cause of Hartford in respect of title of the land." This opinion the commissioners "could not change," unless they could see more light than had yet appeared to them "by the title the Dutch insisted upon." But Kieft, dissatisfied with this reply, again asserted the right of the Dutch to their lands at Hartford, and renewed his complaints of injuries.* September. The commissioners' answer to Kieft. $\frac{18}{28}$ Sept. 1644. March.

In the mean time, the red men were thirsting for blood; and a general war between the Indian and the European appeared to be at hand. The valley of the Connecticut again became the scene of strife; and Miantonomoh, burning to avenge upon Uncas the indignities which he had suffered at Boston, invaded the Mahican country, at the head of a thousand warriors. But the fate of war threw the Narragansett chief into the hands of his rival, who transferred his prisoner to the custody of the English at Hartford. The commissioners, meeting at Boston, agreed 1643. July. The Connecticut Indians in open war. August. September.

* Winthrop, ii., 129, 130, 140, 157; Hazard, ii., 11, 215, 216.

CHAP. XI. 1643. Murder of Miantonomoh.

that he ought to be put to death; and Uncas, receiving back Miantonomoh from his English jailer, conducted him to the borders of the Mahican territory, and executed their judgment upon a former ally.*

The spirit of war, at the same time, broke out among the upper tribes on the North River; and Pacham, the subtile chief of the Tankitekes near Haverstraw, visiting the Wappingers above the Highlands, urged them to a general massacre of the Dutch. A shallop coming down from Fort Orange with a cargo of four hundred beaver skins, was attacked and plundered, and one of the crew was killed. Two other open boats were presently seized; but, in attacking a fourth, the savages were repulsed, and lost six of their warriors. Nine of the Dutch colonists were killed, and a woman and two children taken prisoners. Others were slain by the savages, who approached their scattered dwellings under the guise of friendship Intelligence of the outbreak was quickly borne to Fort Amsterdam; and the news of "fifteen Dutch slain by the Indians, and much beaver taken," soon reached Boston.†

7 August. The Indians attack Dutch trading boats on the North River.

September. Kieft summons the commonalty again.

The appalling crisis compelled Kieft to summon the people again into council. The commonalty were convoked at Fort Amsterdam, and asked to elect "five or six persons from among themselves," to consider the propositions which the director might submit. The people met; but remembering Kieft's cavalier treatment of the "Twelve Men" in the previous year, they "considered it wise" to leave the responsibility of selection to the director and council, provided the right should be reserved to themselves to reject the persons "against whom there might be any thing to object, and who are not pleasing to us." The scruples of the commonalty, however, were overcome; and again imitating the example of the Fatherland, the people elected "Eight Men" from among themselves, "maturely to consider" the propositions of

"Eight Men" chosen.

* Winthrop, ii., 130, and Savage's note, on page 132; Hazard, ii., 7–13; Col. Rec. Conn., 94; Trumbull, i., 129–134; Bancroft, i., 424; Hildreth, i., 292, 293.

† Alb. Rec., iii., 143; Hol. Doc., iii., 114; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 12; Winthrop, ii., 130.

the director. This second board of popular representatives in New Netherland consisted of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Dam, Barent Dircksen, Abraham Pietersen, Isaac Allerton, Thomas Hall, Gerrit Wolfertsen, and Cornelis Melyn.*

15 Sept. Assembly of the Eight Men.

Two days after their election, the Eight Men met, at Kieft's summons, "to consider the critical circumstances of the country." Before attending to any other business, they resolved to exclude from their board Jan Jansen Dam, one of the signers of the letter to Kieft, which was the immediate cause of the massacres at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook. In vain Dam protested, and charged the director with deceit in procuring his signature. The obnoxious representative was inexorably expelled; and Jan Evertsen Bout, of Pavonia, was selected by the remaining seven to fill his vacant seat. The Eight Men, having thus purged their board, resolved that hostilities should be immediately renewed against the river Indians; but that peace should be preserved with the Long Island tribes, who were to be encouraged to bring in "some heads of the murderers." As large a military force as the freemen could afford to pay, was to be promptly enlisted and equipped. Several "good and fitting articles" were also ordained by the Eight Men, "forbidding all taverning, and all other irregularities." A week's preaching was prescribed instead; but the praiseworthy order "was not carried into execution by the officer."†

Warlike measures authorized.

Kieft did not delay the warlike preparations which the Eight Men had authorized. The colonists and the servants of the company were armed and drilled; and as the English inhabitants were now threatening to leave New Netherland, they were taken into the public service; the commonalty agreeing to provide for one third of their pay.

English residents enrolled.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 141, 144; O'Call., i., 284. Kuyter and Dam had been members of the previous board of Twelve Men; *ante*, p. 317. Cornelis Melyn was the patroon of Staten Island. Thomas Hall was the deserter from Holmes's party on the South River in 1635. Isaac Allerton came to New Plymouth in the Mayflower, and, about the year 1638, removed to Manhattan, where he continued to have large transactions as a merchant.—Alb. Rec., i., 70, 71; ii., 42, 54, 131; Savage's note to Winthrop, i., 25; ii., 96, 210.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 231; Hol. Doc., iii., 145, 215; v., 323; O'Call., i., 285, 286.

CHAP. XI. 1643. 29 Sept.

Fifty Englishmen were promptly enrolled; all of whom swore to be faithful to the States General, the Prince of Orange, the West India Company, and the director and council of New Netherland, and to "sacrifice their lives in their and the country's service." The command of this force was intrusted to Captain John Underhill, one of the heroes in the Pequod war; who, having undergone the severe discipline of the Boston Church, had established himself at Stamford, a little east of Captain Patrick's settlement at Greenwich, and now offered to the Dutch the benefit of his veteran skill.*

Captain Underhill taken into the Dutch service.

The Weckquaesgeeks destroy Anne Hutchinson's settlement. September.

But before Kieft could complete his military arrangements, the Weckquaesgeeks dug up the hatchet which they had buried, eighteen months before, on the shores of Bronx River. Approaching "in way of friendly neighborhood, as they had been accustomed," the widowed Anne Hutchinson's blameless retreat at "Annie's Hoeck," they watched their opportunity, and murdered that extraordinary woman, her daughter, and Collins, her son-in-law, and all her family, save one grand-daughter, eight years old, whom they carried off into captivity. The houses and cattle were ruthlessly destroyed.† From Annie's Hoeck, the devastating party proceeded downward to "Vredeland," and attacked Throgmorton's peaceful settlement. Such of Throgmorton's and Cornell's families as were at home were killed, and the cattle, and barns, and houses were all burned up. A happy accident bringing a boat there at the very moment of the tragedy, some women

Throgmorton's settlement attacked

* Alb. Rec., ii., 233; Hol. Doc., ii., 377; iii., 121; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 13; O'Call., i., 286, 420; Winthrop, ii., 14, 63, 97. Winthrop, however, erroneously represents—and Trumbull (i., 139) copies the error—that the Dutch people were so offended with Kieft, that he "durst not trust himself among them, but entertained a guard of fifty English about his person." The people were, no doubt, offended enough; and, for that reason, it is not probable that they would have agreed to pay part of the expense of an English body-guard for the director.

† Winthrop, ii., 136; Gorton's Defense, in ii., R. I. H. S. Coll., 58, 59; Alb. Rec., ii., 315; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 276; Bolton's West Chester, i., 515. Welde, in his "Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians," thus records the destruction of their leader. "The Indians set upon them, and slew her and all her family, her daughter and her daughter's husband, and all their children, save one that escaped (her own husband being dead before). * * * God's hand is the more apparently seen herein, to pick out this woeful woman, to make her, and those belonging to her, an unheard-of heavy example of their cruelty above others."

and children fled on board; and thus the settlement was saved from utter extermination. Nevertheless, eighteen victims of the red man's indiscriminating fury lost their lives in West Chester.*

The vengeance which desolated West Chester did not spare Long Island. Lady Deborah Moody, who had been "dealt with" by the Church at Salem for "the error of denying baptism to infants," having fled for refuge, with many others "infected with Anabaptism," into New Netherland, had established herself, by Kieft's special permission, at 's Gravensande, or Gravesend, on Long Island. But she had scarcely become settled in her retreat before her plantation was attacked by the savages. A brave defense was, nevertheless, made by forty resolute colonists; the fierce besiegers were repulsed; and Gravesend escaped the fate which overwhelmed all the neighboring settlements on Long Island.†

Lady Moody's brave defense.

June.

September.

Doughty's settlement at Mespath, or Newtown, did not fare so well. During the first year, he had re-enforced himself with several new families of colonists. More than eighty persons were soon settled in Mespath, and an air of prosperity prevailed. Doughty himself, who had "scarcely means enough of his own to build even a hovel, let alone to people a colony at his own expense," was employed as minister; and his associates prepared for him a farm, upon the profits of which he lived, while he discharged, in return, the clerical duties of his station. But the savages attacking the settlement, the colonists were driven from their lands, "with the loss of some men and many cattle, besides almost all their houses, and what other property they had." They afterward returned, and remained awhile; but finding that they consumed more than they could raise, they fled for refuge to Manhattan.

Doughty's settlement at Mespath destroyed.

The colonists seek refuge at Manhattan.

* Winthrop, ii., 136; Bolton's West Chester, i., 514.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 135; Alb. Rec., xx., 7; Winthrop, ii., 124, 136; Thompson's L. I., ii., 169–173. Gravesend was not named, as many suppose, after the well-known English port on the Thames; but Kieft himself gave it the name of the ancient city, 's Gravensande—"the Count's Sand"—on the northern banks of the Maas, opposite the Brielle, where the Counts of Holland resided before they established themselves at the Hague in the year 1250.

CHAP. XI. 1643. Here Doughty officiated as minister for the English residents; but they not supporting him, two collections were taken up for his benefit, to which both Dutch and English residents contributed.*

The war-whoop, which rang through West Chester and Long Island, was re-echoed through New Jersey. The grumbling Hackinsacks, unappeased by a sufficient atonement, soon fulfilled their sachem's foreboding words. A sudden night attack was made on Van der Horst's colony at "Achter Cul." The house was set on fire; and the small garrison, "five soldiers, five boys, and one man," after a determined resistance, barely escaped in a canoe, with nothing but their arms. The plantation was utterly ruined. The Nevesincks below the Raritan were aroused. Aert Theunisen, of Hoboken, while trading at the Beeregat—now known as Shrewsbury Inlet, just south of Sandy Hook—was attacked and killed by the savages. The yacht had scarcely returned to Manhattan with the tidings, before a nearer calamity appalled the Dutch. Nine Indians, coming to Pavonia with friendly demonstrations, approached the house of Jacob Stoffelsen, which was guarded by a detachment of three or four soldiers. Stoffelsen, who had married the widow of Van Voorst, Pauw's former superintendent, was a favorite with the savages, who, making up a "false errand," succeeded in sending him across the river to Fort Amsterdam. As soon as Stoffelsen was safely out of the way, they approached the soldiers under a show of friendship. These, incautiously laying aside their arms, were all murdered. Not a soul escaped alive, except the little son of Van Voorst, whom the savages carried off a prisoner to Tappan, after burning all the bouweries, and houses, and cattle, and corn at Pavonia. At Kieft's earnest entreaty, De Vries, the only person who "durst go among the Indians," went up the river, and procured the release of the captive.†

Hackinsack attacked. 17 Sept.

The Nevesincks aroused.

1 October.

Pavonia surprised.

* Breeden Raedt, 25; Hol. Doc., iv., 71; v., 360; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 301, 333.

† Alb. Rec., iii., 153; Hol. Doc., iv., 247; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 302; Benson's Memoir, 92; De Vries, 183.

1643.

Thus the war began anew. West Chester was already laid waste, and Long Island almost "destitute of inhabitants and stock." From the Highlands of Nevesinck to the valley of Tappan, the whole of New Jersey was once more in possession of its aboriginal lords. Staten Island, where Melyn had established himself, was hourly expecting an assault. The devastating tide rolled over the island of Manhattan itself. From its northern extremity to the Kolck, there were now no more than five or six bouweries left; and these "were threatened by the Indians every night with fire, and by day with the slaughter of both people and cattle." No other place remained, where the trembling population could find protection, than "around and adjoining Fort Amsterdam." There women and children lay "concealed in straw huts," while their husbands and fathers mounted guard on the crumbling ramparts above. For the fort itself was almost defenseless; it resembled "rather a mole-hill than a fortress against an enemy." The cattle which had escaped destruction were huddled within the walls, and were already beginning to starve for want of forage. It was indispensable to maintain a constant guard at all hours; for seven allied tribes, "well supplied with muskets, powder, and ball," which they had procured from private traders, boldly threatened to attack the dilapidated citadel, "with all their strength, now amounting to fifteen hundred men." So confident had the enemy become, that their scouting parties constantly threatened the advanced sentinels of the garrison; and Ensign Van Dyck, while relieving guard at one of the outposts, was wounded by a musket-ball in his arm. All the forces that the Dutch could now muster, besides the fifty or sixty soldiers in garrison, and the enrolled English, were "about two hundred freemen." With this handful of men was New Netherland to be defended against the "implacable fury" of her savage foe.*

War recommenced.

5 October.

"Fear coming more over the land," the Eight Men were again convoked. There were two of the company's

The Eight Men again convoked.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 134–140; Alb. Rec., ii., 238; Winthrop, ii., 136.

CHAP. XI. 1643.

ships at anchor before the fort, which had just been loaded with provisions for Curaçoa. The Eight Men proposed that the cargoes of these ships should be relanded, and a part of their crews drafted into the service of the province. They also recommended an application to their English neighbors at the north, for the assistance of one hundred and fifty men. For the payment of these auxiliaries, the director was advised to draw a bill of exchange on the West India Company for twenty-five thousand guilders, and, as a security for its payment, to mortgage New Netherland to the English.*

6 October. Recommendations of the Eight Men.

Kieft refuses to stop the Curaçoa ships.

But Kieft did not "consider expedient" the suggestion to divert supplies from the West Indies; and while famine and an overwhelming enemy were desolating the precincts of Fort Amsterdam, the starving population watched the departing vessels, as they bore to Curaçoa the wheat which they had raised, and for which they were now pining. The recommendation to apply to New England for assistance, was, however, promptly adopted; and Underhill and Allerton were dispatched to negotiate with New Haven. But their mission utterly failed. Eaton and the General Court, after maturely considering Kieft's letter, rejected the proposal to assist New Netherland with an auxiliary force. They were prohibited, by their Articles of Confederation, from engaging separately in war; and they were not satisfied "that the Dutch war with the Indians was just." Nevertheless, if the Dutch needed corn and provisions, the court resolved to give them all the assistance in its power.†

Sends to New Haven for assistance.

Refusal of New Haven.

At this conjuncture, the suffering province lost one of its best citizens. The bouweries where De Vries had attempted to establish colonies all lay in ashes, and the Indians, whose confidence he had never lost, were "restless, and bent on war, or a full satisfaction." The ruined patroon determined to return to the Fatherland. A Rotterdam Herring-buss, whose master, disappointed in selling

De Vries leaves New Netherland.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 116, 117; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 13, 14, 22.

† Alb. Rec., iii., 159; Trumbull, i., 139; iii., Mass. Hist. Coll., vii., 244.

his cargo of Madeira wine in New England, "because the English there lived soberly," coming through Hell-gate to seek a market in Virginia, anchored before Fort Amsterdam. De Vries, accepting the schipper's invitation to pilot his vessel to Virginia, called on Kieft to take his leave. For the last time the director listened to the voice which had so often warned him in vain. "The murders in which you have shed so much innocent blood will yet be avenged upon your own head," was De Vries's awful prophecy, as he parted from Kieft, and left Manhattan forever.*

CHAP. XI. 1643. 28 Sept. 8 October.

Meeting of the Eight Men.

The Eight Men soon met again. Cornelis Melyn, the patroon of Staten Island, was their president. The utter ruin which now menaced the province, and the cold repulse which his application for aid had met at New Haven, if they did not entirely overcome Kieft's jealousy of the popular representatives, at least prevented him from interfering with their purpose of communicating directly with their common superiors in Holland. The people of New Netherland had never yet spoken to the authorities of the Fatherland. The time had now come when their voice was, for the first, to be heard at Amsterdam and at the Hague. A letter signed by all the Eight Men, was addressed to the College of the XIX. In simple and pathetic words the representatives of the commonalty told their tale of woe. How "the fire of war" had been kindled around them, their wives and children slaughtered or swept away captives, their cattle destroyed, their estates wasted. How famine stared them in the face; for, "while the people are ruined, the corn and all other produce burnt, and little or nothing saved, not a plough can be put, this autumn, into the ground." "If any provisions should be obtained from the English at the East, we know not wherewith we poor men shall pay for them." "This is but the beginning of our troubles, especially as these Indians kill off our people one after another, which they will continue to do, while we are burthened with our muskets, our wives, and our little ones."†

24 October. Address a letter to the West India Company.

* De Vries, 183.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 134–140; Breeden Raedt, 18.

CHAP. XI.

1643.

3 Nov. Letter to the States General.

To the States General the Eight Men addressed a still more bold remonstrance; for they were speaking to the statesmen of their Fatherland. "We are all here, from the smallest to the greatest, without counsel or means; wholly powerless. The enemy meets with no resistance. The garrison consists of but fifty or sixty soldiers, without ammunition. Fort Amsterdam, utterly defenseless, stands open to the enemy day and night. The company has few or no effects here, as the director informs us. Were it not for this, there might still have been time to receive some assistance from the English at the East, ere all were lost; but we, helpless inhabitants, while we must abandon all our property, are exceedingly poor. The heathens are strong in might. They have formed an alliance with seven other nations; and are well provided with guns, powder, and ball, in exchange for beaver, by the private traders, who for a long time have had free course here. The rest they take from our brethren whom they murder. In short, we suffer the greatest misery, which must astonish a Christian heart to see or hear."

"We turn then, in a body, to you, High and Mighty Lords, acknowledging your High Mightinesses as our sovereigns, and as the Fathers of Fatherland. We supplicate, for God's sake, and for the love which their High Mightinesses bear toward their poor and desolate subjects here in New Netherland, that their High Mightinesses would take pity on us, their poor people, and urge upon, and command the Company—to whom we also make known our necessities—to forward to us, by the earliest opportunity, such assistance as their High Mightinesses may deem most proper, in order that we, poor and forlorn beings, may not be left all at once a prey, with women and children, to these cruel heathen. For, should suitable assistance not very quickly arrive, according to our expectations, we shall be forced, in order to preserve the lives of those who remain, to remove ourselves to the East, among the English, who would like nothing better than to have possession of this place; especially on account of

the superior convenience of the sea-coast, bays, and large rivers, besides the great fertility of this soil—yea, this alone could, yearly, provision and supply with all necessaries twenty, twenty-five, or thirty ships from Brazil or the West Indies."*

The same vessel that bore these dispatches conveyed a distinguished passenger. Van Curler's benevolent visit to the Mohawk castles in the previous autumn, though it failed to procure the release of the French captives, at least prolonged the life of Father Jogues. Through the dreary winter, the solitary Jesuit endured hunger and cold, and the bitter contempt of the savages, who reviled his holy zeal. Gradually they began to listen to his words, and receive instruction and baptism. His liberty was enlarged; and twice he was taken, with the trading parties of the Iroquois, to the neighboring settlements of the Dutch, who welcomed him kindly, and "left no stone unturned" to effect his deliverance. While at Fort Orange on one occasion, news came that the French had repulsed the Mohawks at Fort Richelieu; and the Dutch commander, fearing that the Jesuit Father would be burned in revenge, counseled him to escape. Jogues at length consented; and, evading the vigilance of the savages, remained in close concealment for six weeks, during which Domine Megapolensis, who had become his attached friend, showed him constant kindness. The wrath of the Mohawks at the escape of their prisoner was at length appeased by presents, to the value of three hundred livres, made up by the colonial authorities; and Jogues was sent down the river to Manhattan, where he was hospitably received by the director.

Father Jogues among the Mohawks.

31 July. Escapes at Fort Orange.

15 Sept. Visits Manhattan.

Here he remained for a month, observing the capital of the Dutch province, now desolated by war. Fort Amsterdam was without ditches, and its ramparts of earth had crumbled away; but they "were beginning to face the gates and bastions with stone." On the island of Manhattan, and in its environs, were some four or five hund-

October. Condition of the Dutch capital.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 323–328; O'Call., i., 289–294.

CHAP. XI. red men "of different sects and nations," speaking "eighteen different languages." The mechanics who plied their trades were ranged under the walls of the fort; all others were exposed to the incursions of the savages. No religion, except the Calvinistic, was publicly exercised, and the orders were to admit none but Calvinists; "but this is not observed; for there are in the colony, besides the Calvinists, Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Mennonists," &c. The heart of the missionary was grieved at the sufferings of the Dutch, whose losses by the Indians were already estimated at two hundred thousand livres. At length the bark, in which Kieft gave him a free passage to Europe, was ready to sail; and the Jesuit Father, supplied with "black clothes, and all things necessary," gratefully took leave of the Hollanders, who had shown him so much kindness.*

1643.

Languages and Religions.

Jogues sails for Europe.

5 Nov.

Fort Orange.

Beverswyck.

First church at Beverswyck.

At this time, the West India Company's reserved Fort Orange was "a wretched little fort, built of logs, with four or five pieces of cannon of Breteuil, and as many swivels." Around it was the hamlet of Beverswyck, "composed of about one hundred persons, who resided in some twenty-five or thirty houses built along the river, as each one found it most convenient." These houses were built of boards, and thatched; there was no mason-work, except in the chimneys. In the principal house lived the patroon's chief officer; "the minister had his apart, in which service was performed." A church, however, was now commenced, under the supervision of Domine Megapolensis, in "the pine grove," a little to the west of the patroon's trading house, and within range of the guns of Fort Orange. A burial-ground was also laid out in the rear, on what is now known as "Church Street." This first church in Albany—the humble dimensions of which were only thirty-four feet long and nineteen feet wide—was thought sufficient to accommodate the people for sev-

* Relation, 1640-1, 50, 211; 1642-3, 284; 1647, 56, 111-117; Jogues's letters of the 5th and 30th of August, 1643, 6th of January, 1644, 3d of August 1646; Tanner, 510-531; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii.; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 21-24; Charlevoix, i., 250; *ante*, p. 346.

eral years; it could afterward "serve for the residence of the sexton, or for a school." A canopied pulpit, pews for the magistracy and the deacons, and nine benches for the people, after the fashion of the Fatherland, were soon afterward furnished, at an expense of eighty guilders.* CHAP. XI. 1643.

The pious services of Domine Megapolensis were not, however, confined to his own countrymen. Like his friend, Father Jogues, he applied himself to the difficult task of learning the "heavy language" of the Mohawks, "so as to speak and preach to them fluently." The Dutch traders did not themselves understand the idiom of the savages; and even the commissary of the company, who had been "connected with them these twenty years," could afford Megapolensis no assistance in becoming "an Indian grammarian." The red men about Fort Orange were soon attracted to hear the preaching of the Gospel. And it should be remembered that these earnest and voluntary labors of the first Dutch clergyman on the northern frontier of New Netherland, preceded, by several years, the earliest attempt of John Eliot, the "morning star of missionary enterprise" in New England, to preach to the savages in the neighborhood of Boston.† "When we have a sermon," wrote Megapolensis, "sometimes ten or twelve of them, more or less, will attend, each having in his mouth a long tobacco-pipe made by himself, and will stand awhile and look, and afterward ask me what I was doing, and what I wanted, that I stood there alone, and made so many words, and none of the rest might speak? I tell them that I admonished the Christians that they must not steal, nor drink, nor commit lewdness and murder; and that they too ought not to do these things; and that I intend after awhile to come and preach to them, in their country and castles, when I am acquainted with their language. They say, I do well in teaching the Christians; but immediate- Missionary zeal of Megapolensis.

* Jogues's letter of the 3d of August, 1646; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 23; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 331, 459. This humble building in "the pine grove," near Church Street, accommodated the congregation until the year 1656, when a new church was erected at the intersection of State and North Market Streets; *post*, p. 624.

† Winthrop, ii., 297, 303–305; Bancroft, ii., 72, 94; Young's Ch. Mass., 258, note.

CHAP. XI. 1643.

ly add, Why do so many Christians do these things? They call us *Assyreoni*, that is, cloth-makers; or *Caristooni*, that is, iron-workers, because our people first brought cloth and iron among them."*

The effects of the war, which was desolating the neighborhood of Fort Amsterdam, soon began to be felt at Fort Orange. The West India Company's magazine was no longer supplied with merchandise; and the warehouse of the colonie of Rensselaerswyck was now the only resource of the fur-traders who might obtain licenses from the patroon. In this respect, his mercantile policy was exclusive, and was rigidly enforced within the colonie. Most of the colonists, however, were in the habit of procuring the patroon's licenses; and, as early as 1640, De Vries observed that "each farmer was a trader." Throughout the war which was desolating southern New Netherland, the colonists at Rensselaerswyck felt little trouble, and enjoyed peace, "because they continued to sell fire-arms and powder to the Indians." This conduct was openly rebuked by the directors of the West India Company; and it was afterward the subject of complaint on the part of the authorities of New England.†

The patroon's close mercantile policy.

The colonists readily obtained goods on credit from the warehouse, to which they were obliged to bring their purchases of furs. These were shipped to Holland, and sold at Amsterdam, under the patroon's supervision. His share, at first one half, was before long reduced to a sixth, together with the recognition of one guilder on each skin of the remainder. Under this system, the price of a beaver skin, which, before 1642, was six fathoms of wampum, soon rose to ten fathoms. It was now thought necessary that the colonial authorities should make some regulations

* "A Short Account of the Maquaas Indians, &c., written in the year 1644. By John Megapolensis, junior, minister there." This tract was first published in Dutch, at Amsterdam, by Joost Hartgers, in 1651; see *ante*, p. 306, note. It is said to have been a familiar letter to his friends in Holland, and which Megapolensis himself told Van der Donck was "printed without his consent." A translation, revised from that in Hazard, i., 517–526, will be published in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii.

† De Vries, 152, 158; Hol. Doc., ii., 373; Report and Advice, in O'Call., i., 420, App.; Winthrop, ii., 84, 157; Hazard, ii., 19, 103, 217.

respecting this trade. The company's commissary at Fort Orange, in conjunction with Van Curler, the commissary of the patroon, accordingly issued a joint proclamation, fixing the price of a beaver skin at nine fathoms of white wampum, and forbidding all persons, "on pain of confiscation," to "go into the bush to trade." It was also directed that "no residents should presume to come with their boats within the limits of the colonie;" and a further proclamation declared that "no inhabitants of the colonie should presume to buy any goods from the residents." Van der Donck, "the officer" of Rensselaerswyck, was at the same time required to see these regulations strictly enforced.

Illicit trading prohibited.

But the schout-fiscal, afraid of risking his popularity, would not enforce the new ordinances. A sloop arriving a few days afterward with some goods, the colonists, in spite of the proclamations, purchased what they pleased; and Commissary Van Curler and Domine Megapolensis, sending for Van der Donck, directed him to search the houses of the colonists for secreted goods. But the schout "gossipped, without once making a search." He was not disposed to "make himself suspected by the colonists, as his years as officer were few." Van Curler soon became unpopular. Van der Donck fomented the discontent; and a protest against the obnoxious commissary was subscribed in a circle, "so that it should not be known who had first signed it." Some of the colonists were for driving him out of the colony as a rogue; others wished to take his life.*

Van der Donck's faithless conduct.

By degrees, however, Van Curler's popularity returned; and Van der Donck, finding his residence becoming disagreeable, determined to leave Rensselaerswyck. He therefore went down the river to look at Katskill; and made arrangements to return to Holland, and seek for partners "to plant a colonie there." But the patroon, learning Van der Donck's intention, resolved to forestall "his sworn officer," who had "dishonestly designed" to purchase the lands "lying under the shadow of his colo-

Van der Donck resolves to form a new colonie.

* Renss. MSS.; Van Curler's letter, in O'Call., i., 461, 462.

CHAP. XI. nie;" and determined to enlarge his own domain, so as to include all the territory "from Rensselaer's Stein down to Katskill." Instructions were, therefore, sent to Van Curler to stop the schout's proceedings, and, in case he had already acquired a title from the Indians, to constrain him to surrender it to the patroon. If he should prove obstinate, he was to be deprived of his office, which was to be conferred, provisionally, upon Nicholas Koorn. The stringent orders of his feudal chief arrested Van der Donck's design, and his proposed settlement at Katskill was abandoned.*

1643. 10 Sept.

The Swedish government, in the mean time, had taken measures to place their colony at the South River on a permanent footing. In the summer of 1642, the queen appointed John Printz, a lieutenant of cavalry, to be "Governor of New Sweden," which was declared to be under the royal protection. The territory was defined as extending "from the borders of the sea to Cape Hinlopen, in returning southwest toward Godyn's Bay, and thence toward the great South River as far as Minqua's Kill, where is constructed Fort Christina, and from thence again toward South River, and the whole to a place which the savages call Sankikan,† which is at the same time the place where are the limits of New Sweden." Of these frontiers, Printz was instructed "to take care;" yet, if possible, to maintain amity and good neighborhood with the Dutch at Fort Nassau, "now occupied by about twenty men," as well as with "those established higher up the North River at Manhattan, or New Amsterdam, and likewise with the English, who inhabit Virginia, especially because the latter have already begun to procure for the Swedes all sorts of necessary provisions, and at reasonable prices, both for cattle and grain." Toward the colonists under Joost de Bogaerdt good-will was to be shown. Printz might choose his own residence where he should

1642. 16 August.

John Printz appointed Swedish governor.

* Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 332, 338, 339, 462.

† The falls at Trenton, in New Jersey, sometimes written Santickan; *ante*, p. 282; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 409; ii., 283.

find it most convenient; but he was to pay particular attention that the South River "may be shut," or commanded by any fortress which he might erect. The trade in peltries with the Indians was not to be permitted to any persons whomsoever, except to the agents of the Swedish Company. Detailed instructions were also given for the internal government of the colony; and Divine service was enjoined, "according to the true Confession of Augsburg, the Council of Upsal, and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church." The Dutch settlers, however, were not to be disturbed "with regard to the exercise of the Reformed religion." The governor's appointment was for three years, at an annual salary of twelve hundred silver dollars, commencing on the first of January, 1643. The Swedish government furnished officers and soldiers, and passed an ordinance assigning upward of two millions of rix dollars, to be collected annually from the excises on tobacco, for the support of the government of New Sweden.*

CHAP. XI. 1642. 30 August.

Under such auspices, Printz sailed from Gottenburg late in the autumn of 1642, with the ships "Fame" and "Stork," and accompanied by the Reverend John Campanius as chaplain. Early the next year, the expedition reached Fort Christina.† Desiring to control the trade of the river, and be as near as possible to the Dutch at Fort Nassau, Printz chose for his own residence an island on the west shore, then called by the Indians "Tenacong," now known as Tinicum, near Chester, about twelve miles below Philadelphia. Upon this island a "pretty strong" fort, named "New Gottenburg," was promptly constructed of heavy hemlock logs. A mansion called "Printz Hall" was built for the governor; orchards were planted; and the principal colonists took up their abode at Tinicum. Toward Fort Christina there were a few scattered farms; but between Tinicum and the Schuylkill there were no plantations.‡

1 Nov. 1643. 15 Feb. Printz arrives at Fort Christina. Building of Fort New Gottenburg.

* Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv.; Ibid., Ann. Penn., 63–69. † Campanius, 70.

‡ Acrelius; Hudde's Report; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 411, 429; Ferris, 62, 63; Hazard's Ann. Penn., 70. Reorus Torkillus, the clergyman who had accompanied Minuit to New Sweden in 1638, died at Fort Christina on the 7th of September, 1643, soon after the arrival of Printz.—Campanius, 107, 109.

CHAP. XI. 1643. Printz's conduct annoys the Dutch.

Printz now hoped to secure to himself all the Indian trade against the competition of the Dutch. Still more effectually to "shut up" the river, in the course of the following summer he erected another fort "with three angles," called "Elsingburg," upon the east shore of the bay near Salem Creek, from which the New Haven intruders had just before been expelled. The new fort was garrisoned by twelve men commanded by a lieutenant, and was armed with eight iron and brass twelve-pound guns. At this place all vessels coming up the river were compelled to lower their colors, and stop, until permission to proceed had been obtained from the governor at Tinicum.*

De Vries at the South River. 13 October.

The Swedish garrison had an early opportunity of displaying their vigilance. De Vries, on his way from Manhattan to Virginia, put into the South River; and, as the Rotterdam vessel passed by Fort Elsingburg, a gun was fired for her to strike her flag. Blanck, her schipper, asked De Vries his advice. "If it were my ship, I should not strike," was the reply; "for I am a patroon of New Netherland, and the Swedes are mere intruders within our river." But the schipper, wishing to trade, lowered his colors. A boat from the fort immediately visited the vessel, which sailed up to Tinicum the same afternoon. At Fort New Gottenburg, the Dutch were welcomed by the governor, who "was named Captain Printz, a man of brave size, who weighed over four hundred pounds." Learning that De Vries was the patroon of the first Dutch colonie at Swaanendael, Printz pledged him in "a great romer of Rhine wine;" and the Dutch vessel continued five days at the fort, trading confectionary and Madeira wine for beaver skins. After a short visit to Fort Nassau, where he found the West India Company's people in gar-
19 October. rison, De Vries accompanied the Swedish governor down the river to Fort Christina, where there were now several houses. Having spent the night with Printz, who "treat-
20 October. ed him well," De Vries bade farewell to his Swedish host,

* De Vries, 184, 185; Hudde's Report, 482; Hol. Doc., viii., 32, 50.

for whom he fired a parting salute, as the Dutch vessel sailed onward to Virginia.*

1643. Plowden's claim to New Albion.

Kieft's attention was soon afterward drawn to a new and unexpected claim to the ownership of a part of New Netherland. An English knight, Sir Edmund Plowden, calling himself Earl Palatine of New Albion, arrived at Manhattan from the South River, and boldly affirmed that all the land from the west side of the North River to Virginia was his, by gift of the King of England. Plowden's claim rested upon a patent issued at Dublin by the Viceroy of Ireland, to whom the knight addressed himself after Charles I. had refused him a charter under the Great Seal of England. By his Irish patent, Plowden was invested with the title and dignity of "Earl Palatine" of the Province of New Albion, which, under a vague and imperfect description, seems to have been meant to include most of the territory between Cape May, Sandy Hook, and the Delaware River, now forming the State of New Jersey. Under this worthless charter, issued by a Viceroy of Ireland, who had no authority to grant territorial rights in America, Plowden set sail for Delaware Bay; but, "wanting a pilot for that place," he went to Virginia. From there he visited the South River. But becoming "very much piqued" with the Swedish governor, John Printz, "on account of some affront given him, too long to relate," he proceeded northward to Manhattan. The pretensions of the titular Earl Palatine of New Albion were, however, entirely disregarded by Kieft. Plowden, nevertheless, warned the director that, "when an opportunity should offer," he would go to the South River and take possession; while, at the same time, he assured Kieft that he "did not wish to have any strife with the Dutch."

1634. 21 June.

1643.

* De Vries, Voyages, 184, 185. We must here take leave of the blunt mariner, whose original journal has been so pleasant a guide. De Vries was emphatically a man of the people; ever opposing arbitrary power; biased, perhaps, in some of his opinions and statements; but frank, honest, religious, and a sincere advocate of the true interests of New Netherland. After spending the winter in Virginia, De Vries sailed for Holland, where he arrived in June, 1644. He seems never to have revisited America. His unpretending and simply-written work was published at Alckmaer, in 1655, illustrated by a well-engraved portrait of the author, taken in 1653, when he was sixty years of age. See *ante*, p. 156, note.

CHAP. XI. 1643. The disappointed Earl Palatine presently returned to Virginia; and though he came to Manhattan several years afterward, and reasserted his claim to New Albion, no actual settlement under his insufficient title appears ever to have been made within the territory of New Netherland.*

George Lamberton arrested by Printz. July.

If the proceedings of Printz excited the animosity of the Dutch at Manhattan, his arbitrary conduct was not less annoying to the New England Puritans. Lamberton, notwithstanding the warning he had received the previous year, persisting in revisiting the Delaware in a New Haven pinnace, was induced, by the Swedish governor, to land at Fort New Gottenburg, where he was instantly imprisoned, with two of his men. Printz began to ply one of these men with strong drink and liberal promises, to influence him "to say, that George Lamberton had hired the Indians to cut off the Swedes." But the governor could not persuade his prisoner to perjure himself; and in his vexation, "he put irons upon him with his own hands." According to Winthrop's account, Printz was "a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing, and also reviling the English of New Haven as runagates,"† &c.

21 Sept. Action of the New England commissioners.

When Eaton's statement of this transaction reached Boston, the commissioners of the United Colonies instructed their president to write to Printz, "expressing the particulars, and requiring satisfaction" for the "foul injuries" offered to Lamberton and the New Haven people on the Delaware. A commission was also given to Lamberton, "to go treat with the Swedish governor about satisfaction for those injuries and damages, and to agree with him about settling their trade and plantation."‡ But

* Hol. Doc., iv., 71; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 279; Alb. Rec., iii., 224; xviii., 349; Hazard's State Papers, i., 160–174; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 36–38, 108–112; Winthrop, ii., 325. The subject of Plowden's claim to New Albion has been considered in C. King's Address, in Proc. N. J. H. S., i., 39–42; Pennington's "Examination of Beauchamp Plantagenet's Description of New Albion;" Mulford's New Jersey, 66–74; and in Mr. Murphy's very excellent note to the "Vertoogh van N. N.", in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 323–326.

† Winthrop, ii., 130, 140, 141; John Thickpenny's Deposition, in New Haven Col. Rec., i., 97–99; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 74–76. ‡ Hazard, ii., 11; Winthrop, ii., 140.

Printz, on his part, met the charges of the New Haven people with a positive denial. At the meeting of the General Court of Massachusetts in the following spring, the Swedish governor, to rebut the English version of the case, "sent copies of divers examinations upon oath taken in the cause, with a copy of all the proceeding between them and our friends of New Haven from the first;" and in his letters "used large expressions of respect" for the English. Governor Eaton, on behalf of New Haven, desiring a new commission "to go on with their plantation and trade in Delaware River and Bay," the court granted it, but "with a *salvo jure*."*

1644. 7 March.

Exploring expedition sent from Boston to the South River.

The Boston merchants now began to covet a participation in the fur trade on the Delaware. It was imagined in Massachusetts, that the chief supply of beavers came from a "great lake, supposing it to lie in the northwest part" of their patent; and this lake, which they named "Lake Lyconnia," it was now thought should be "discovered." A well-manned pinnace, laden with provisions and merchandise, was therefore dispatched from Boston, with a commission under the public seal, and letters from Winthrop to the Dutch and Swedish governors. The exploring party were instructed "to sail up the Delaware River so high as they could go; and then some of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aspenwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass, by small skiffs or canoes, up the river so far as they could."†

March.

* Winthrop, ii., 157. The commissioners, in a letter to Stuyvesant, of the 16th of September, 1650, and again, in their Declaration of Grievances of April, 1653, charge Jansen, the Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau, with combining with Printz in his proceedings against Lamberton, in 1643, and with sitting "as one of the judges in court with the Swedish governor."—Hazard, ii., 164, 214. Trumbull repeats the story with some embellishments, and erroneously refers it to the year 1642.—Trumbull, i., 122. But the deposition of Thickpenny, quoted above, says not a word about Jansen's complicity; and Winthrop's contemporary account (ii., 140, 141), while it alludes to the Dutch agent's proceedings at the Varkens' Kill, in 1642, refers all the "foul injuries" offered to Lamberton to "the Swedish governor" alone.

† Winthrop, ii., 160, 161. This exploring expedition shows the ignorance of the geography of the interior of New Netherland, which so long prevailed among the Dutch and the English. On Van der Donck's map, which was published in 1656, a lake is laid down, somewhere about what is now known as the Delaware Water-gap, through which the river is represented as flowing. The French, in Canada, knew more about the beautiful lakes of New Netherland than did either the Dutch or the English.

CHAP. XI. 1644. Failure of the expedition.

But the expedition failed. Kieft protested against their proceeding, and sent orders to Jansen, at Fort Nassau, "not to let them pass." The pinnace arrived at Fort Elsingburg "on the Lord's day," and the Swedes, firing a shot, forced her to anchor lower down. Eventually, the English vessel was suffered to pass; but both Printz and Jansen forbade the adventurers to trade with the Indians, "and for that end each of them had appointed a pinnace to wait upon" the Boston craft. Her master, however, "proved such a drunken sot, and so complied with the Dutch and Swedes," that the adventurers, fearing that if they should leave their vessel to go up to the lake in a small boat, "he would, in his drunkenness, have betrayed their goods to the Dutch," gave up their expedition, and

20 July. returned to Boston. The owners of the pinnace, on their arrival home, recovered two hundred pounds damages from the master, "which was too much, though he did deal badly with them, for it is very probable they could not have proceeded." Yet this verdict did not prevent the commissioners of the United Colonies, several years afterward, from disingenuously alleging the conduct of the Dutch authorities as the cause of the failure of the expedition.*

October. The following autumn another bark "was set out from Boston, to trade at Delaware." After wintering in the bay, she went over to the "Maryland side" in the spring, where in three weeks "a good parcel" of five hundred

Another Boston expedition ruined by the savages. beaver skins was procured. As the bark was about leaving, fifteen Indians came aboard, "as if they would trade again," and suddenly drawing forth "hatchets from under their coats," killed the master and three others, and rifled the vessel of all her goods and sails, taking prisoners a boy and "one Redman," the interpreter, who was suspected of having betrayed his countrymen. Printz, hearing of the outrage, which seems to have been perpetrated in the neighborhood of De Vries's unfortunate colony at Swaanendael, procured the delivery of the prison-

* Winthrop, ii., 161, 179, 187; Hazard, ii., 214.

ers to him at Fort New Gottenburg. From there they were sent by way of New Haven to Boston, where Redman was tried for his life, and found guilty.* 1644.

The Dutch and the Swedes oppose English interference on the South River.

The pertinacious interference of the New England colonists with the trade on the Delaware was as grievous an annoyance to Printz as to Kieft. The Dutch, as the first explorers and possessors of the South River, unwillingly saw their monopoly invaded by the Swedes; but when the English attempted to divide with them the prize, the Swedes were found acting in concert with the Dutch to repel the new intrusion. In Holland, the question of sovereignty was suddenly raised by the arrival of two Swedish ships, "The Key of Calmar" and the "Fame," which Printz had dispatched home with large cargoes of beaver and tobacco. Stress of weather, and perhaps apprehension, owing to the war which had just broken out between Sweden and Denmark, induced the masters of these vessels to run into the port of Harlingen, in Friesland. Here the ships were seized by order of the West India Company, who, claiming sovereignty over all the regions around the South River of New Netherland, exacted the impost duties and additional recognitions, to which their charter entitled them. Against these exactions Speringh, the Swedish minister at the Hague, instantly protested to the States General. A long correspondence ensued, which resulted in the discharge of the ships, the next summer, upon payment of the impost duties alone. The company's additional recognition of eight per cent. was waived; and the question of the right of sovereignty was left unsettled.†

October.

Question of sovereignty raised in Holland.

6 October.

8 October.

1643.

3 Nov. Kieft's warlike preparations.

12 Nov.

In the mean time, Kieft, disappointed in obtaining assistance from his English neighbors, had been forced to draw a bill of exchange on the directors of the West India Company, in favor of some merchants of Amsterdam. Strict discipline was enjoined upon the heterogeneous forces which were now mustered at Manhattan; and Van

* Winthrop, ii., 203, 204, 236, 237.

† Hol. Doc., ii., 340, 342, 350; iii., 1, 3, 13; Alb. Rec., xvii., 321.

CHAP. XI. 1643.

der Huygens, the schout-fiscal, was commanded to execute his duties without fear or favor, and to repress, with all the force of the province, the irregularities which a state of war necessarily produced. The refusal of New Haven left New Netherland to her own resources, and the spirit of the people rose with the occasion. It was now determined that offensive measures should be taken against the savages. Counselor La Montagne was accordingly dispatched to Staten Island with a force of three companies, forty Dutch burghers under Captain Kuyter, thirty-five English colonists under Lieutenant Baxter, and several regular soldiers under Sergeant Cock. Crossing over from Manhattan in the evening, the expedition spent the whole night in scouring the island. The Indians kept out of the way; but five or six hundred scheples of corn were secured, and brought back to Fort Amsterdam.*

December.

Expedition sent to Staten Island.

The Connecticut Indians in the vicinity of Stamford had now become still more hostile, and Mayano, a fierce chief, who lived a little to the east of Greenwich, boldly attacked a party of "three Christians," whom he accidentally met returning home. One of the party was killed; but the other two overpowered the savage and cut off his head, which Captain Patrick immediately sent to Fort Amsterdam, with an account of what the colonists at Greenwich had already suffered from the chief and his tribe. When Patrick and his friends submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of New Netherland, the year before, it was upon condition of being "protected against their enemies as much as possible." Good faith now required that this condition should be fulfilled; and Kieft instantly sent the forces which had just returned from Staten Island, to the assistance of the loyal English. Leaving Manhattan in the morning, in three yachts, the expedition reached Greenwich in the evening. All the next night was spent in marching through the country in search of the enemy. But none was found; and the wearied detachment reached Stamford in no good humor.

Indian hostilities near Greenwich.

Expedition sent from Manhattan to assist the English settlers.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 212, 236, 250; iii., 169; Hol. Doc., iii., 117; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 14.

1644.

One of the Dutch soldiers meeting Patrick at Captain Underhill's house on Sunday, "in the time of afternoon exercise—for he seldom went to the public assemblies"—charged him with treachery, in causing one hundred and twenty men to come from Fort Amsterdam on a fool's errand. Patrick resented the nettled soldier's charge with "ill language," and spit in his face. As he was turning to go out, the Dutchman "shot him behind in the head, so he fell down dead, and never spake." The murderer was seized, but he escaped from custody.*

2 January. Captain Patrick murdered.

The expedition, however, was not entirely unsuccessful. Four of the Stamford people volunteered to find out the retreat of the savages; and, upon their intelligence, some twenty-five picked men of the detachment surprised a small Indian village, where they killed eighteen or twenty warriors, and took an old man, two women, and several children prisoners. To win favor, the captured old man offered to lead the Dutch against the Weckquaesgeeks, who were reported to be intrenched in three castles; and Baxter and Cock, with a detachment of sixty-five men, were sent to West Chester. The expedition found the castles strongly constructed and well adapted for defense, built of thick timbers nine feet high, bound with heavy beams, and pierced with loop-holes. In one of these castles, thirty Indians might defend themselves against two hundred Europeans. But all the savages were gone, and their fortresses deserted. Two of these were burned by the Dutch, who reserved the third as a retreat in case of emergency; and the expedition, after marching some forty miles further, killing one or two Indians, and destroying all the corn and wigwams they found, returned to Fort Amsterdam with a few women and children as prisoners.†

Expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks.

The accounts which Underhill had communicated to his townsmen at Stamford of the local advantages of New Netherland, and the personal knowledge which John Ogden had gained at Manhattan, had meanwhile induced

English from Stamford colonize Heemstede, on Long Island.

* Winthrop, ii., 151; Hol. Doc., iii., 118; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 14; *ante*, p. 331.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 119, 120; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 15.

CHAP. XI. 1644. several of them to visit Long Island; and arrangements were made, in the autumn of 1643, to secure from the Dutch provincial government a grant of lands at Heemstede. This portion of Long Island had been so named by the Dutch after the "neatest and most important village" on the island of Schouwen, in Zealand. Early in 1644, Robert Fordham and several others came over with their families from Stamford, and established themselves at Heemstede, which soon became known as "Mr. Fordham's plains." The next autumn, Kieft granted to Fordham, Ogden, Lawrence, and their associates, a liberal patent for "the great plains on Long Island, from the East River to the South Sea, and from a certain harbor, now commonly called and known by the name of Heemstede Bay, and westward as far as Martin Gerritsen's Bay." The patentees were authorized "to use and exercise the Reformed religion which they profess," to nominate their own magistrates for the approval of the director of New Netherland, and generally to manage their own civil affairs. A quit-rent of a tithe of the produce, to begin ten years "from the day the first general peace with the Indians shall be concluded," was reserved to the West India Company.*

16 Nov.

Hostility of the Indians.

Scarcely had the Stamford emigrants settled themselves at Heemstede, before Penhawitz, the great sachem of the Canarsees in that neighborhood, who had hitherto been esteemed friendly to the Dutch, was suspected of treachery; and several of his tribe were charged with secret hostilities against "the Christians." Seven savages were arrested by Fordham, on a charge of killing two or three pigs, "though it was afterward discovered that his own Englishmen had done it themselves." Fordham, however, informed Kieft that he had arrested the savages, and confined them in a cellar; but that he "dared not treat them inhumanly, as he could not answer for the consequences

* Thompson's Long Island, ii., 4, 5; Denton's N. Y., p. 6, and Furman's notes; O'Call., i., 317; Martinet's Beschryvinge, iii., 318. John Ogden, one of the Heemstede patentees, was a contractor for building the church in Fort Amsterdam, in 1642; *ante*, p. 336.

to his own people." La Montagne was therefore sent against the Canarsees, with a force of one hundred and twenty men; Dutch burghers under Kuyter, English auxiliaries under Underhill, and regular soldiers under Cock and Van Dyck. The expedition sailed in three yachts to Schout's or Cow Bay, where the forces were landed without molestation. Marching at once to Heemstede, Underhill killed three of the seven savages whom Fordham had confined in the cellar, and took the other four prisoners. The forces were then divided into two parties. With some fourteen Englishmen, Underhill attacked the smaller Indian village; while La Montagne, with the main body of eighty men, advanced against the larger settlement at Mespath. Both parties were entirely successful. The villages were surprised; one hundred and twenty savages were killed; while the assailants lost only one man, and had three wounded. On the return of the expedition, two of the savages whom Underhill had taken at Heemstede, were conveyed to Fort Amsterdam, where the triumph of the victors was disgraced by atrocious cruelties. One of the prisoners, frightfully wounded by the "long knives" with which the director had armed the soldiers in place of swords, at last dropped down dead as he was dancing the "Kinte-Kaeye," or death-dance of his race. The other, after undergoing even more shocking mutilation, was taken out of the fort by Kieft's orders, and mercifully beheaded on a mill-stone in "the Beavers' Path," now Beaver Lane, near the Battery. These barbarities are said to have been witnessed by the director, and Counselor La Montagne. Some of the female savages who had been taken prisoners in West Chester, standing at the northwest angle of the fort, saw the bloody spectacle, and, throwing up their arms, and striking their mouths, called out, in their own language, "Shame! shame! What disgraceful and unspeakable cruelty is this! Such things were never yet seen or heard of among us."*

CHAP. XI.

1644. Expedition sent to Heemstede.

Atrocities at Manhattan on the return of the forces.

The Dutch forces were now in great distress for want

* Hol. Doc., iii., 121, 122; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 15, 16; Breeden Raedt, 19, 20. This

CHAP. XI. 1644.

of clothing. At this conjuncture, a ship, which the patroon of Rensselaerswyck had dispatched from Holland the previous autumn, with a cargo of goods for his colony, arrived at Manhattan. Necessity pressed; and Kieft immediately called upon Peter Wynkoop, the supercargo, to furnish fifty pairs of shoes for the soldiers, offering full payment "in silver, beavers, or wampum." But the supercargo, with more regard for his patroon's mercantile interests than for the necessities of a suffering soldiery, refused to comply with the director's requisition. Kieft promptly ordered a forced levy; and enough shoes were taken from the patroon's ship to supply as many soldiers as afterward "killed five hundred of the enemy." The provoked director then commanded the ship to be thoroughly searched, and a large supply of ammunition and guns, not included in the manifest, being found on board, they were declared contraband, and the ship and cargo were confiscated.*

The Dutch soldiers in want of clothing.

Supply obtained from a private ship at Manhattan.

8 March.

February.

Underhill had, meanwhile, been sent to Stamford to reconnoitre the position of the savages. On his return to Manhattan, he was dispatched, with Ensign Van Dyck and one hundred and fifty men, in three yachts, on a new expedition against the Connecticut Indians. Landing at Greenwich, the forces marched all the next day through the snow, crossing, on their way, steep rocky hills, over which the men crawled with difficulty. About midnight, the expedition approached the Indian village. The night was clear, and the full moon threw a strong light against the mountain, "so that many winters' days were not

March. Underhill's expedition to Stamford.

latter authority, however, states the date of these transactions as April, 1644. In the interrogatories proposed to Van Tienhoven, on the 21st of July, 1650, by the committee of the States General, the atrocities perpetrated upon the two Heemstede prisoners, and the presence and conduct of Kieft and La Montagne on the occasion, were specially inquired into.—Hol. Doc., v., 312, 320, 321; O'Call., i., 300. Winthrop, ii., 157, speaks of the news of Underhill's Long Island expedition reaching Boston in March, 1644.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 244, 277; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 342. Winthrop, ii., 157, says that this ship was sent "to the free boors at Fort Orange," and had on board "four thousand weight of powder, and seven hundred pieces to trade with the natives, which the Dutch governor having notice of, did seize and confiscate to the use of the company." Savage, in his note, seems to have misapprehended the character of the ship. The vessel was actually "not sent by the company, but by some private men," as Winthrop had originally written it in his journal.

1644.

brighter." The village contained three rows, or streets of wigwams, and was sheltered, in a nook of the mountain, from the northwest winds. The Dutch troops, finding the Indians on their guard, charged, sword in hand, upon the fortress. But the savages, emboldened by their superior numbers—for the village was crowded with Indians, who had assembled "to celebrate one of their festivals"—made a desperate resistance. "Some said that there were full seven hundred, among whom were twenty-five Wappingers." Several bold sallies were attempted, but every effort to break the Dutch line failed. Not a savage could show himself outside the palisades without being shot down. In an hour, one hundred and eighty Indians lay dead on the snow. The arrows of the besieged now beginning to annoy the Dutch, Underhill, remembering Mason's experiment at the Mistic, resolved to set the village on fire. The horrors of the Pequod massacre were renewed. As the wretched victims endeavored to escape, they were shot down or driven back into their burning huts. The carnage was almost complete. Upward of five hundred Indians perished by sword or by flame: of all who had crowded that devoted village at nightfall, but eight escaped. Fifteen of the Dutch soldiers were wounded. The victors kindled large fires, and bivouacked on the crimsoned snow. In the morning, the expedition set out on its return, marching "over that wearisome mountain, God affording extraordinary strength to the wounded," and the next afternoon it reached Stamford, where the soldiers were hospitably entertained by the English. Two days afterward, the triumphant forces reached Fort Amsterdam; and Kieft proclaimed a public thanksgiving for the brilliant victory which his troops had achieved.*

Destruction of the Indian village.

Thanksgiving proclaimed at Manhattan.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 121–126; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 16, 17; O'Call., i., 302; ii., 571; Bancroft, ii., 293. "The traditionary account of the battle on Strickland's Plain, preserved by Trumbull, i., 161, and repeated, but not confirmed, by Wood, can not be quite accurate; at least, as to time." The battle happened in 1644, not in 1646, as Trumbull erroneously supposes. Winthrop (ii., 157) alleges, that the employment of Underhill by Kieft was "a plot of the Dutch governor to engage the English in that quarrel with the Indians, which we had wholly declined, as doubting the justice of the cause."

CHAP. XI. 1644.

Spring had now begun; and some of the hostile tribes which had felt the power of the Dutch, wishing peace, applied to Underhill to interfere in their behalf. In a few days, Mamaranack, the chief of the Croton Indians, and other chiefs from the Weckquaesgeeks, and from the tribes north of Greenwich and Stamford, came to Fort Amsterdam, and concluded a peace with the Dutch. They pledged themselves not to do any further damage to the colonists of New Netherland or their property; to visit Manhattan only in canoes as long as the savages on the island should continue hostile; and to deliver up Pacham, the faithless chief of the Tankitekes. On the other hand, Kieft promised them his friendship; and, in token of his sincerity, released several of the captured prisoners. The next week, Gonwarrowe, the sachem of the Mattinnecocks of Flushing, Cow Bay, and the neighborhood, warned by the lesson which the Long Island Indians had received at Heemstede and Mespath, came to Manhattan and solicited a peace. The sachem assented to the conditions which Kieft imposed; and upon his promise that none of the neighboring tribes should do any harm to the Dutch, or assist their enemies, he was dismissed with some presents, and enjoined to communicate the provisions of the treaty to the sachem on "Mr. Fordham's plains."*

Peace with the West Chester and Long Island tribes. 6 April

15 April.

Though the Dutch arms had now humbled a distant enemy, and the semblance of a peace had been arranged with the West Chester and Long Island savages, the principal enemies of the Dutch, nearer to Manhattan Island, remained hostile. The scouting parties of the red men prowled unopposed about the very precincts of Fort Amsterdam. For the protection of the few cattle which remained to the decimated population, "a good solid fence" was ordered to be erected, "from the great bouwerÿ across to the plantation of Emanuel," nearly on the site of the present *Wall Street*. All persons who wished their cattle to be pastured in security, were warned to appear with proper tools and assist in erecting the fence; those who

Fence ordered to be built at Manhattan. 31 March.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 247, 248; O'Call., i., 303.

failed to give their aid were to be excluded from the privileges of the inclosed meadow.* CHAP. XI.

1644.

The precaution was necessary. If Kieft had earned the detestation of the Dutch colonists, he was even more hated by the savages, who remembered Van Twiller's pacific rule, and called for the removal of his violent successor. "Their daily cry every where was 'Wouter, Wouter'—meaning Wouter van Twiller."† Throughout the whole summer, the settlements at Manhattan and its neighborhood were constantly in danger of utter destruction. The savages were unopposed; and, as soon as they had "stowed their maize into holes," they began again to murder the Dutch. The ruined commonalty was unable to meet the expenses of the soldiery; and the West India Company, made bankrupt by its military operations in Brazil, could furnish no assistance to its desolated province. The bill of exchange, which Kieft had drawn upon the Amsterdam Chamber the previous autumn, came back protested. Soon afterward, the privateer La Garce, with which the director had commissioned Captain Blauvelt to cruise in the West Indies, returned to Manhattan with two valuable Spanish prizes. But ready money was wanted at once; and pressing necessity could not brook the slow proceedings of the Admiralty Court.‡

Hostile temper of the River Indians.

The West India Company bankrupt.

29 May.

Kieft was, therefore, obliged to convene the Eight Men once more. He laid before them a statement of the destitution of the provincial treasury; and to raise a revenue for the payment of the English soldiers, he proposed to levy an excise on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver. The Eight Men, however, opposed the proposition, on the double grounds that an excise, in the ruined condition of the people, would be oppressive, and that the right of taxation was an attribute of sovereignty which the West India Company might indeed exercise, but which their subordinate officer in New Netherland had no authority to assume.§

18 June. The Eight Men again convened.

Oppose an excise on liquors.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 246; Hildreth, i., 425.
† Hol. Doc., ii., 378.
‡ Alb. Rec., ii., 250, 251, 257; iii., 212; Hol. Doc., iii., 210; O'Call., i., 296, 306.
§ Hol. Doc., iii., 215, 216.

CHAP. XI.

1644. Kieft's supercilious conduct.

The director was "very much offended" at the honest opinion of the Eight Men; and, "in an altered mood," sharply reprimanded the representatives of the people. "I have more power here than the company itself," said Kieft to the contumacious burghers, in the presence of La Montagne and the fiscal Van der Huygens; "therefore I may do and suffer in this country what I please; I am my own master, for I have my commission, not from the company, but from the States General." The Eight Men still endeavored to avert the obnoxious excise from pressing on the commonalty at large; and proposed, instead, that the private traders, who were amassing fortunes while the colonists were ruined, should be taxed. But Kieft was immovable.*

21 June. Kieft arbitrarily imposes an excise on beer.

Three days afterward, he issued a proclamation, "without the knowledge of the Eight Men," reciting that all other means having failed to provide for the expenses of the war, it had, "by the advice of the Eight Men chosen by the commonalty," been determined "to impose some duties on those wares from which the good inhabitants will suffer the least inconvenience, as the scarcity of money is very general." It was therefore ordained, "provisionally, until the good God shall grant us peace, or we shall be sufficiently aided from Holland," that on each barrel of beer tapped an excise duty of two guilders should be paid, one half by the brewer, and one half by the publican—burghers not retailing it, however, to pay only one half as much; on every quart of brandy and wine, four stivers, and on every beaver skin one guilder.†

Discontent of the commonalty.

The commonalty openly expressed their discontent. Kieft, attributing much of the ill feeling to the popular representatives, who had opposed the tax, sent for Kuyter, Melyn, and Hall, to confer with them respecting the obnoxious exactions. But the Eight Men found that they were in "little repute" with the director, who left the three representatives of the people to sit in his hall, from

30 June.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 217.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 130–132, 217, 218. The original of this order was in Kieft's handwriting.

eight o'clock until past noon, without a word being said to them, and, finally, to return in disappointment "as wise as they came."*

Arrival of troops from Curaçoa.

While New Netherland was despairing of relief from Holland, unexpected aid came from the West Indies. One hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers, who had been driven by the Portuguese out of Brazil, coming to Curaçoa, where the inhabitants did not need, and could not maintain them, were promptly sent to Manhattan, in the ship "Blue Cock," by order of Peter Stuyvesant, the company's director. Kieft immediately called a meeting of the council, at which were also present Oudemarkt, the captain of the Blue Cock, and Jan de Fries, the commander of the newly-arrived troops. It was determined to retain De Fries and his command at Manhattan, and to dismiss the English auxiliaries "in the most civil manner." The soldiers were to be billeted on the commonalty, according to the circumstances of each one; and the company was to make recompense whenever it could. As there was no clothing in the company's warehouse for these troops, the council was again convened, and it was resolved that the excise duties, which had been "provisionally" imposed, should be continued. Besides paying an excise of three guilders on every tun of beer, the brewers were now required to make a return of the exact quantity they might brew.†

July.

21 July.

4 August.

The beer excise enforced.

The brewers refuse to pay.

But the brewers sturdily refused to pay this unjust tribute. The first excise had been imposed "provisionally," until relief should arrive; relief had arrived, and the excise, instead of being discontinued, was made more onerous; the company was bound to furnish clothing to its troops, as much as it was bound to furnish ammunition and guns; and, above all, the exaction was an arbitrary act of the dependents of the West India Company, and against the consent of the representatives of the commonalty, who, in the present instance, had alone the right to impose the tax. The refractory brewers were sum-

* Hol. Doc., iii., 192; Vertoogh van N. N., ut sup., 295; O'Call., i., 307, 308.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 260, 264, 265; xii., 49–55; Hol. Doc., iii., 187; Winthrop, ii., 179.

CHAP. XI. moned before the council. "Were we to yield, and pay the three florins," said they, "we should offend the Eight Men and the whole commonalty." But judgment was recorded against them; and their beer was "given a prize to the soldiers."*

1644.
18 August.
25 August.

The people side with the brewers

The people had now learned another lesson in political rights—the lesson of resistance. From this time forward party spirit divided the commonalty. The Eight Men represented the Democratic sentiment of the majority of the people; the parasites of arbitrary power took part with the director. "Those who were on his side could do nothing amiss, however bad it might be; those who were opposed to him were always wrong in whatever they did well." Kieft's jealousy even made him suspicious of his own partisans, who held communication with "impartial persons." Throughout nearly the whole summer, private quarrels and prosecutions occupied the mind of the director, to the exclusion of more important subjects; and six weeks were frittered away in trying an unfortunate smuggler of pearls, who was eventually banished.†

Party spirit at Manhattan

The Eight Men counseled active measures against the savages; for they had been "greatly gladdened by the miraculous arrival of the Blue Cock," and "expected that the field would be taken with between three and four hundred men."‡ But "nothing in the least" was done. During the whole summer, "scarce a foot was moved on land, or an oar laid in the water." Some of the Indian prisoners, who might have done good service as guides, were sent to the Bermudas, "as a present to the English governor." Others were given to the "oldest and most experienced soldiers," who were improvidently allowed to return to Holland. In the mean time, the savages were quietly left to fish and secure their crops, and no opposi-

Kieft's treasonable inactivity.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 265–267; Vertoogh van N. N., 295; Bancroft, ii., 304; O'Call., i., 311.

† Alb. Rec., ii., 261, 262; Hol. Doc., iii., 210; Vertoogh van N. N., 295; Breeden Raedt, 24.

‡ According to Hol. Doc., iii., 187, there was now at Manhattan an available force of four hundred and eighty men, of whom one hundred and thirty had arrived in the "Blue Cock;" forty-five were old soldiers, fifty were English auxiliaries, fifty-five were sailors, and two hundred were burghers, or freemen.

tion being offered, they soon showed themselves more "bold and insolent" than ever before. The "semblance of peace," which Underhill had "patched up" in the spring, bore but little fruit. Parties of Indians roved about, day and night, over Manhattan Island, killing the Dutch not a thousand paces from Fort Amsterdam; and no one dared "move a foot to fetch a stick of fire-wood without a strong escort."*

Finding Kieft's censurable inactivity still continuing, Cornelis Melyn, the president of the Eight Men, addressed an earnest letter to the States General, urging them to interfere in behalf of the province; and, at the same time, wrote to his friend Van der Horst, to exert, in favor of the people of New Netherland, all the influence which he possessed with the company. Two others of the Eight Men, Hall and Dircksen, in person protested strongly to Kieft against his neglect of duty. The director, at last aroused to action, dispatched Captain De Fries with a party of the Curaçoa soldiers toward the north. Eight savages were slain; but, said the men, "for every new enemy we kill, another stands next morning in his place." And the colonists, finding the summer and autumn nearly gone, now began to anticipate the severities of a winter's campaign, and being forced to wade "through rivers and creeks, in frost and snow, with their new and naked soldiers, who had resided in warm climates for so many years."†

6 August.

The director sends an expedition to the north. 22 October.

The condition of public affairs had now come to such pass, that the Eight Men determined boldly to demand the recall of Kieft, and to insist upon the introduction into New Netherland of the municipal system of the Fatherland. It was ascertained at the same time, that Kieft, in his letters to the College of the XIX., "was endeavoring to shift upon the commonalty the origin and cause of the war."‡ The eight popular representatives, therefore, addressed a second memorial to the West India Company, drawn up, in simple but expressive language, by Andries

28 October.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 206–210.

† Ibid., ii., 346; iii., 212.

‡ Breeden Raedt, 21.

CHAP. XI. Hudde, the town surveyor of Manhattan.* "Our fields lie fallow and waste," said the Eight Men; "our dwellings and other buildings are burnt; not a handful can be either planted or sown this autumn on the deserted places; the crops which God permitted to come forth during the past summer remain on the fields standing and rotting; we are burthened with heavy families; we have no means to provide necessaries for wives or children; and we sit here amidst thousands of Indians and barbarians, from whom we find neither peace nor mercy." "There are among us those who, by the sweat and labor of their hands, for many long years have endeavored, at great expense, to improve their lands and villages; others, with their private capital, have equipped with all necessaries their own ships, which have been captured by the enemy, though they have continued the voyage with equal zeal, and at considerable cost. Some, again, have come hither with ships independent of the company, freighted with a large quantity of cattle, and with a number of families; who have erected handsome buildings on the spots selected for their people; cleared away the trees and the forest; inclosed their plantations, and brought them under the plough, so as to be an ornament to the country, and a profit to the proprietors, after their long, laborious toil. The whole of these now lie in ashes through a foolish hankering after war. For all right-thinking men here know that these Indians have lived as lambs among us, until a few years ago; injuring no man; affording every assistance to our nation; and, in Director Van Twiller's time (when no supplies were sent for several months), furnishing provisions to several of the company's servants, until, as they state, they received supplies. These hath the director, by various uncalled-for proceedings, from time to time so estranged from us, and so embittered against the Netherlands nation, that we do not believe that any thing will bring them and peace back, unless the Lord, who bends all men's hearts to his will, propitiate their

1644. Memorial of the Eight Men to the West India Company.

Kieft's conduct reviewed

* Hol. Doc., iii., 204.

people." "Little or nothing of any account has been done here for the country. Every place is going to ruin. Neither counsel nor advice is taken. Men talk of nothing else but of princely power and sovereignty, about which La Montagne argued a few days ago in a tavern, maintaining that the power of the director here was greater, so far as his office and commission were concerned, than that of his highness of Orange, in the Netherlands." After giving many details of the origin and progress of the war; of the proceedings of the Twelve Men; of the election of the Eight Men; of their treatment by Kieft; and of their efforts to prevent the imposition of the obnoxious excise duties; they warned the directors against relying upon the statements about the war, contained in a "book" ornamented with water-color drawings, which Kieft had sent over. "It contains," said the Eight Men, "as many lies as lines, as we are informed by the minister, and by those who have read it." And, with respect to the statements in that "book," about the animals and the geography of New Netherland, "it would be well to inquire how the director general can so aptly write about those distances and habits, since his honor, during the six or seven years he has been here, has constantly resided on the Manhattans, and has never been further from his kitchen and bedroom than the middle of the aforesaid island."

Kieft's misrepresentations.

"Honored Lords"—so the Eight Men boldly concluded their memorial—"this is what we have, in the sorrow of our hearts, to complain of; that one man who has been sent out, sworn and instructed by his Lords and Masters, to whom he is responsible, should dispose here of our lives and property according to his will and pleasure, in a manner so arbitrary, that a King would not be suffered legally to do. We shall end here, and commit the matter wholly to our God, who, we pray and heartily trust, will move your Lordships' minds and bless your Lordships' deliberations, so that one of these two things may happen—either that a Governor may be speedily sent with a beloved peace to us, or that their Honors will be pleased to permit us to

CHAP. XI. 1644.

return, with wives and children, to our dear Fatherland. For it is impossible ever to settle this country until a different system be introduced here, and a new Governor be sent out with more people, who shall settle themselves in suitable places, one near the other, in form of villages and hamlets, and elect, from among themselves, a bailiff, or schout, and schepens, who shall be empowered to send deputies to vote on public affairs with the Director and Council; so that hereafter the Country may not be again brought into similar danger."*

The director's recall demanded.

Free traders at Rensselaerswyck.

In the mean time, notwithstanding all the attempts to restrain it, an illicit traffic continued to be carried on at Rensselaerswyck. During the last year, neither the company nor the patroon had "scarcely any trade," while fully three or four thousand furs had been conveyed away by unlicensed traders. "It would be very profitable," wrote Van Curler, "if your Honor could bring about, with a higher hand, that the residents should not come to the colonie to trade." The patroon, following Van Curler's suggestion, determined to act "with a higher hand." He therefore drew up, in the form of a protest, a statement of the grievances he had suffered from the free traders, who trafficked against his will with the savages, and even "sought to debauch and pervert" his own colonists. Feeling that he was the "first and oldest" patroon on the North River, he resolved that no one should "presume to abuse" it, to the injury of his acquired rights; and accordingly caused a small fort to be erected on Beeren Island, at the southern frontier of the colonie. This post, which commanded both channels of the river, was named "Rensselaer's Stein." A claim of "Staple right" was set up; and Nicholas Koorn was appointed "Wacht-meester," with directions to levy a toll of five guilders upon all vessels, except those of the West India Company, passing up or down the river, and to cause them to strike their colors in homage to the feudal merchant-patroon.†

Fort at Beeren Island.

The patroon claims a "Staple right."

* Breeden Raedt, 21; Hol. Doc. iii., 206–222; and in O'Call., i., 312–317.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 26, 46; Renss. MSS., in O'Call., i., 465–467. Koorn had formerly been

CHAP. XI.

1644.

The arrogant pretension was soon asserted. The summer that the post was established, as Govert Loockermans, in his yacht, the Good Hope, was passing down the river from Fort Orange to Manhattan, "a gun without ball" was fired from Rensselaer's Stein; and Koorn cried out to the schipper, "Strike thy colors!" "For whom shall I strike?" replied Loockermans. "For the staple right of Rensselaer's Stein," answered Koorn from the shore. "I strike for nobody but the Prince of Orange, or those by whom I am employed," retorted the independent Loockermans, as his yacht slowly kept her course. Koorn immediately fired several shots: "the first," says the record, "went through the sail, and broke the ropes and the ladder; a second shot passed over us; and the third, fired by a savage, perforated our princely colors, about a foot above the head of Loockermans, who kept the colors constantly in his hand."*

July. Loockermans refuses to stop at Rensselaer's Stein.

The commander of Rensselaer's Stein was immediately summoned before the council at Fort Amsterdam, to answer for this bold proceeding. Though he pleaded his patroon's authority, damages were adjudged against him, and he was forbidden to repeat his offense. Van der Huygens, the schout-fiscal of New Netherland, at the same time formally protested against the "lawless transactions" of the patroon's Wacht-meester. The establishment on Beeren Island, it was alleged, was beyond the limits of Van Rensselaer's colonie; and "the bold attempt to construct there a fort which might command the river, and debar Fort Orange from the free navigation, would be ruinous to the interests of the company." Koorn, however, feeling his importance, promptly replied to Van der Huygens' protest. "I call on you," said he, "not to presume to oppose and frustrate my designs on the Beeren Island, to defraud me in any manner, or to cause me any trouble, as it has been the will of their High Mightinesses, the

2 August. The patroon's officer summoned to Manhattan

October.

Protest of the commander of Rensselaer's Stein. 18 Nov.

a sergeant in the West India Company's service at Fort Amsterdam, where, in December, 1638, he was tried, and sentenced to be reduced to the ranks.—Alb. Rec., ii., 35, 36.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 192, 234, 263; iii., 219; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 379, 380.

CHAP. XI. 1644.

States General, and the privileged West India Company, to invest my patroon and his heir with the right to extend and fortify his colonie, and make it powerful in every respect." "I protest against the act of violence and assault committed by the Honorable Lords Majors, which I leave them to settle between themselves and my honorable patroon, inasmuch as this step has been taken to keep the canker of free-traders out of his colonie."*

April. Father Bressani captured by the Mohawks.

Another occasion happened, this summer, to test the active benevolence of the Dutch. Father Joseph Bressani, while on his way from Quebec to the Huron country, was captured on the Saint Lawrence, by a war party of the Iroquois, and conveyed a prisoner to the Mohawk castles. There he suffered even more horrid tortures than those which Jogues had undergone two years before. Yet his life was spared; and an old squaw, to whom he had been given, took him to the "nearest habitation of the Hollanders," who, by a large contribution, "satisfied the savages," and ransomed the suffering Jesuit missionary. After being nursed and clothed at Fort Orange, he was sent down the river to Manhattan. There he was hospitably received by Kieft, who caused him to be supplied with clothes, and provided him, as he had Jogues, with a passage to Europe. The director and council also issued a passport, recommending Bressani to the Christian charity of those into whose hands he might happen to fall; and the grateful Jesuit, sailing from Manhattan, safely reached Rochelle toward the end of November. Thus the influence which the Dutch possessed among the Iroquois was effectively used in the cause of humanity; bigotry was forgotten, while the warm gratitude of the Roman Catholics was secured; and in after years, the Viceroys of Canada did not fail to acknowledge, with characteristic courtesy, the ancient kindness of the colonists of New Netherland toward the devoted captive missionaries of France.†

Ransomed by the Dutch.

20 Sept.

Gratitude of the Canada authorities.

* Alb. Rec., iii., 187, 188; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 380, 381; Hol. Doc., v., 364; ii., N Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 330; O'Call., i., 344, 345; Bancroft, ii., 304.

† Relation, 1643–44; Creuxius, 395–403; Charlevoix, i., 258–260; Bancroft, iii., 134; O'Call., i., 337; Lond. Doc., ii., 196; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 153; Macerata Rel., 1653.

1644.

Meanwhile, the disastrous affairs of their suffering province had attracted the grave attention of the Dutch government. The letter which the Eight Men had sent over in the autumn of 1643, was no sooner received by the States General than it was referred to the College of the XIX., with directions to adopt prompt measures for the relief of New Netherland. But the West India Company was now almost bankrupt; and the directors, totally unable to defend their American colonies, were chiefly anxious to save themselves from utter ruin by forming a union with the flourishing and powerful East India Company. In reply to the mandate of the States General, they avowed their sympathy with the "desolate and miserable" colonists of New Netherland; but "the long-looked-for profits thence" had not come, and they had no means at hand of sending relief "to the poor inhabitants who have left their Fatherland." And the bankrupt company urged the States General for a subsidy of a million of guilders, to place it "in good, prosperous, and profitable order."*

Affairs of New Netherland considered by the West India Company. 5 April. 23 April.

The States General directed copies of the company's application to be communicated to the several States of the provinces. Before any thing was done, however, Melyn's urgent letter coming to hand, was immediately referred to the delegates to the approaching meeting of the College of the XIX. The delegates were also instructed to inform themselves fully about the condition of the province, and especially to examine into the propriety of restricting the internal trade of New Netherland to the residents, as well as into the policy of opening a free trade between Manhattan and Brazil. A full report upon the whole subject was required to be made to the States General.†

27 April. 20 October. 22 October. The States General require a full report on the state of the province.

At the meeting of the College of the XIX., the affairs of New Netherland were fully discussed. The second bold appeal, which the Eight Men addressed to the company in the autumn, reached the meeting at an opportune moment. It was now felt that the commonalty were in

28 October

* Hol. Doc., ii., 329, 330, 332; *ante*, p. 372.

† Ibid., ii., 337, 346, 348.

CHAP. XI. 1644.

earnest. Either a new director must be speedily sent "with a beloved peace" to New Netherland, or the colonists there must "return with their wives and children to their dear Fatherland."* Kieft's recall was, therefore, determined upon. But the appointment of a proper successor was a difficult question. Lubbertus van Dincklagen, who had been dismissed from office by Van Twiller in 1636, had for eight years unsuccessfully urged his claims for arrears of salary. He was, however, "well liked by the Indians," and his former experience in New Netherland recommended him for promotion. Van Dincklagen was, therefore, provisionally appointed to succeed Kieft as director. The XIX. also resolved to refer all the papers relating to New Netherland to the company's recently-organized "Rekenkamer," or Bureau of Accounts, with instructions to prepare a full report upon the condition of the province, and recommend measures for its profit and advancement.†

10 Dec. Kieft's recall decided upon.

Van Dincklagen provisionally appointed to succeed Kieft. 10 Dec.

15 Dec.

In a few days the Rekenkamer presented a detailed report, which was communicated to the States General. This document is one of the most important State Papers relating to New Netherland. Beginning with a sketch of its history, from its discovery by the Dutch, through the important epochs of the organization of the company, the settlement of the first colonists under May, the establishment of patroonships, the opening of the fur trade, the abuses which followed, the breaking out of the Indian war, and of the deplorable ruin which succeeded, the various remedial measures suggested by Kieft and by the commonalty were concisely stated. The director counseled the extermination of the Indians, whom he estimated to be only three hundred strong, and asked for a hundred and fifty armed soldiers and munitions of war. The commonalty, on the other hand, supposing the savage forces to amount to several thousands, advised a peace. But "of this they have but little hope, as long as the present administration remains there."

28 Dec. Report of the company's Bureau of Accounts.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 221; *ante*, p 398.

† Ibid., ii., 362, 364.

1644.

From all these statements, the Rekenkamer inferred that their American province had fallen into ruin and confusion by Kieft's unnecessary war, "without the knowledge, and much less the order of the XIX., and against the will of the commonalty there." According to the books of the Amsterdam Chamber, New Netherland, in place of being a source of profit, had cost the company, from 1626 to 1644, inclusive, "over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders, deducting the returns received from there." But as the charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions" had promised to protect and defend the colonists, and as improvements in the management of the province were not beyond hope, "the company can not decently or consistently abandon it."

State of the province.

The Bureau of Accounts, therefore, recommended a series of propositions to the company. The boundary should be at once established between the Dutch and English, as, in consequence of their population, they "usurp daily more of our territory." Kieft's advice to exterminate the Indians should "by no means be adopted;" but the opinion of the commonalty should be followed, and the savages appeased. It would also be proper "to order hither the director and council, who are responsible for that bloody exploit of the twenty-eighth of February, 1643, to justify and vindicate their administration before the noble Assembly of the XIX." The colonists should be settled in towns, villages, and hamlets, "as the English are in the habit of doing." Fort Amsterdam, to save expense, should be repaired "with good clay and firm sods," and a garrison of fifty-three soldiers be constantly maintained. The annual salary of the director should be three thousand guilders, and the expense of the whole civil and military establishment of New Netherland twenty thousand guilders. A council of three persons should be established, composed of the director as president, and the second and fiscal as counselors adjunct. By this council all cases of police, justice, dignity, and the rights of the company should be decided. In criminal cases, the military com-

Recommendations of the Chamber of Accounts for the relief of New Netherland.

Kieft to be recalled.

Hamlets to be organized.

Fort Amsterdam to be repaired.

Council to be reorganized.

CHAP. XI. 1644.

mandant should take the place of the fiscal, and "two capable persons from the commonalty" should be added. As, by the twenty-eighth article of the "Freedoms," each colonie was allowed to depute one or two persons every year to represent it at Manhattan, it was now recommended, "that the said delegates should, moreover, assemble every six months, at the summons of the director and council, for mutual good understanding, and the common advancement of the welfare of the inhabitants." Amsterdam weights and measures should be used throughout New Netherland. The population of the country should be strengthened, and the island of Manhattan first of all be occupied, by offering free grants of land to emigrants. As many negroes should be introduced from Brazil as the patroons, colonists, and farmers "would be willing to pay for at a fair price." The Indian trade should be reserved exclusively to the patroons, colonists, and free farmers; but no fire-arms should be sold to the savages. Each colonist should be obliged to supply himself with a musket and side-arms; and the director should cause an inspection to be made every six months. A trade should be allowed with Brazil; fisheries, and the manufacture and exportation of salt, should be encouraged; for while the colonists thus gained advantage, the company would be relieved from large expenses. In order to defray the additional cost of the proposed establishment for New Netherland, it was estimated that an increasing population and a growing trade would readily yield a handsome revenue from the recognitions and tolls upon exports and imports; but to collect these, vigilance should be enjoined, and the duties of the revenue officers "should be sharply attended to."*

Lands to be freely granted.

No fire-arms to be sold to the savages.

Colonists to be armed.

Trade with Brazil to be encouraged.

Recognitions to be enforced.

* Hol. Doc., ii., 368–395; O'Call., i., 349–354, 418–424.

CHAPTER XII.

1645–1647.

CHAP. XII

THE Indian war, which Kieft's recklessness had provoked, was now about to end. During five years, New Netherland had known hardly five months of peace. Manhattan was nearly depopulated; while the Indian nations around were still thousands strong, and New England already contained more than fifty thousand souls. Too late Kieft perceived his error; for a stern voice of warning had come from the Amsterdam Chamber, and the conscience of the director smote him, as he foresaw the end of his rule over the noble province whose interests he had sacrificed.

1645. End of the Indian war

With the opening of the spring, the Indians, who were anxious to plant their corn, desired a peace. Delegates from several of the neighboring tribes came to Fort Amsterdam; and Kieft eagerly concluded a truce with the warriors. The people rejoiced at the prospect of the end of dangers of which they were weary, and "a grand salute of three guns" was fired from the fort. But many of the savage nations were still hostile. Kieft therefore, by the advice of his council, determined to engage some of the friendly Indians in the interests of the Dutch, and Whiteneywen, the sachem of the Mockgonecocks on Long Island, was dispatched, with several of his warriors, "to beat and destroy the hostile tribes." The sachem's diplomacy, however, was better than violence. In a few days, he returned to Fort Amsterdam, bearing friendly messages from the chiefs of the tribes along the Sound and near Rockaway, and a pledge that they would no longer "in-

22 April. Treaty with some of the tribes.

24 May.

CHAP. XII. jure the Christians." A formal peace was ratified by the exchange of tokens of eternal friendship, and Whiteneywen, the ambassador sachem, was dismissed with liberal presents.*

1645. Peace with the Long Island savages.

Kieft now, for the first time, went up the river to Fort Orange, with La Montagne, to secure the friendship of the powerful Mohawks. Aided by the influence of the officers at Rensselaerswyck, a treaty was soon arranged with the Iroquois delegates, and with the Mahicans and the other neighboring tribes. The languages of these tribes were various, and the negotiations were conducted with the assistance of the Indian interpreter Agheroense, "who was well known to the Christians." Presents were again exchanged in ratification of the peace; and Kieft's embarrassment for the want of money was relieved by Van der Donck, and other inhabitants of Rensselaerswyck. But a chemical analysis of some native mineral, with which the savages painted their faces, raised hopes in the director's mind that he had now found the way to wealth.†

July. Treaty with the Mohawks and other tribes at Fort Orange.

The treaty at Fort Orange was followed, before long, by a general peace with the tribes in the neighborhood of Manhattan. The citizens were summoned to assemble at Fort Amsterdam, at the ringing of the bell and the hoisting of the colors, to hear the proposed articles read; and they were assured that "if any one could give good advice, he might then declare his opinions freely." The project of the treaty was almost unanimously approved.

29 August.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 298–301; O'Call., i., 354. One of the guns bursting when the salute was fired, Jacob Jacobsen Roy lost an arm, in spite of the skill of Surgeon Hans Kiersted.

† Alb. Rec., viii., 79, 80. Van der Donck, in his Description of N. N., p. 29 (ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 161), refers particularly to this treaty, and describes a curious incident connected with it. One morning, the Indian interpreter, Agheroense, "who lodged in the director's house, came down stairs, and in the presence of the director and myself sat down, and began stroking and painting his face. The director, observing the operation, asked me to inquire of the Indian what substance he was using, which he handed to me, and I handed to the director. After he had examined it attentively, he judged, from its weight and its greasy lustre, that it must be some valuable mineral. So we commuted with the Indian for it, in order to see what it was. We acted with it as we best could, under the direction of a certain Johannes la Montagne, doctor in medicine, and counselor in New Netherland, a man of intelligence, who had some knowledge or science in these matters. To be brief; it was put into a crucible, and after it had been thought to be long enough in the fire, it was taken out, and two pieces of gold were found in it, which were both judged to be worth about three guilders. This proof was at first kept very still."

No one dissented but "Hendrick Kip, a tailor," one of the sturdy burghers who had wished to depose Kieft two years before. On the following day, the appointed meeting with the red men was held. In front of Fort Amsterdam, under the open sky, in presence of the sun and the ocean, on the spot "where the commerce of the world may be watched from shady walks," the sachems of the Hackinsacks and Tappans, the delegates from Long Island, and the Mahican chief who spoke for the Weckquaesgeeks, Sint-Sings, and other river tribes, all acknowledging the Iroquois Confederacy, which was represented by Mohawk ambassadors, as witnesses and arbitrators, seated themselves, in grave silence, in presence of the director and council of New Netherland, and the commonalty of Manhattan, and, solemnly smoking the great calumet of peace, pledged themselves to eternal amity with the Dutch. Each party bound itself to an honorable observance of the treaty. In cases of difficulty with "the Christians," the savages were immediately to apply to the authorities at Fort Amsterdam; should an Indian be the aggressor, the Dutch were to complain to his sachem. No armed Indian was thereafter to approach the houses of the Christians on Manhattan; and no armed European was to visit the villages of the savages, unless with a native escort. With benevolent consideration, the Dutch pressed for and obtained from the savages the promise to restore the captive grand-daughter of Anne Hutchinson. The promises of the savages were faithfully performed. Joy succeeded sadness in the devastated province, on the ratification of the great Indian Treaty of Fort Amsterdam. On the morrow, a placard was issued, directing the observance of the sixth of September as a day of general thanksgiving in the Dutch and English churches, "to proclaim the good tidings throughout New Netherland."*

CHAP. XII.

1645.
30 August.

General treaty of peace at Fort Amsterdam.

31 August. Proclamation for a day of thanksgiving.

Thus peaceful days revisited the Dutch province. But the sting of war remained. In two years, sixteen hundred

* Alb. Rec., ii., 312–317; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 275, 276, 278; Winthrop, ii., 267; Bancroft, ii., 292; O'Call., i., 354–357; *ante*, p. 356, 360

CHAP. XII. savages had been killed; at Manhattan, and in its neighborhood, scarcely one hundred men, besides traders, could be found. The church, which had been begun in 1642, remained unfinished. The money which the impoverished commonalty had contributed to build a common school-house, had "all found its way out," and was expended for the troops. Even the poor-fund of the deaconry was sequestered, and applied to the purposes of the war. Beyond Manhattan, almost every settlement on the west side of the North River, south of the Highlands, was destroyed. The greater part of the western territory of Long Island was depopulated. West Chester was desolated. In all the province, the posts on the South River and the colonie of Rensselaerswyck alone escaped the horrors of war. The work of regeneration was now to be begun.*

1645. Condition of the Dutch Province.

Kieft purchases lands on Long Island for the company. 10 Sept.

Kieft's attention was first given to securing the Indian title to the lands in the neighborhood of Manhattan which had not yet been ceded to the company. A few days after the peace, a tract extending along the bay of the North River, from Coney Island to Gowanus, now known as New Utrecht, was purchased from the Long Island Indians, and became part of the public domain of the province. This purchase completed the title of the West India Company to most of the land within the present counties of Kings and Queens.

19 October. Settlement of Flushing.

The next month, Thomas Farrington, John Lawrence, John Townsend, Thomas Stiles, and several other English emigrants, obtained from the director a patent for about sixteen thousand acres, to the eastward of Doughty's ruined settlement at Mespath. The territory which was chosen by the new colonists was named Vlissingen by the Dutch, after one of the principal sea-port towns in Zealand. The patentees received a grant of municipal privileges, similar to those which their countrymen had before obtained from the provincial authorities of New Netherland;† and the foundations of the present flourishing village of Flushing

* Breeden Raedt, 19; Hol. Doc., iii., 369; iv., 41; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 292, 331.

† Thompson's L. I., ii., 68, 69; O'Call., i., 357; *post*, p. 537.

were happily laid, in one of the most fertile regions of Long Island.

1645.

The English colonists, who had been driven by the savages from their settlement at Mespath, returned to their desolated homes soon after the peace was concluded. But discords soon broke out among them. Doughty, who had been liberally treated by the Dutch at Manhattan, exhibited signs of covetousness soon after his return to Mespath, where he would allow no one to build, unless upon exorbitant terms of purchase and quit-rent. His associates, who did not wish "to hinder population," were opposed to this policy; and Smith and others complained to the director and council at Manhattan. Upon a hearing of the case, the court decided that "the associates might enter upon their property"—the farm and lands which Doughty had in possession being reserved to him individually. From this decision, Doughty gave notice of an appeal to the Court of Holland, which, however, Kieft would not allow. "His sentence," he said, "could not be appealed from, but must avail absolutely;" and Doughty was condemned to be imprisoned twenty-four hours, and to pay a fine of twenty-five guilders. Not long afterward, he removed to the neighboring settlement at Flushing, where he became the first clergyman of the English colonists, at an annual salary of six hundred guilders.*

Colonists return to Mespath.

Case of Francis Doughty.

Doughty removes to Flushing

Lady Moody, who had so bravely repelled the attacks of the Indians during the war, was now complimented by Kieft with a patent, granting to herself, Sir Henry Moody her son, Ensign George Baxter, and Sergeant James Hubbard, that portion of Long Island adjoining Coney Island, upon which she lived, called by the Dutch "Gravesande," and now known as Gravesend. The patentees were assured "the free liberty of conscience, according to the custom and manner of Holland, without molestation or disturbance from any magistrate or magistrates, or any other ecclesiastical minister that may pretend jurisdiction over

19 Dec. Lady Moody's patent for Gravesande.

* Breeden Raedt, 24, 25; Vertoogh van N. N., and Corte Bericht, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 301, 302, 333; Thompson's Long Island, ii., 70.

CHAP. XII. 1645.

them." They were also liberally allowed "to erect a body politic and civil combination among themselves, as free men of this province and town of Gravesend," and invested with all "the immunities and privileges already granted to the inhabitants of this province, or hereafter to be granted, as if they were natives of the United Belgic Provinces." Loyalty to the Dutch authorities was required; and the use of the "New Style," and of the weights and measures of New Netherland, alone enjoined.*

Minerals discovered near Fort Orange. July.

Soon after the peace was made with the Fort Orange Indians, Kieft, in pursuance of orders he had received from Holland to ascertain the mineral riches of the province, sent an officer and several men to the hill, where he was told the substance was to be found which La Montagne had supposed to be gold. The party brought back a bucket full of earth and stones, upon which several experiments were made, "all with the same result as the first." The

31 August.

next month, when the general treaty was made at Fort Amsterdam, some of the savages exhibited several speci-

Among the Raritans.

mens of minerals found in the Nevesinck Hills, near the Raritans. Kieft supposing them to contain valuable metal, sent a party to explore the region; and determined to build a fort for the security of any mines that might be discovered. An analysis of the specimens which the party brought back yielded what was supposed to be gold and

12 October.

quicksilver; and an officer and thirty men were dispatched again to continue the exploration, and procure as many specimens as they could for transmission to Holland. The new mine among the Raritans was judged to be "richer and better than any others before known." Samples of all these minerals were carefully packed, and put in charge

Arendt Corssen dispatched to Holland.

of Arendt Corssen, the former commissary at the South River, to be delivered to the Amsterdam directors. There being no ship at Manhattan ready to sail for Holland,

* Gravesend Records; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 629; Thompson's Long Island, ii., 171; *ante*, p. 367. Coney Island was patented to Gysbert op Dyck on the 24th of May, 1644. The name of Coney Island Judge Benson derives from *Conyn*, "a Dutch surname still remaining among us;" but he adds that, "from the name *coney*, there are already symptoms of the beginning of a tradition that it once abounded in *rabbits*."—ii., N Y. Hist. Coll., ii., p. 93.

Corssen proceeded to New Haven, where he embarked, about Christmas, in a vessel of eighty tons, belonging to Lamberton and his associates, which was about to sail for London. The severe winter, "the earliest and sharpest" since the settlement of New England, had already set in; and the harbor was frozen up. A passage was, nevertheless, "cut out of the ice three miles," and the ship got to sea early the next month. But "misfortune attended all on board." The New Haven vessel foundered at sea, and "was never heard of after."*

CHAP. XII.

1645. 25 Dec.

Corssen lost at sea.

1646. January.

In the mean time, the affairs in New Netherland had received the serious attention of the West India Company. The report of their Chamber of Accounts decided the future policy of the directors; and, in accordance with its recommendations, the College of the XIX., at its meeting the next spring, determined that thenceforward the provincial government should be vested in a "Supreme Council," consisting of a Director General, a Vice Director, and a Fiscal, by whom all public concerns were to be managed. This decision rendered new arrangements necessary.

Action of the West India Company in relation to New Netherland.

1645. March.

It happened that Peter Stuyvesant, the director of the company's colony at Curaçoa, who had lost a leg in an unsuccessful attack on the Portuguese island of Saint Martin, was obliged to return to Holland for surgical aid, in the autumn of 1644. Stuyvesant was the son of a clergyman in Friesland, and was educated in the High School at Franeker.† While there, he acquired that familiar knowledge of the Latin language which he was always fond of displaying. After leaving school, he entered the military service, and was appointed by the West India Company to be the Director of their colony at Curaçoa. He delighted in pomp and the ostentation of command; and his

Peter Stuyvesant.

1644. April.

His early life.

* Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 267; Van der Donck's N. N., 29; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 161, 162; Hol. Doc., ii., 362, 363; Alb. Rec., ii., 262, 312, 318, 323; O'Call., i., 359; Winthrop, ii., 254, 266; Mather's Magnalia, i., 25, 26. Trumbull and Hazard (Ann. Penn., 93) err in stating the loss of the New Haven vessel in the year 1647.

† Breeden Raedt, 26, where Stuyvesant's conduct at Franeker is stated to have been culpable. A faulty translation of extracts from this work is printed in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 101–112.

CHAP. XII. 1645. conduct in the expedition against Saint Martin did not escape censure. The directors, however, looked upon the attack as "a piece of Roman courage;" and Stuyvesant's health becoming re-established after his return to Holland, they determined to appoint him in the place of Kieft, and send him to New Netherland as "redresser general" of all abuses. Van Dincklagen's provisional appointment in December was, therefore, revoked; and he was now formally commissioned as vice-director, to be "second to, and first counselor of the director of New Netherland." Hendrick van Dyck, who had served as ensign under Kieft, was soon afterward appointed, by the Amsterdam Chamber, to be fiscal in the place of Van der Huygens, "to make complaints against all delinquents and transgressors of the military laws, and all other our instructions and commands," and was furnished with detailed instructions respecting his duties.*

May. Appointed director of New Netherland.

5 May. Van Dincklagen vice-director.

Van Dyck fiscal. 28 June.

Early the next month, the College of the XIX. prepared and adopted a code of general instructions for the regulation of the "supreme council in the countries of New Netherland." Under these instructions, the director, as president, with his vice, and the fiscal, were to administer and decide upon all civil and military affairs: when the fiscal was prosecutor, the military commandant was to sit in his stead; and if the charge was a criminal one, "two capable persons" were to be "adjoined from the commonalty of that district where the crime or act was perpetrated." The director and council were to "take care that the English do not encroach further on the company's lands," and, in the mean time, try to arrange a definite boundary line. They were to endeavor, by all possible means, "to pacify and give satisfaction to the Indians," and advance "on the one side the interests of the company, and on the other maintain good correspondence with their neighbors." They were to "do all in their power to induce the colonists to establish themselves on some of the most suitable places, with a certain number of inhabit-

7 July. Instructions of the Provincial Council.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 3; vi., 197, 236; Breeden Raedt, 26, 27, 35.

ants, in the manner of towns, villages, and hamlets, as the English are in the habit of doing." Fort Amsterdam was to be at once repaired with "good clay, earth, and firm sods." A permanent garrison was to be maintained; and for greater security, the colonists were also to be required to provide themselves with "weapons for their own defense, so as to be able, in time of necessity, with the garrison, to resist a general attack." But this colonial militia was not to receive pay. The right of the several subordinate colonies to send delegates to the council at Manhattan was confirmed. The director and council were to encourage, by grants of land, the immediate planting and settlement of the island of Manhattan, and to permit the introduction of as many negroes as the patroons, colonists, and other farmers may be "willing to purchase at a fair price." No arms or ammunition were to be sold to the Indians. The company having "now resolved to open to private persons the trade which it has exclusively carried on with New Netherland," and to permit all the inhabitants of the United Provinces "to sail with their own ships to New Netherland, the Virginias, the Swedish, English, and French colonies, or other places thereabout," the director and council were finally instructed to be vigilant in enforcing all colonial custom-house regulations which might be enacted.* It was also agreed in the College of the XIX., that the expenses of the government of New Netherland should, in future, be borne by all the Chambers of the company in common. The Amsterdam Chamber, however, charged itself with the equipment of two vessels, to convey Stuyvesant and his suite to Manhattan.†

CHAP. XII.

1645.

Instructions for the Provincial Council.

6 July.

Another meeting of the XIX. was held at Middleburg in the following autumn, at which Stuyvesant submitted a memorial in relation to the better government of the company's American possessions. The whole subject was now reconsidered. After much discussion, it was eventually determined that the carrying trade between Hol-

21 Sept.

14 October.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 19. Translations of these instructions, and of Van Dincklagen's and Van Dyck's commissions and instructions, are in O'Call., ii., Appendix, 559–564.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 3.

CHAP. XII. land and New Netherland, which had hitherto been retained as a monopoly by the company, with an exception in favor of the privileged patroons, should be thrown open to the vessels of private merchants. Regulations were adopted to give effect to this policy, and to concentrate all colonial trade at Manhattan. All cargoes shipped to New Netherland were to be examined, on their arrival, by the customs' officers at Fort Amsterdam; and all homeward-bound vessels were to clear from the same place, where bonds were to be given for the payment of duties in Holland. Curaçoa, Aruba, and the neighboring West India Islands, were also to be placed under the general government of the director of New Netherland. But some of the Chambers of the company demurred to the new expenses which they were to incur by sharing in common the charges of the province; and the Amsterdam directors eventually retained the exclusive management of New Netherland.*

1645. New arrangements respecting trade and commerce.

The province remains under the Amsterdam Chamber.

These disagreements among the several Chambers interrupted the plans which had been arranged during the spring and summer; and Stuyvesant's departure was delayed for more than a year. Intelligence of the peace, which had at last been established in New Netherland, was now received in Holland; and the improved aspect of the affairs of the province perhaps tempted the company to allow Kieft to remain awhile longer in the post he had so unworthily occupied.

Stuyvesant's departure postponed.

Kieft's unpopularity increases.

The news of the intended recall of the director soon reached Manhattan. The commonalty were delighted with the prospect of a change; and some of the most free-spoken of them did not hesitate openly to express their joy, and even threaten their mortified chief with personal chastisement, when he should "take off the coat with which he was bedecked by the Lords his masters." Kieft, who had been furnished by the West India Company with a copy of the letter of the Eight Men, of the previous au-

Temper of the people.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 31–63; v., 124; viii., 153; Alb. Rec., viii., 39, 40; xii., 45, 63, 70; O'Call., i., 360, 361.

tumn, was in no temper to brook the reproaches with which he was now constantly saluted. The people who ventured to speak too boldly were arraigned, and fined and banished. No appeal to the Fatherland was allowed. The right had already been refused in the case of the English clergyman Doughty; another opportunity now occurred to deny it to a "free merchant" of Manhattan. Arnoldus van Hardenburg, for giving a written notice of his intention to appeal from a decree of confiscation, was condemned "to pay forthwith a fine of twenty-five guilders, or be imprisoned until the penalty be paid—an example to others." Van Hardenburg's conduct was looked upon as causing "dangerous consequences to result to the supreme authority of this land's magistracy."*

CHAP. XII. 1645.

The right of appeal again refused.

28 April.

The republican spirit which accompanied the colonists from Holland led them to denounce Kieft's denial of the right of appeal. They considered it "an act of tyranny, and regarded it as a token of sovereignty." Two years before, they had boldly complained to the States General that "one man," who represented the West India Company, had acted in a more arbitrary manner "than a king would be suffered legally to do." The popular feeling was encouraged by Domine Bogardus, whom Kieft had accused of drunkenness, and reprimanded for siding with the malcontented multitude. Twelve years before, Bogardus had not hesitated to attack Van Twiller in rude words. From the pulpit he now boldly denounced Van Twiller's more obnoxious successor. "What are the great men of the country," said he to the congregation, as he was preaching on a Sunday, "but vessels of wrath, and fountains of woe and trouble? They think of nothing but to plunder the property of others, to dismiss, to banish, to transport to Holland." To escape such severe clerical admonitions, Kieft absented himself from church; and his example was followed by many of the chief provincial officers. The director encouraged the officers and soldiers to

The people denounce Kieft's tyranny.

Quarrel between Kieft and Bogardus.

* Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 302, 303, 333, 334; Breeden Raedt, 21, 25.

CHAP. XII. 1646. practice all kinds of noisy amusements about the church during the sermon. The drum was ordered to be beaten, and a cannon was several times discharged while the people were attending divine service. The communicants were openly insulted. But the Domine did not relax his censures; and the people were still more embittered. Kieft, vexed beyond endurance, at last determined to bring 2 January. the contumacious clergyman to trial. "Your conduct stirs the people to mutiny and rebellion, when they are already too much divided, causes schism and abuses in the Church, and makes us a scorn and laughing-stock to our neighbors," was the inducement to a series of charges which the director cited Bogardus to answer before the court in fourteen days.

The Domine's reply was considered insolent, calumni- 15 January. ous, and unsatisfactory; and a further answer was re- 22 March. quired, which Bogardus refused to give. The director now offered to refer the decision of the whole case to Megapolensis and Doughty, the other clergymen of the prov- April. ince, and two or three more impartial persons. Bogardus, however, rejected the proposition, and announced his intention to appeal to Kieft's successor. This appeal Kieft refused to entertain, as it was uncertain when the new director would arrive; and to stop "the scandal and disorder, which were prevailing more and more," the case was ordered to proceed. But the interference of mutual friends before long put an end to the prosecution; and the director was enabled to attend divine service once more, by the prompt compliance of Bogardus with his request, that Domine Megapolensis should be allowed to preach in the church the next Sunday, "as was his usual custom when in New Amsterdam." The Classis of Amsterdam had, meanwhile, been taking some steps to send out more clergymen to New Netherland. But their efforts were unsuc- 23 July. cessful; and the West India Company wrote to Bogardus, asking him to retain awhile longer his post in the province.*

The Director and the Domine reconciled.

* Vertoogh, ut sup., 202; Cor. Classis Amst.; Alb. Rec., ii., 334–347; O'Call., i., 362–365; Breeden Raedt, 22, 23. See also note O, Appendix.

Not long after this dispute had been arranged, Kieft was called upon to perform a pleasant duty. The captive grand-daughter of Anne Hutchinson, whom the savages had promised to return, was faithfully delivered up to the Dutch at Fort Amsterdam; and Kieft hastened to restore her to her friends at Boston. "She was about eight years old when she was taken, and continued with them about four years; and she had forgot her own language and all her friends, and was loath to have come from the Indians."*

1646. Restoration of Anne Hutchinson's grand-daughter. July.

In the mean time, Hans Jorissen Houten, so long the company's vice-director and commissary at Fort Orange, had been succeeded by Harman Mynderts van de Bogaerdt, who came out to the province in 1631 as surgeon of the ship Eendragt. The fort and its precinct was jealously maintained by the company; for it was now its sole possession within the colonie of Rensselaerswyck. The management of that patroonship had already given dissatisfaction to the provincial government, which, the year before, had so distinctly rebuked the arrogant pretension to levy a toll on vessels passing Beeren Island. The West India Company, indeed, by this time had begun to regard the colonie as injurious to the growth and prosperity of the province at large.†

1645. Affairs at Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck.

Arendt van Curler remained commissary of Rensselaerswyck; but Adriaen van der Donck, who had become dissatisfied with his residence in the colonie, determining to remove to Manhattan, where he had married a daughter of Francis Doughty, the English clergyman, was succeeded in his office of schout by Nicholas Koorn, the former "Wacht-meester" at Beeren Island. Before Van der Donck completed his arrangements for departing, the house which he had occupied was burned; and Van Curler invited him and his wife to share his hospitality during the depth of a remarkably inclement winter. A quarrel soon arose, because Van Curler insisted that Van der Donck was bound by his lease to make good to the pa-

Quarrel between Van Curler and Van der Donck.

1646. 17 January.

* Winthrop, ii., 267. Welde describes the captive as the daughter of Anne Hutchinson's daughter.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 199.

CHAP. XII. troon the loss of the house; and the unfortunate tenant was peremptorily ordered to "remove his chest" in two days. Seeking refuge in Fort Orange, Van der Donck was allowed by Commissary Van de Bogaerdt to occupy a hut "into which no one would hardly be willing to enter." There he remained until a great freshet came, which caused great damage at Beverswyck, and almost swept away the fort. It had not been equaled since the flood which De Vries witnessed in 1640. At length, on the opening of the river navigation, Van der Donck went down to Manhattan.*

1646.
19 Feb.
March.
28 April.

Death of Kiliaen van Rensselaer.

News of the death of Kiliaen van Rensselaer soon afterward reached the colonie. By this event, the title and estate of the patroon descended to his eldest son Johannes, who being under age, was, by his father's testamentary directions, placed, with his property, under the guardianship of Johannes van Wely and Wouter van Twiller, the executors of the will. Van Curler, now proposing to return to Holland, intrusted the immediate care of Rensselaerswyck to Anthonie de Hooges, the colonial secretary.

10 Nov. Brandt van Slechtenhorst appointed director of the colonie.

The same autumn, the guardians of the young patroon, having rendered homage to the States General in the name of their ward, appointed Brandt van Slechtenhorst, of Guelderland, director of the colonie, to succeed Van Curler. It was more than a year, however, before the new commissary arrived at Beverswyck.†

Van der Donck obtains a patent for a colonie north of Manhattan.

Not long after Van der Donck removed from Rensselaerswyck, he visited the region on the east side of the North River, adjoining Manhattan Island, for the purpose of establishing himself permanently as a patroon. The valley of the Nepera, or Sawkill, appeared favorable for the erection of mills, and Kieft readily granted to Van der

* Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 346, 469–471; Winthrop, ii., 254. The result of the differences between Van Curler and Van der Donck was "to let the matter rest so," and to take the advice of the patroon in Holland. Van der Donck, in his Beschryvinge van N. N., p. 8 (ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 143), speaks of two whales having swum up the North River, in March, 1647 (1646?); one of which grounding on an island near "the great Cohooes' Falls," since known as Walvisch or Whale Island, afforded the colonists a supply of oil, besides causing the river to be covered with grease for three weeks.

† Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 122, 345; ii., 68, 69; *post*, p. 491.

Donck the privileges of a patroon over the lands in that neighborhood, because he "had contributed a vast deal by his services as mediator" in negotiating the peace at Fort Orange the year before, and had "advanced the principal part of the money, as the director general was at that period not well provided with it, to procure sewan." Under Kieft's grant, Van der Donck purchased from the savages their unextinguished title to the lands "as far as Papirinemin, called by our people (Spyt den Duyvel), in Spite of the Devil." The new patroonship was soon afterward formally named "Colen Donck," or Donck's Colony; and the States General confirmed to the patroon the right to dispose of his fief by will. The name of the present town of Yonkers perpetuates the memory of the first European proprietor of Colendonck.*

CHAP. XII. 1646.

Spyt den Duyvel.

Colendonck, now Yonkers

The same summer, Kieft issued a patent to Cornelis Antonissen van Slyck, of Breuckelen, for "the land of Katskill, lying on the River Mauritius, there to plant, with his associates, a colonie according to the freedoms and exemptions of New Netherland." The consideration for this patent were the great services which Van Slyck had done "this country, as well in the making of peace as in the ransoming of prisoners, and it being proper that such notorious services should not remain unacknowledged."† In thus granting a patent for the present town of Catskill, Kieft openly set at naught the pretensions of the patroon of Rensselaerswyck, which, indeed, had already been formally denied in the proceedings against Koorn in 1644.

22 August. Patent for Katskill.

The policy recommended by the West India Company's Chamber of Accounts was now acted upon; and late in the autumn, the inhabitants of Breuckelen were invested with a grant of the municipal privileges they desired. They were to have the right of electing two schepens or magistrates, with full judicial powers, as in the Father-

26 Nov. Breuckelen obtains a municipal government.

* Alb. Rec., viii., 79; Patents, i., 56; Hol. Doc., vi., 118; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 401–409; Benson's Memoir, 111, 112; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 127. The Dutch were in the habit of calling Van der Donck's estate "de Jonkheer's Landt," which the English afterward corrupted into "Yonkers." Jonkheer is a title usually applied in Holland to the son of a nobleman. It had a more extended significance in New Netherland.

† Alb. Rec. G. G., 157; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., i., 382, 383; *ante*, p. 378, 401.

CHAP. XII.

land. Those who opposed the magistrates in the discharge of their duties were to be deprived of all share in the common lands adjoining the village. A schout was also to be appointed, in subordination to the schout-fiscal at Manhattan; and Jan Teunissen was immediately commissioned for the post. The village of Breuckelen itself was, at this time, nearly a mile inland from the river; the hamlet at the water's edge, opposite Manhattan, was known as "the Ferry."*

1646. First schout of Breuckelen.

1645. Peace between the Iroquois and the French.

Peace had at length been arranged between the French and the Iroquois; and the Mohawk deputies had proclaimed at the Three Rivers, that they had "thrown the hatchet so high into the air, and beyond the skies, that no arm on earth can reach to bring it down." Father Jogues, who had just returned from France, was now commissioned to revisit the Mohawk country, with presents, to ratify the new treaty. Accompanied by Bourdon, an engineer, and some Indian guides, he ascended the Richelieu; traversed the waters of Champlain; passed "the place where the lake contracts;" and on the eve of the festival of Corpus Christi, reached the smaller lake, which the savages called "Andiatarocté." In commemoration of the day, the name of "Saint Sacrement" was now given to those pure waters, which Jogues was perhaps the first European to explore and traverse.† Continuing his route on foot, oppressed with the heavy luggage he was obliged to carry, at six leagues distance from the lake he reached the upper waters of a stream which the Iroquois called the "Oïogué," and which the Hollanders, who were settled upon it further down, had named "the River Mauritius." Again embarking, he descended the stream to Fort Orange, where he was hospitably entertained by the Dutch commander.

Father Jogues again in Canada.

1646. 16 May.

29 May. Visits "Lac du Saint Sacrement."

Descends the North River to Fort Orange. 4 June.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 357, 385; iii., 362; O'Call., i., 383; Van Tienhoven, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 332, and Murphy's note.

† "Ils arrivèrent, la veille du S. Sacrement, au bout du Lac qui est joint au grand Lac de Champlain. Les Iroquois le nomment Andiatarocté, comme qui diroit *là ou le Lac se ferme*. Le Père le nomma le Lac du S. Sacrement."—Relation, 1645–6, 50. These beautiful waters might now better bear the aboriginal name suggested by Cooper, or that of the illustrious missionary who explored them, than commemorate the "undoubted dominion" of a Hanoverian king; *ante*, p. 77, note.

Thence proceeding to the Mohawk country, after two days' journey, he reached their first castle, called "Oneugiouré," now known as Caughnawaga. The Mohawks received him kindly, and interchanged presents in ratification of their treaty; and Jogues, after offering to the Onondagas the friendship of the French, returned to the Three Rivers "by the same route, and with similar toil." CHAP. XII. 1646. 6 June. Revisits the Mohawk country. Returns to Canada. 17 June.

It was now hoped that the time had come for France to establish a permanent mission among the Iroquois; and before the end of three months, Jogues, whose zeal "burned to preach the faith," was again on his way to the Mohawk valley. "*Ibo, nec redibo*"—"I shall go, but shall never return," was his own presage, in the last letter he wrote to his superior in France. The fate he expected awaited him. Disease had swept off many of the savages; their harvest had failed; and the Mohawks were persuaded that the Evil Spirit lurked in the small box of missionary furniture which the father had left in their charge. On reaching the Mohawk valley, Jogues was seized, stripped, and beaten; and the grand council condemned him to death as an enchanter. As he was entering the wigwam where he was called to sup, a savage behind the door struck him down with an axe. His head was cut off and impaled upon the stockade, and his body was thrown into the Mohawk River. Thenceforward that valley became known in the annals of the Jesuits as "the Mission of the Martyrs."* 24 Sept. Jogues again returns to the Mohawks. 17 October. 18 October. His death.

The interests of the Hollanders on the South River had, meanwhile, demanded Kieft's serious attention. With but a small force—eighty or ninety men at the utmost—to garrison all his posts, Printz, the new Swedish governor, had succeeded, by good management, in drawing to himself nearly all the Indian trade in that quarter, and had almost annihilated the commerce of the Dutch.† A new em- 1645. Affairs on the South River.

* Relation, &c., 1645–6, 50–59; 1647, 6–8, 124–130; Letters of Labbatie, 30th of Oct., and of Kieft, 14th of Nov., 1646, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii.; Tanner, Soc. Jesu, &c., 530, 531; Creuxius, 457; Bancroft, iii., 135–138; O'Call., ii., 300; Hildreth, ii., 87. The missal of Father Jogues, and some of his clothes, were afterward given by the Mohawks to Domine Megapolensis.—Letter to Classis of Amsterdam, 28th of September, 1658.

† Fort New Gottenburg, with all its buildings, was burned down on the 5th of Decem-

CHAP. XII.

barrassment soon occurred. Jan Jansen was charged with fraud and neglect of duty; and the provincial government, after examining the evidence, sent Andries Hudde, the town surveyor of New Amsterdam, to succeed him, "for the present," as commissary at Fort Nassau. Jansen, on his return, was unable to justify himself to the satisfaction of Kieft, who ordered him to be sent, "with all his documents and the process of the schout-fiscal, with the first sailing ship to Amsterdam, to defend and exculpate himself before the directors."*

1645. Jansen superseded. 12 October. Andries Hudde appointed commissary. 1646. 3 Feb.

Hudde soon found that the office of commissary on the South River was no sinecure. A shallop, which several private traders at Manhattan had dispatched to him with a considerable cargo, was directed, on its arrival at Fort Nassau, to proceed "to the Schuylkill near the right, and wait for the Minquas." As soon as the Dutch vessel reached the spot, Juriaen Blanck, the trader on board, was ordered off by the Swedish commander, who claimed that the country belonged to his queen. Hudde hearing of this, instantly went with four men to the Schuylkill, "to examine how matters stood." But the Dutch commissary himself was treated with no more favor than were the Manhattan traders; and he too, receiving notice to leave the Swedish territory, returned at once to Fort Nassau, after sending a message to Printz that the Schuylkill had always been a trading place for the Dutch. The next day Printz sent his chaplain, Campanius, to communicate his determination to compel the Dutch vessel to leave the Schuylkill. Hudde protesting against such arbitrary conduct as an infringement of the rights of the West India Company, and as a breach of the alliance between the United Provinces and Sweden, Printz sent Hendrick Huygens, his commissary, with two of his officers, to ascertain the rights which the Dutch claimed to the Schuylkill,

23 June. A Dutch sloop ordered out of the Schuylkill by the Swedes.

Hudde's negotiation with Printz.

ber, 1645, and all the powder and goods in store blown up. The accident was owing to the negligence of a servant, who fell asleep, leaving a candle burning.—Hudde's Report, in Alb. Rec., xvii., 321, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 429; Winthrop, ii., 254; Hubbard, 434.

* Alb. Rec., ii., 319, 323, 337; Acrelius, 413: S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 85, 86.

1646.

and to interrogate the commissary at Fort Nassau as to his conduct. But Hudde's replies were considered to be unsatisfactory; and a few days afterward, Printz sent a peremptory order for Blanck to depart at once, under pain of confiscation of his vessel and cargo. On this warning, Blanck, fearing that Printz would execute his threat, sailed out of the Schuylkill; and Hudde immediately wrote to Kieft an account of the affair.*

1 July.

12 July.

Soon afterward, Hudde, in obedience to orders from Kieft, "to inquire about certain minerals in this country," went up to the country of the Sankikan Indians, who were seated at Assinpink, now Trenton, in New Jersey, and tried to penetrate to the "Great Falls." As he was passing the lower rapids, he was stopped by one of the sachems, and forbidden to proceed. After some hesitation, the sachem admitted that Printz had spread a report among the Indians that the Dutch intended to establish a fort at the falls, to be garrisoned with two hundred and fifty men from Manhattan, and exterminate all the savages in the neighborhood. In vain did Hudde employ a variety of means to succeed in his object. He was stopped every time by the same objection, and was finally compelled to return to Fort Nassau without being able to reach the Falls.†

Hudde prevented from visiting the Falls at Trenton.

Printz endeavors to excite the Indians against the Dutch.

About the same time, the director and council at Manhattan granted to Abraham Planck and three others, one hundred morgens, or two hundred acres of land, lying on the west side of the South River, "almost over against the little 'Singing-bird' Island," upon condition that they should settle four plantations there within one year, and always continue their allegiance to the States General. But it is said that the grantees did not avail themselves of their patent, and "never came there."‡

10 August. Kieft grants lands on the South River to Dutch subjects.

The next month, Hudde received a letter from Kieft, in

7 Sept.

* Hudde's Report, in Alb. Rec., xvii., 321, and in ii., N. Y. Coll., i., p. 430–432. It seems that some of the Swedish officers were native Dutchmen. Hendrick Huygens, Printz's commissary, was a nephew of Minuit, and a native of Cleef; and Gregory van Dyck, the sergeant or Wacht-meester, was born at the Hague.

† Hudde's Report, ut sup., 432, 433.

‡ Alb. Rec., Patents, 153; Acrelius, 417; Hazard, Reg. Penn., iv., 119.

CHAP. XII. 1646. which he was "imperiously commanded" to purchase from the savages some land "on the west shore, about a mile distant from Fort Nassau to the north." On the following day, the Dutch commissary accordingly took possession of the spot, which seems to have adjoined Corssen's first purchase; and soon afterward, a bargain was completed with the "original proprietor," who assisted in affixing the arms of the company to a pole erected on the limits. Several Dutch freemen immediately made preparations to build on their newly-acquired possession, which, considering its distance and direction from Fort Nassau, may be very properly regarded as the site of the present city of Philadelphia.*

25 Sept. Hudde purchases the site of Philadelphia from the natives.

Printz, on receiving intelligence of this, sent his commissary Huygens to oppose the proceedings of the Dutch. The Swedish officer promptly executed his orders. "In an insolent and hostile manner," he tore down the arms which Hudde had erected, and declared that "though it had been the colors of the Prince of Orange that were hoisted there, he would have thrown these too under his feet."†

8 October. The Dutch arms torn down by the Swedes.

30 Sept. 10 October. A few days afterward, Printz formally notified Hudde to discontinue the "injuries" of which he had been guilty against the crown of Sweden, and protested against the "secret and unlawful purchase of land from the savages," which would seem to argue that the Dutch had no more right to that place than to their other "pretensive claims"

Printz protests against Hudde's purchase.

* Hudde's Report, in Alb. Rec., xvii., and in ii., N. Y. Coll., i., p. 433, 440; Acrelius, 412; Ferris's Early Settlements, p. 75; *ante*, p. 232. Campanius (p. 79) says that a few days before this (Sept. 4, 1646), he consecrated a decent wooden church, which had just been built at Tinicum. Before the building of this church, worship was probably conducted in some part of the Fort New Gottenburg, which was destroyed by fire the last year.—Hazard's Ann. Penn., 89.

† Hudde's Report, 435; Acrelius, 412. Alluding to this occurrence, the commonalty of N. N., in their "Vertoogh," of the 13th of October, 1649, remark, "It is matter of evidence, that above *Maghchachansie*, near the *Sankikans*, the arms of their High Mightinesses were erected, by order of Director Kieft," &c.—ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 283. The place, however, seems here to have been inaccurately described as at Crosswick Creek, near Bordentown. Acrelius, too (p. 412), says that it was "at Santhickan," or Trenton. But Commissary Hudde, as we have already seen, was prevented reaching Trenton Falls, or "Assinpink," where the Sankikans were seated; and he expressly states that the spot upon which he erected the Dutch arms was "on the *west* shore, about a Dutch mile distant from Fort Nassau to the north," or on the site of Philadelphia.

1646.

on the South River. Finding that the Swedish governor had followed up his protest by "forbidding his subjects to enter into any transactions" with the Dutch, Hudde replied, "I purchased the land not in a clandestine manner, neither unjustly, unless your honor calls that a clandestine manner which is not performed with your honor's knowledge. I purchased it from the real owner. If he sold that land previously to your honor, then he imposed upon me shamefully. The place which we possess, we possess in deed, in just property—perhaps before the name of the South River was heard of in Sweden." Referring to the "insolent and hostile" manner in which the Dutch arms had been thrown down, Hudde warned the Swedish governor that his conduct could have "no other tendency than to cause great calamities;" and urged him to promote good correspondence and harmony, "at least from the consideration that we who are Christians should not place ourselves as a stumbling-block or laughing-stock to those savage heathens."

22 October. Hudde's reply to Printz.

But the Dutch commissary's dispatch was very unceremoniously treated by the imperious commander of the Swedes. When Hudde's messenger arrived at Fort New Gottenburg, Printz, taking the letter from his hand, threw it on the ground, bidding one of his attendants to "take care of it;" and then went "to meet some Englishmen just arrived from New England." After some interval, the messenger, asking for an answer, "was thrown out of doors, the governor taking a gun in his hand from the wall, to shoot him, as he imagined." Printz, however, was prevented from leaving the room to execute his threat; but his general conduct toward the Dutch continued brutal in the extreme. "The subjects of the company," wrote Hudde, "as well freemen as servants, when arriving at the place where he resides, are in a most unreasonable manner abused, so that they are often, on returning home, bloody and bruised."*

Printz's discourteous conduct toward the Dutch. 23 October.

Thus ended Kieft's negotiations with the Swedes on the

* Hudde's Report, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 434–436.

CHAP. XII. 1646.

South River. Angry recriminations alone marked their progress; for the bankrupt authorities at Manhattan were in no position to repel distant encroachments. And thus the purchase and occupation of the site of Philadelphia by the Dutch was the occasion of unseemly wrangles between the rival European colonists who first settled themselves on the banks of the Delaware.

Difficulties with the English at the East.

While the Swedes were thus thwarting the Dutch on the South River, the attention of the government at Fort Amsterdam was awakened to fresh annoyances from the English at the East. The post which Pynchon had established at Springfield effectually commanded the upper valley of the Connecticut. Some of the New Haven people now purchased a tract of land from the Indians, and built a trading-house on the Paugussett or Naugatuck River, just above its confluence with the Housatonic. This brought the English settlements within a short distance of Magdalen Island, on the North River.* On learning this, Kieft dispatched Lieutenant George Baxter, with a letter in Latin to Governor Eaton, complaining of the "insatiable desire" of New Haven to usurp Dutch territory and possess "that which is ours." Against Eaton himself and his people he protested, as disturbers of the public quiet, "because you and yours have of late determined to fasten your foot near the Mauritius River, in this province;" and he threatened that, if the English did not make proper reparation, the Dutch would use all the means God had given them to recover their rights.

New Haven trading-post on the Paugussett.

3 August. Kieft protests against the encroachment.

In a few days, Eaton replied in Latin, professing to know no such river as the Mauritius, "unless it be that which the English have long and still do call Hudson's River," and denying that they had in any respect injured the Dutch. They had built, he admitted, a small house within their own territory, which they had purchased from the Indians "on Paugussett River, which falls into the sea in the midst of the English plantations, many miles, nay, leagues from the Manhattoes, from the Dutch trading-

$\frac{17}{27}$ August. Eaton claims the territory by purchase from the savages.

* ii., N. Y. Coll., ii., p. 273; O'Call., i., 376; *ante*, p. 54, note, 261.

house, or from any port on Hudson's river." And then, adroitly recriminating, he alluded to the injuries which the Dutch had done the people of New Haven, at the South River and at Manhattan, and offered to refer the whole case to arbitration, "either here or in Europe," being well assured that the king and Parliament would maintain their own rights, and that even Kieft's own superiors would "approve the righteousness" of the proceedings of New Haven.*

Chap. XII. 1646. Complains again of the conduct of the Dutch on the South River.

The next month the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at New Haven, and within the claimed limits of New Netherland. Taking advantage of the occasion, the Hartford people laid before them their story of the wrongs which David Provoost, the commissary at Fort Good Hope, had committed against them. The commissioners "thought fit to express their apprehensions in writing," and accordingly sent a letter in Latin to Kieft, complaining that the Dutch agent and his company at Hartford had "now grown to a strange and insufferable boldness." An Indian captive, who had fled from her English master, was "entertained" at the Fort Good Hope; and, though required by the magistrate, was detained by the Dutch. "Such a servant," urged the commissioners, "is part of her master's estate, and a more considerable part than a beast."† When the "watch at Hartford" was sent to reclaim the slave, Provoost drew and broke his rapier upon their weapons, and then retired within the fort. "Had he been slain in this proud affront, his blood had been upon his own head."

September. The commissioners meet at New Haven.

5/15 Sept. Letter to Kieft.

Lieutenant Godfrey, who was dispatched to Fort Amsterdam with this letter, returned in a few days with Kieft's reply in Latin, addressed to the "Commissioners

22 Sept. Kieft's unwise reply.

* Hazard, ii., 55, 56.

† It appears to have been the practice in the Puritan colonies to enslave and sell into foreign bondage the natives of North America.—Winthrop, i., 234, 254; Bancroft, i., 168, 169; *ante*, p. 272. Winthrop himself bequeathed to his son his "Indians," at his island "called Governor's Garden."—Winthrop, ii., App., 360. The Massachusetts code of 1641 expressly sanctioned the holding in bond slavery of "lawful captives taken in just wars," and such "as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us," several years before the example was followed by Virginia or Maryland.—Colony Charters and Laws, xii., 52, 53; Hildreth, i., 278.

CHAP. XII. 1646.

of the Federated English, met together at the Red Mount, or New Haven, in New Netherland." The Hartford people, he insisted, had deceived the commissioners with false accusations; the wrongs were committed on their side; their usurpation of Dutch jurisdiction, and shedding of blood, and seizure of cattle, "do sufficiently testify the equity of their proceedings." As to the "barbarian handmaid," detained at Fort Good Hope, she was probably not a slave, but a free woman, "because she was neither taken in war nor bought with price." Yet she should not be "wrongfully detained." For the English at Hartford to complain of the Dutch at Fort Good Hope, was like "Esop's wolf complaining of the lamb." The answer of the New Haven people was what might have been expected; yet the Dutch would still pursue their own rights by just means. "We protest," concluded Kieft, "against all you commissioners met at the Red Mount, as against breakers of the common league, and also infringers of the special right of the Lords the States our superiors, in that ye have dared, without express commission, to hold your general meeting within the limits of New Netherland."

Protest against the meeting of the commissioners at New Haven.

$\frac{18}{28}$ Sept. Rejoinder of the commissioners.

The commissioners immediately declared themselves "much unsatisfied" with Kieft's letter. The Indian maid, they insisted, was a slave, captured in war, who had fled from public justice, and was detained by the Dutch, "both from her master and the magistrate." The conduct of the Dutch, in this and other respects, the commissioners conceived, fully warranted their use of the offensive term "unsufferable disorders." Kieft could hardly prove that the Hartford Confederates had deceived them by false complaints; and "for your other expressions, proverbs, or allusions, we leave them to your better consideration." "We have more cause to protest against your protestations," added the commissioners, "than you have to be offended at our boldness in meeting at New Haven, and, for aught we know, may show as good commission for the one as you for the other."*

* Hazard, ii., 57, 58, 68-72; i., N. Y. Hist. Coll., i., 189-199; Trumbull's Conn., i.,

This quiet dispatch closed the correspondence between the Director of New Netherland and the colonial authorities of New England, whose long altercations "had no dignity, because they were followed by no result."* While justice and equity appeared to be on the side of the Hollanders, the English negotiators showed themselves the best diplomatists; and the reckless Kieft only injured a good cause by intemperate zeal and undignified language.

22 Nov. Instructions of the Amsterdam Chamber to oppose the designs of the English.

Kieft promptly sent an account of the fresh encroachment of New Haven to the Amsterdam Chamber. The directors, in reply, instructed him to obtain authentic information respecting the assumed right of the Indians to sell to the English any lands within the Dutch limits, in the direction of Fort Orange; to prevent the erection of any more English trading-houses in that quarter by all possible measures short of those likely to provoke actual war; and to watch with vigilance, and oppose with vigor, all further movements of those grasping neighbors, who now seemed bent on appropriating to themselves the whole of New Netherland. Referring to the discovery of mines on Staten Island, and in the Raritan country, they also intimated that it was their purpose to send out proper persons to examine and report, and to continue explorations which they hoped would be advantageous to the company.†

Exploration of mines to be encouraged.

13 July. The company apply to the States General to ratify Stuyvesant's commission.

Kieft's disastrous administration was now drawing near its end. The differences among the several Chambers of the West India Company, which had so long delayed the departure of their new director from Holland, were now so far arranged, that in the summer of 1646 an application was made to the general government for the ratification of Stuyvesant's commission. But the statesmen at

155–158; Winthrop, ii., 268. Kieft having written to Winthrop, complaining of Whiting, a magistrate of Hartford, "for saying that the English were fools in suffering the Dutch in the centre," &c., the letter was referred to the commissioners, who wrote to the director that they wished "all such provoking and threatening language might be forborne on both parts," as contrary to the peace and neighborly correspondence they desired to preserve between the two nations. Kieft replied, that he would "altogether forget" what Whiting had said, and added, "that the sun of peace may more clearly shine among us, I both applaud and desire."

* Bancroft, ii., 283. † Alb. Rec., xii., 397, 398; O'Call., i., 359, 381.

CHAP. XII. 1646.

the Hague declined to take any action upon the subject until they knew how the company had disposed of the complaints which the commonalty of New Netherland had addressed to the Fatherland, and until they had examined the instructions for the provincial director and council, which the company had proposed the year before. These were promptly submitted; and the States General approving their tenor, ordered them to be enrolled in their archives.*

The company's instructions approved. 26 July.

28 July. Stuyvesant's commission approved.

Two days afterward, the draft of Stuyvesant's commission was considered and ratified. By this instrument, the States General appointed him director over New Netherland and the adjoining places, and also over the islands of Curaçoa, Buenaire, Aruba, and their dependencies. He was "to perform all that concerns his office and duties in accordance with the charter, and with the general and particular instructions herewith given and hereafter to be given to him;" and all the officers and subjects of the United Provinces in those countries were enjoined "to acknowledge respect, and obey the said Peter Stuyvesant as our director." The same day Stuyvesant appeared in person in the meeting of the States General, and took his oath of office. Immediately afterward, Lubbertus van Dincklagen was sworn, in the same manner, as vice-director and first counselor of New Netherland; and the newly-commissioned officers repaired to Amsterdam to hasten their preparations for embarking.†

Director and vice-director sworn in. 28 July.

Expedition sails from the Texel for New Netherland. December.

But the departure of the expedition was still delayed nearly five months longer. At last, all the preliminary arrangements were completed; and Stuyvesant and Van Dincklagen, accompanied by Fiscal Van Dyck, Captain Bryan Newton, an Englishman, who had served under the company several years at Curaçoa, Commissary Adriaen Keyser, and Captain Jelmer Thomas, embarked in four ships at the Texel. Besides these officers and their at-

* Hol. Doc., iii., 19, 70, 72, 74, 77, 78, 81.

† Hol. Doc., iii., 82–89. Stuyvesant was married at Amsterdam to Judith Bayard, the daughter of a French Protestant refugee.—ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 400, 455.

tendants, several soldiers and a number of free colonists and private traders now proceeded to New Netherland. CHAP. XII.

1646.

The little squadron sailed from the Texel on Christmas day, 1646. Running to the southward, the expedition visited the West Indies and Curaçoa; and during the prolonged voyage, Stuyvesant's imperious temper gave frequent earnests of a future arbitrary rule. At Saint Christopher's, the Fiscal Van Dyck, claiming a seat at the council board, to dispose of a captured prize, was rudely repelled—"When I want you, I will call you," was Stuyvesant's haughty reply. Renewing his attempt at Curaçoa, the insulted fiscal met a still sterner rebuff, and was not allowed even a "stroll ashore" during the three weeks the ship lay at anchor there.*

25 Dec.

Stuyvesant's arbitrary conduct on the voyage.

1647.

In the middle of May, nearly six months after his departure from Holland, the newly-commissioned director general arrived at Manhattan, and landed under a spontaneous salute of the inhabitants. The "whole community" turned out under arms; and there was so much shouting and firing, that almost all the powder in New Amsterdam was expended. "I shall govern you as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers, and this land," said Stuyvesant, as he was about to assume the authority which Kieft had misused.† And the people went joyously home, with hopeful auguries of their new chief.

11 May. Stuyvesant lands at Manhattan.

* Hol. Doc., vi., 62, 241.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 1; v., 36; xii., 30; Van Dincklagen to Van der Donck, in Hol. Doc., vi., 32; Breeden Raedt, 27.

CHAPTER XIII.

1647–1648.

CH. XIII. WHILE Stuyvesant was commencing an administration which was to endure until the end of the Dutch dominion over New Netherland, political events in Europe were gravely affecting the fortunes of the Fatherland.

Affairs in the Fatherland.

Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, who, since the death of his brother Maurice in 1625, had been stadtholder of the United Provinces, died in the spring of 1647, at the age of sixty-three years. During his long term of public service, he had approved himself worthy of his exalted station; and the judgment of posterity has pronounced him one of the wisest and best chief magistrates the United Netherlands ever possessed. Under the Act of Reversion, which the States of the provinces had passed in 1631, Frederick Henry's offices devolved, immediately upon his death, to his son, William II. The young prince burned to emulate his father's military renown; but the nation, distrusting his inexperience, was unwilling to prolong hostilities which Frederick Henry had anxiously desired to terminate. The draft of a separate treaty with Spain was agreed to by the States General, and instructions to complete it were sent to their plenipotentiaries at Munster, in Westphalia. These orders excited bitter complaints on the part of France, that the United Provinces were about to violate the treaty which they had lately made with Louis XIV.; and Mazarin even ordered Turenne, who was on his march to Bohemia, to return to the frontiers of Luxemburg. But the Dutch ambassadors were in no mood to lend themselves to the cardinal's

1647. 14 March. Death of the Stadtholder, Frederick Henry.

Succeeded by William II.

Negotiations at Munster.

crooked diplomacy; and, in spite of the intrigues of the French plenipotentiaries, the long-pending treaty was signed at Munster, in January, 1648, by the representatives of the United Netherlands and of Spain. The treaty was immediately ratified by Philip IV., and by the several states of the United Provinces; and peace was solemnly proclaimed, on the fifth of June, amid demonstrations of general joy. On the very day on which the Counts of Egmont and of Hoorn, the first martyrs for Batavian liberty, had been beheaded eighty years before, the undoubted sovereignty of the republic was formally recognized by the King of Spain, and formally published at the Hague. A few months afterward, the tranquillity of Europe was secured for a time by the definitive signature of the general treaty of Westphalia.*

1648. Treaty signed. 30 January.

Peace proclaimed. 5 June.

24 October. Treaty of Westphalia.

Thus, after eighty years of constant strife—intermitted only for twelve years by the truce of 1609 — the war which patriotism and justice commenced against tyranny and wrong, and which had cost Spain over fifteen hundred millions of ducats, was gloriously terminated by the full and absolute recognition of the sovereignty of the United Provinces. By the decree of unerring providence, the ancient oppressors of the Netherlands hastened to propitiate the powerful republic they had at last distinctly recognized in the face of the world. Le Brun was sent as ambassador to the Hague before Philip had himself received one from the Dutch; and in his address to the States General, on his first audience, the representative of Spain took especial pains to flatter the pride and conciliate the goodwill of that nation with which his master was now anxious to be on the best terms.†

1568.

1648.

Spanish ambassador sent to the Hague. 1649. 26 June.

The Dutch Republic.

The Dutch Republic, which, for nearly a century after it first took its place in the rank of independent nations, continued to sway the balance of European politics, owed

* Corps Dip., vi., 429, 450; Basnage, Annales des Prov. Un., i., 102, 110; Grattan, 262; Davies, ii., 645, 649; *ante*, p. 160.

† "On remarqua qu'il affectoit dans sa harangue de nommer *la République* avant le Roi son maître, et de répéter souvent les titres *d'Etat Puissant, Florissant, et Souverain.*' —Basnage, i., p. 156.

CH. XIII. its proud position to the moral qualities and free spirit of
1648. the people of the Netherlands; to the constitution of their government; to their geographical situation; their maritime power; their liberal commercial policy; their spirit of universal toleration; and to the wise statesmanship which attracted to their shores a winnowed population from other lands.

The house of Burgundy. The feudal sovereignty of the Netherlands had early centred in the house of Burgundy; and Philip I., from
1426. the time he became their chief, carefully respected the ancient rights and privileges of the Dutch. "Taxation only by consent," was the grand principle which the Batavian burghers steadily asserted as the fundamental con-
Philip I. dition of their obedience. And during Philip's sovereignty, the self-ruling spirit of the towns demanded and obtained successive enlargements of their franchises.

Charles the Bold. The short and eventful rule of Philip's son, Charles the Bold, was not favorable to the liberties of the Dutch. Military service was the original feudal tenure of lands; and the towns, which had commuted their liability by an ob-
Ruytergeld. ligation to pay a fixed "Ruytergeld," or militia rate, were constantly called upon to assist their warlike sovereign. But relief from oppression came before long, and it came from an unexpected quarter. Like the Dutch, the Swiss had early learned to depend upon their own unaided industry. Kindred in spirit, the Helvetians lived among the mountains whence the Rhine flowed; while the home of the Batavians was in the marshes where at length it
Battle of Morat. reached the sea. At the memorable field of Morat, the
1477. forces of the impetuous Charles were overwhelmed; and the fatal battle of Nancí, soon afterward, ended the brilliant but ill-starred career of the last reigning Duke of Burgundy.

On the death of Charles the Bold, the sovereignty of the
Mary of Burgundy. Netherlands passed to his only child Mary, then nineteen years of age; and the Dutch at once determined to render secure those liberties which had been invaded, and to extend still further the privileges they were resolved to en-

joy. Three months after the accession of Mary, the first assembly of the States General was summoned at Ghent. To this assembly came the deputies of the Netherlands, with anxious thought and immovable determination. They told their young sovereign that they would support and assist her; but, at the same time, they demanded of her the renouncement of prerogatives which had, of late years, made "great encroachments on the liberties and privileges of the provinces and towns." Mary was obliged to yield to the firm resolution of the States, and soon sealed patents of privileges for all the provinces of the Netherlands. The formal acknowledgment of the conditions upon which the popular allegiance was based was commonly known among the Hollanders as their "Great Charter." It guaranteed and confirmed the ancient privileges of the municipal governments, and recognized the right of the towns, at all times, to confer with each other, and with the states of the Netherlands. It declared that no taxes should be imposed without the consent of the states; and it distinctly secured the freedom of trade and commerce.* To these vital principles the Dutch ever afterward clung with the noblest tenacity.

CH. XIII.

1477. States General at Ghent.

Great Charter of Holland.

Taxation only by consent.

Twenty-three years after the concession of the "Great Charter" of Holland, the future Emperor of Germany, Charles V., was born at Ghent. He was brought up in the Low Countries, where he passed the happiest of his years. Through his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, he inherited the sovereignty of the Netherlands; toward which country, during the greater part of his reign, he manifested so much partiality as to cause dissatisfaction to his Spanish subjects. At length he abdicated his enormous empire; and the kingdom of Spain and the sovereignty of the Netherlands passed to his son, Philip II.

Charles V.

1500.

His abdication.

1555.

But the son, on succeeding to his father's hereditary dominions, did not inherit his father's political wisdom. Born at Valladolid, and educated in Spain, Philip knew but little of the ardent patriotism and love of liberty which

Philip II.

* Groot Placaatbook, ii., 658; Barante, xi., 1; Davies, i., 284; McCullagh, ii., 129–139

CH. XIII. distinguished the people of the Netherlands. No native sympathies attached him to the Dutch. He came to the throne with all the strong prejudices of a Spanish king; and commenced his reign over the Low Countries without the kindly feeling of a compatriot sovereign. Thinking that he could govern his Dutch subjects as a despot, and disregard their established laws, which the house of Burgundy had acknowledged and generally respected, he drove them into a Revolution, which resulted in the declaration of their national independence.

1555.

His bigotry and despotism.

Free spirit of the Batavians.

An indomitable spirit of civil liberty ever animated the Batavians. Of all the subjects of imperial Rome, they were the bravest. Dwelling in the isles rather than on the banks of the Rhine, they desired to avoid incorporation with the empire. Rome asked them not for contributions; but in the hour of danger looked for their aid, as the javelin is sought for on the eve of battle.*

Fourteen centuries after Tacitus thus vividly delineated the character of the early dwellers at the mouths of the Rhine, the writings of Luther were printed and publicly sold in the provinces of Friesland and Holland. Thenceforward the Netherlanders resolved to shake off all shackles upon the freedom of conscience. To their indomitable spirit of civil liberty was now added a determined purpose of resistance to ecclesiastical intolerance. Friesland openly adopted the principles of the Reformation; while Erasmus, of Rotterdam, without actually declaring himself a disciple of Luther, did perhaps as much as any of the other advocates of religious reform to correct the abuses of the Church.†

1518.

The Reformation in Holland and Friesland.

1540. The Spanish government presently attempted to impose restraints upon freedom of religion in the northern provinces of the Netherlands. Protestants were severely per-

* "Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Cattorum quondam populus, et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquæ societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus adterit; exempti operibus et collationibus, et tantum in usum præliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur."—Tacitus, De Mor. Ger., 29.

† Brandt, ii., 62, 63; Grattan, 67; Davies, i., 355; McCullagh, ii., 1. See also chapter iv., *ante*, p. 100, et seq.

secuted. A modified species of Inquisition was introduced into Holland. The writings of the Reformers were prohibited. A succession of edicts against heretics, each more rigorous than the last, marked the growing intolerance which distinguished the decade preceding the pompous abdication of Charles V.

1549. Action of the Spanish government.

The bigotry of Philip, so strongly in contrast to the mild spirit of Christianity, soon completed what Charles had begun. New bishoprics were erected, to provide, as the king alleged, for the spiritual wants of an increasing population, but more particularly for the extirpation of heresy. The measure was odious, not only to the clergy and the nobles, but more especially to the people, who had a firm conviction that its purpose was to support and increase the power of the Inquisition. Persecution was now carried on with increased vigor in most of the provinces, excepting those of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, of which William, prince of Orange, was stadtholder. The new decrees of the Council of Trent were published, and their enforcement proclaimed. Fresh edicts against heretics invested the clergy with almost unlimited power over the lives and property of the people. These edicts were no sooner published, than the popular mind became violently inflamed. Pamphlets and placards were distributed and posted on the walls of the towns. The people were eloquently exhorted to defend themselves against the Inquisition, and against the tyranny of the Spaniards. All efforts to discover the authors or printers of these unlicensed publications were unavailing. The spirit of liberty was aroused and at work.*

1559. Philip erects new bishoprics.

Persecutions.

1565. The popular mind inflamed.

It was quickly perceived that the people were on the eve of a revolt; and the nobles, wishing to provide for their own security by leading public opinion, framed the famous bond of alliance known as the "Compromise." By this

1566. March.

* Meteren, ii., 39; Davies, i., 520. It was on this occasion that a coin was issued from the Zealand Mint, stamped on the one side with the device of a dismasted ship, without a rudder, drifting on the waves, surrounded by the legend "INCERTUM QUO FATA FERENT;" and on the other with the effigy of Hope holding her anchor, and pointing to heaven, with the motto "SPES ALMA SUPERSIT."—Bizot, Med. Hist., 13; Van Loon, i., 72.

CH. XIII. 1566. instrument, they bound themselves on oath to resist, "to the utmost of their power, the establishment of the Inquisition, under what name or pretext soever; to support and assist each other as faithful friends and brothers; and if any one of them were disquieted or molested on account of this alliance, to devote their lives and properties to his protection."

Alliance of the nobles.

The confederated nobles soon took occasion to present a remonstrance on the state of public affairs to the Duchess of Parma, as governess of the Netherlands. As they approached the court at Brussels, on foot, plainly dressed, and unarmed, the Count of Barlaimont remarked to the governess that she had no cause of fear, since "they were only a troop of beggars (gueux)." The taunting expression was eagerly caught up, and went from mouth to mouth. "It is no shame," said the patriotic noblemen, "to be beggars for our country's good." A feast was given the same evening by the Lord of Brederode, at which nearly three hundred guests were present. "Vivent les gueux," resounded through the apartment. Brederode, bringing in a wooden vessel, such as the pilgrims used, pledged the company to the health of the "gueux;" the cup went round; the Prince of Orange, and the Counts of Egmont and Hoorn, joined in the pledge; and the epithet that levity suggested was soon seriously adopted as a party appellation and watch-word by all who were hostile to the measures of Philip's government. The gray garb of beggars became a political uniform. The taxes were no longer paid. A great Revolution was at hand.*

5 April.

Origin of the "Gueux."

Philip immediately prepared to send the Duke of Alva with a vast army into the Netherlands, to chastise his rebellious subjects. The "beggars" began to lay in stores of arms; and as the news of Alva's coming reached Brussels, the "Iconoclasts" began to destroy the images of the saints. With electric rapidity the impulse spread through all the provinces. Religious enthusiasm soon ran into riotous excess. In nearly every town and village the

The Duke of Alva sent to the Netherlands.

August. The Iconoclasts.

* Meteren, ii., 40, 41; Brandt, vi., 294; Davies, i., 520–523.

churches were attacked; images were thrown down; monuments were defaced; windows of painted glass, the unrivaled magnificence of which challenged the admiration of Europe, were destroyed. Within three days, more than four hundred churches, including those at the Hague, Leyden, and Amsterdam, were despoiled.* CH. XIII. 1566.

The Duke of Alva presently began his bloody work. The patriot Counts of Egmont and Hoorn were arrested. The Inquisition was established, and the penal edicts enforced with the utmost rigor. Aspirations after civil and religious freedom were punished as treason against the king. The privileges and liberties which the Dutch had so long and so devotedly cherished were annihilated by the erection of a "Council of Troubles," which soon received the name it well merited, "The Council of Blood." From the irresponsible decrees of this terrible tribunal there was no appeal. In the execution of its sanguinary judgments there was no mercy. The whole land was covered with gibbets; and in a few weeks eighteen hundred victims perished by the hand of the executioner.† 1567. The Council of Blood.

The spirit of the Netherlanders rose against the tyranny of their oppressors. Louis of Nassau, brother of the Prince of Orange, entered the province of Groningen at the head of a party of the "Gueux," and routed the disciplined troops of Spain. This was the commencement of actual hostilities. Exasperated at the defeat of his forces, Alva instantly brought the Counts of Egmont and Hoorn to a mock trial. They were at once condemned to death; and on the morning of the fifth of June, 1568, the proto-martyrs for the Dutch Republic were beheaded in the great square before the Hôtel de Ville at Brussels. As soon as the fatal work was done, the people pressed around the scaffold, and dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood; vowing, after the manner of their forefathers, to leave their beards and hair uncut until the wrongs of their country and the murders of her sons were avenged.‡ And they nobly kept their faith. The Dutch rebel against Spain. 24 May. 3 June. 1568. 5 June. Execution of Egmont and Hoorn.

* Meteren, ii., 44. † Davies, i., 548, 553. ‡ Meteren, ii., 58; Davies, i., 561.

CH. XIII. 1568. Driven from their own country, many of the Gueux sought refuge in England. But Alva peremptorily required Elizabeth not to afford encouragement to the rebel subjects of Spain. The queen assented to Alva's demand, and ordered the Gueux to quit her ports. Thus expelled from their last refuge, a party of the patriots under the command of William van de Marck, who had joined in the romantic vow to avenge the murders of Egmont and Hoorn, suddenly appeared before the town of Brielle, at the mouth of the Maese, and captured it with little opposition. The Gueux were once more on their native land.

The Gueux refused a refuge in England.

1572. 1 April. Capture of the Brielle.

The standard of revolt was soon openly set up in Holland. Alva attempted to enforce a levy of one penny in every ten. But the people—faithful to their hereditary principle of "Taxation only by consent"—resisted the demand. It was not the payment of the tax itself that they resisted so much as the mode of its levy. "Omnia dabant ne decimam darent."* They periled every thing to stop the exaction of an arbitrary tithe. Deputies from the nobles and from the towns, meeting at Dordrecht, acknowledged the Prince of Orange as stadtholder, and voted levies of money and of men to oppose the encroaching tyranny of Spain.† Haerlem was closely besieged by the Spaniards, and forced to surrender, after seven months of almost unparalleled suffering. Yet the conquest cost the victors twelve thousand men. Alckmaer, too, was invested; but the people, cutting through the dikes, deluged the Spanish camp, and the besieging army fled. The Prince of Orange and the States of Holland, in a long letter to the king, which was soon printed and distributed among the people, complained of the open violation of their liberties, under pretense of securing the Roman religion. "We contend for nothing less," said the States, "than for freedom of conscience, our wives and children, our lives and fortunes."‡

The people refuse to pay Alva's arbitrary tax.

June.

Haerlem and Alckmaer besieged.

1573. 14 July.

10 October.

The people demand liberty of conscience.

* Grotius, Annals, ii., 49.

† The famous Dutch national song, "Wilhelmus van Nassauwen," is said to have been composed this year. Its author is not known with certainty. Some ascribe it to Philip van Marnix, lord of Saint Aldegonde; others to Dirck Volkertsen Koornheet.—Brandt, x., 535; Davies, ii., 362.

‡ Brandt, x., 545.

Alva was now recalled, though Philip did not relax his efforts to subjugate the people of the Netherlands. Leyden, besieged by an enormous Spanish army, was bravely defended by its burgher guards alone. The States of Holland, assembled at Rotterdam, finding that it was idle to think of breaking the blockade with any forces which they could muster, resolved, at the suggestion of the Prince of Orange, to cut the dikes and open the sluices, so as to admit vessels with supplies up to the gates of the famished city. The damage was estimated at an enormous sum; "but," said the patriotic deputies, "it is better that the country should be ruined than lost." The dikes were cut; the waters of the Meuse rushed over the land; flat-bottomed boats, loaded with provisions, rode in triumph over the waves; the Spaniards abandoned the sixty-two forts they had erected around the besieged city; and Leyden was saved. The liberated inhabitants repaired to their principal church, to offer thanks to that God "who had made for them a sea upon the dry land." In commemoration of the siege, the States of Holland offered to found either a university or a fair at Leyden. The citizens chose a university, which was established the next year, and in the learning of Grotius, Scaliger, Boerhaave, and others of its sons, has proved a noble monument to the heroic cause which gave it birth.*

CH. XIII.

1573. November. Alva recalled.

1574. Leyden besieged.

The people cut the dikes.

3 October.

Leyden University founded.

Negotiations were presently opened, on the part of Holland, for an accommodation with Philip. But Don Louis de Requesens, the new Spanish viceroy,† insisting, as a preliminary, that the service of the Reformed Church should wholly cease, and that the Reformed clergy should leave the country, it soon became evident that no reconciliation could take place with the bigoted king. A year afterward, the atrocious sack of Antwerp aroused the ab-

1575. Requesens viceroy.

1576. Sack of Antwerp.

* Meteren, v., 107; Davies, ii., 14, 15.

† Requesens was perhaps the ablest of the Spanish governors of the Low Countries. To him the Netherlands are, at all events, indebted for the introduction, in 1575, of the uniform system of reckoning the year as beginning on the 1st of January. The States of Holland had long before adopted this calculation, and endeavored, as early as 1532, to bring it into general use. The Gregorian, or new style, was adopted by Holland in 1582; but it was not by England until the year 1753.

CH. XIII. horrence of Europe, and hastened the signature of an agreement among the provinces, commonly known as the "Pacification of Ghent." The articles of this treaty provided for a full amnesty for all offenses; for a firm alliance between the provinces, and mutual assistance to expel the Spaniards; for the toleration of both Catholics and Protestants; for the suspension of the penal edicts; and that no decrees of the king were to be published without the consent of the Prince of Orange and the States of the several provinces. The publication of this instrument was received with the liveliest joy throughout the Netherlands; and the great charter of union was thenceforward considered as the fundamental law of the country. An envoy was immediately sent to England to solicit the assistance of the queen; and Elizabeth promptly agreed to a loan of one hundred thousand pounds to the States, upon condition that they should not make any treaty without her participation.*

1576. Pacification of Ghent.

8 Nov.

Elizabeth assists the Dutch.

Early the next year, Don John of Austria, who had succeeded Requesens as viceroy, accepted the Pacification of Ghent, and issued the famous "Perpetual Edict," by which he consented to the assembling of the States General, and to the departure of the Spanish forces.† But Don John was only dissembling. He had secretly dispatched letters to Spain, asking for new supplies of troops; and these letters having been intercepted, were published by the Prince of Orange. No time was now to be lost. The citadel of Antwerp, and other important fortresses, were immediately occupied by the troops of the States. William of Orange was invited to Brussels, and elected Governor of Brabant. An embassy was again dispatched to London; and Elizabeth engaged to send troops into the Netherlands, and supply them with another hundred thousand pounds. The queen likewise obtained the concession that the commander of her forces should have a seat in the Council of State, and that any disputes which might arise between the provinces should be referred to her.‡

Don John, of Austria, viceroy.

1577. 17 Feb.

Contingents of troops furnished by Elizabeth.

* Meteren, vi., 125, 131. † Ibid., vi., 132. ‡ Ibid., vii., 144.

1578. 18 Feb. Open war proclaimed. The southern provinces withdraw.

Open war was now declared. The Pope proclaimed a crusade against the heretics in the Netherlands, and blessed the crucifix in the banner of Don John. The bull of Gregory XIII. influenced the Walloon provinces, the most of the inhabitants of which were attached to the Roman religion, to withdraw from the common cause, and adopt a policy of neutrality. William of Orange soon saw that the real hope for safety and success was a cordial and firm alliance of the northern provinces of the Netherlands. A new Assembly was therefore convoked at Utrecht, under the auspices of his brother, Count John of Nassau, which was attended by delegates from the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and the Ommeland of Groningen. After waiting several days for deputies from the other provinces, those assembled proclaimed, on their own authority, the famous "UNION OF UTRECHT," framed, as its preamble declared, "for the purpose of protecting themselves against the attempts of the Spaniards to separate and dismember the provinces, and to render the Pacification of Ghent of none effect, and thereby to bring them into subjection and slavery."* This "Union," which was soon afterward acceded to by the provinces of Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, became the fundamental basis of the Dutch Republic; virtually disowning the authority of Spain; preserving to each province its own sovereignty, and its own peculiar laws and privileges; granting to all the unmolested exercise of their own religion; providing for a uniform currency; restraining any one province from making foreign alliances without the consent of the rest; and consolidating an indissoluble connection of all the "United Provinces of the Netherlands," for mutual defense and protection, in the spirit of their patriotic motto, "*Eendragt maakt magt*"—UNITY MAKES MIGHT.

1579. 23 January. Union of the northern provinces at Utrecht

For a time, the Dutch preserved some show of respect for the person and the name of the king. But finding, before long, that instead of relieving them from the evils which they had suffered, he was resolved to oppress them still

* Meteren, viii., 148; Davies, ii., 74–79.

CH. XIII. further, they determined to affix the seal to their charter of liberty, by openly renouncing all allegiance to Philip II.

1579. Following the example of the province of Holland, the States General solemnly executed their deliberate purpose.

1581. Assembling in large numbers at the Hague, they published a declaration, asserting the great truth that "subjects are not created for the prince, but the prince for the subjects," who have always the right to abjure allegiance to a bad sovereign; and, after enumerating the offenses committed by Philip against the laws and the liberties of the Netherlands, declaring him, "*ipso jure*," deposed from his sovereignty, right, and heritage in the Low Countries, and the inhabitants released from all fealty to their repudiated king. This remarkable State Paper, which for its clear conceptions of the principles of political freedom, and its distinct assertion of the rights and powers of the people, was the wonder of its age, had scarcely a parallel in history—except, perhaps, the "Declaration of Right" of 1688, under which the Prince of Orange, a native Dutchman, ascended the English throne as William III.—until nearly two centuries afterward, when the representatives of the

1776. United States of America threw off the yoke of Great Britain, and published their Declaration of Independence.*

26 July. The United Provinces declare their independence.

It is needless to trace, in detail, the progress of public events in the Netherlands for the next sixty-seven years. During the first part of that period, the nominal sovereignty of the country was vested, for a short time, in the Duke of Anjou, but the executive power was virtually exercised by William, prince of Orange, the stadtholder of Holland,

1584. Zealand, and Utrecht. The assassination of the prince at Delft, in the midst of his friends, and in the heart of a country where he was loved almost to veneration, compelled new arrangements. William's second son, Maurice, was immediately named governor by the States General, and was also created stadtholder of the provinces of Holland and Zealand. It soon became obvious, however, from the unremitted exertions of the King of Spain, that foreign

10 July. Murder of William of Orange.

Maurice created stadtholder.

* Meteren, x., 209; Davies, ii., 102–111. See also Appendix, note P.

aid must be obtained, or the Netherlands would be in danger of subjugation. A solemn embassy, headed by the patriot Olden Barneveldt, was therefore sent to England, and Elizabeth consented to the appointment of her favorite Leicester as governor general of the provinces in her name. The queen also sent a large army to assist the Dutch, from whom she obtained the pledge of Flushing, Rammekens, and the Brielle, until her expenses should be repaid. But Leicester soon rendered himself so unpopular with the Dutch, that within two years he was recalled. The campaigns of the Dutch armies were conducted with splendid success by the youthful stadtholder, Prince Maurice, and the Dutch fleets were almost invariably victorious on the seas. The proud King of Spain, ruined by constant losses, was obliged to declare his insolvency; and soon afterward the baffled and humiliated monarch sunk into the grave. Philip III. was, if possible, still more hostile toward the Dutch than his father had been; but it was his fate to see them achieve the political independence for which they panted. In 1609, he was obliged to sign a truce for twelve years with his victorious foes, and to admit them formally to a participation in the Indian trade. At the end of the truce, hostilities were renewed, only to end in the full, free, and unequivocal acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the Netherlands by Philip IV., in the treaty at Munster, of 1648. Thus, inch by inch, and year by year, through nearly three generations of men, and against three successive kings of Spain, the Dutch contended for their liberties; and their unanimous spirit of popular freedom at last obtained its noble and triumphant reward.

1584. The Earl of Leicester governor general.

1585. Constant successes of the Dutch.

1598. 1609. 1621. 1648. Their final triumph.

The Dutch manifesto of 1581 was the necessary result of that irrepressible spirit of civil liberty which ever animated the descendants of the Batavians. The declaration of their independence of Spain was merely a formal assertion of their right to govern themselves. Practically, Holland had governed herself long before; practically, she had governed herself from the time her toil-trained burgh-

The Dutch a self-governing people.

CH. XIII. ers first maintained the right of self-assessment, and wrung from Mary of Burgundy the "Great Charter" of 1477.

1648. Character of the Dutch. For many ages the Dutch had been accustomed to think for themselves, to do, and to endure; to rely with calm courage upon their own unaided efforts; to act with stern energy and firm will; to fight, from youth to age, "their fathers' fight" against the inexorable elements; to meditate toilsome enterprises at their firesides, and counsel great deeds together in their villages and towns; to trust with undoubting confidence their neighbor's word; to believe, with steady faith, that work is the true lot of man, in which each one is bound to be diligently employed. They were earnest, self-relying men, in whom the habit of personal independence had created the desire of separate nationality.* It was not the revolt of the Netherland Provinces from Spain, nor the union of the Netherland Provinces at Utrecht, which made the Dutch a nation of heroes, and statesmen, and patriots, any more than it was the revolt of the American colonies from England, or the confederation of the American States, which made the people of the United States a brave, capable, and patriotic people. The characters of both nations had been gradually formed by long years of experience in self-government, and by long endurance of oppression and suffering, before they openly renounced their allegiance to their sovereigns, and took the administration of their own affairs entirely into their own hands.

Their system of administration as a republic. With the declaration of the national independence of the Dutch came the necessity of modifying their system of administration; and the people of the United Provinces soon matured a form of government better adapted to their political condition as a commonwealth. The management of the affairs of the republic was vested in five chief powers: the States General; the Council of State; the Chamber of Accounts; the Stadtholder, and the Colleges of the Admiralty. Each province appointed its own deputies to sit in the assembly of the States General, and regulated

The States General.

* Richesse de la Holl., i., pref., 9; McCullagh, ii., 235, 237, 238.

their numbers, the modes of their choice, and the periods of their service. But, in conformity to established regulation, each province had only one suffrage in the States General, whatever might be the number of its deputies.

Character and functions of the States General.

The States General usually sat at the Hague. It was not, in a true sense, a representative body, but rather a deputation. It had no claim to sovereignty. It obeyed the instructions of its constituents to the letter. When a new subject was introduced, new directions were applied for to the provinces. Neither war nor peace could be made without the unanimous consent of these provinces. Neither money nor troops could be raised without the same unanimity. Yet, with all the restrictions on its power, the States General had much influence and authority. It received and appointed ambassadors, and conducted the foreign relations of the republic; and the reports which it addressed to the different provinces usually had great effect upon the resolutions which each adopted. The average number of deputies at the ordinary meetings of the States General was about twelve or fourteen. These meetings were held in an oblong and beautifully-decorated apartment in the old palace of the Binnenhof, or "inner court," which formed a part of the ancient residence of the Counts of Holland at the Hague. The Grand Pensionary of Holland, who was always a member, the "Greffier," or Clerk of the States General, the Treasurer of the Union, and the Secretary of the Council of State, formed what may perhaps be called the "ministry." Of these, the Greffier was generally the man of affairs; and in his small, modestly-furnished office, adjoining the decorated apartment of the States General, the gravest concerns of the republic were often arranged, and foreign ambassadors frequently transacted their most important business. In the assembly of the States General, each province presided in turn for a week. The presiding deputy proposed all questions; directed the Greffier to read all papers; put the question, and announced the conclusion. The States General were frequently denominated the "Generaletiet;"

CH. XIII. 1648.

their formal title was "Hoogh Mogende Heeren," "High and Mighty Lords."

Council of State.

The Council of State, which was next in authority to the States General, was established in 1584, and consisted of twelve members, exclusive of the Treasurer General. It was composed of three members from Holland, two from Zealand, two from Friesland, two from Guelderland, one from Utrecht, one from Overyssel, and one from Groningen. The authority of this council was confined to military and financial affairs, and in most instances it could adopt no resolution without the concurrence of the States General.

Chamber of Accounts.

The "Rekenkamer," or Chamber of Accounts, which consisted of two deputies from each province, was established in 1607, to relieve the Council of State from the management of the details of the collection and disbursement of the revenue.

Stadtholder.

The stadtholder was captain general, and admiral of the land and naval forces of the republic. His dignity was originally not hereditary, but elective by the provinces. During war he disposed of all military grades, and conducted all military operations as general in chief. The stadtholder being at the same time admiral of the naval forces of the republic, the commanders of the separate fleets were called "lieutenant admirals." The stadtholder might at any time enter the hall of the States General to propose public measures. But he had no vote, and no right to deliberate. During his presence debate was suspended; and when the object of his visit was attained, he left the Assembly. After William I., the dignity of stadtholder was continued, by successive elections, in the family of the Prince of Orange until 1672, when William III. procured it to be made hereditary.

The Admiralty.

There were five colleges of the Admiralty; the first at Rotterdam, the second at Amsterdam, the third at Hoorn, the fourth at Middleburg, and the fifth at Harlingen, in Friesland. They watched over the defense of the coasts; furnished convoys; equipped the fleets; judged in prize

cases, and in cases of fraud against the revenue; and nominated subaltern naval officers.

Province of Holland.

Of all the provinces, Holland was the most important, by reason of its population and its wealth. Hence its name was often applied to the confederacy, and the inhabitants of all the United Provinces were frequently called "Hollanders," by way of eminence. Being the richest and most populous of the provinces, Holland soon obtained an ascendency in the confederation which was not altogether unjust, since Holland, above all the others, bore most of the burden, and did most for the general service of the republic.* By reason of this preponderance, the provincial states of Holland bore the title of "Edel, Groot, Mogende Heeren," Noble, Great, and Mighty Lords; while the states of the other provinces were addressed in the simpler style of "Edel Mogende." The provincial states of Holland were composed of deputies from the nobles, and deputies from the several towns. Of these, the number was indefinite; but the entire body of nobles had only one vote, while each of the eighteen towns had likewise a vote. The whole number of suffrages was thus nineteen, of which the nobles controled only one.

Provincial states of Holland.

The chief magistrate of the province was at first called the Advocate General, and afterward the "Grand Pensionary." He had great influence in the states; for though he could not vote, his advice was always asked in affairs of moment. He was elected for five years by the states, but was generally continued in office during life by re-election. He propounded subjects of discussion; was the keeper of the great seal of Holland, and the speaker or presiding officer of the states; and was their permanent

Grand Pensionary of Holland.

* By a regulation of the Council of State of the 10th of December, 1612, the fixed ratability of the several provinces was thus assigned:

Holland	gl. 57 14 8
Friesland	11 10 11
Zealand	9 1 10
Groningen	5 15 6
Utrecht	5 15 5
Guelderland	5 11 2
Overyssel	3 10 8
Total (including Drenthe)	100 0 0

CH. XIII. 1648.

special representative in the assembly of the States General. In cases of differences of opinion, he was generally engaged in overcoming the scruples of the minority; being, according to Grotius, *vox publicæ libertatis, prœit suadendo, componit dissidentes;* "the voice of public liberty, he influences by persuasion, and reconciles the dissenting." He was in truth the eyes, ears, and mouth of the provincial states.

Gecommitteerde Raden.

The "Gecommiteerde Raden," or College of Councilmen, was composed of ten deputies; one from the body of nobles, and nine from the towns. It watched over the finances of the province, and decided in suits between the farmers of the revenue and the tax-payers. It also had jurisdiction over the military affairs of the province; and two of its deputies were constantly members of the States General.

The sovereignty in the people.

The sovereign power of the province did not, however, reside in the states of Holland, but in the constituencies of the deputies. The real authorities were the college of nobles, and the municipal councils of the towns. To them each deputy was responsible for his vote, and under their instructions alone he acted. Thus the government of Holland, in fact, rested mainly upon its people.

Industrial and democratic spirit of the Dutch.

Trained in a school of diversified industry, the Dutch embodied in the form of their government the principles which ages of stern experience had implanted in the national mind. The early and constant necessity for the construction of dikes gave them a habit of union and goodwill, and imbued them with a propensity to reciprocal justice, because, by unanimity and honesty alone could their country be saved from the sea. They were forced by nature to be industrious from the first. Their labor-trained energies were essential elements of their national wealth and happiness. They relied upon themselves. Their first political lessons were lessons in self-government. And thus one of the earliest schools of modern democracy was established in Holland.*

* Basnage; Davies; Meyer, Inst. Jud., iii., 22-25; Rev. Dr. Bethune.

The most striking feature in their political organization was localism. Holland was an aggregate of towns, each providing for its own defense, administering its own finances, and governing itself by its own laws. The inhabitants of the towns were not, however, all upon an equality. To entitle a resident to every municipal franchise, the "burgher recht," or burghership, must be acquired. This burghership was generally obtained by the payment of a sum of money, and the registry of the citizen's name upon the roll of burghers. It was hereditary; it could pass by marriage; and it could be acquired by females as well as by males. Foreigners, also, after a year's probation, could become burghers. The burgher right gave to the citizen freedom of trade, exemption from tolls, special privileges and favors in prosecutions, and an exclusive eligibility to municipal office. The burghers were, generally, merchants and tradesmen. The several trades and professions formed themselves into separate associations called "guilds," or fraternities, the members of which were bound to assist each other in distress, and stand by each other in time of danger. Each guild inhabited, for the most part, a separate quarter of the town; was organized as a military company; fought under its own standard; and was presided over by a "Dekken," or Dean.

Localism.

Burgher-ship.

Guilds, or associations.

The government of each town was administered by a "Wethouderschap," or Board of Magistrates, consisting of several burgomasters, and a certain number of schepens, or aldermen. This board of wethouders provided for the public safety, attended to the police, mustered the burgher guard in case of danger, administered the finances, and assessed the taxes to be paid by each individual. In general, the term of office was annual. The burgomasters and schepens were chosen by the eight or nine "good men" elected by the "Vroedschap," or great council of the town, which was itself composed, in most cases, of all the inhabitants who possessed a certain property qualification. There was also another important officer, named the "schout," who, in early times, was appointed by the

Municipal governments.

Burgomasters, Nine Men, and Vroedschap.

Schout.

CH. XIII. 1648.

Count, out of a triple nomination by the wethouders. The functions of the schout—whose name, according to Grotius, was an abbreviation of "schuld-rechter," or a judge of crimes—were somewhat analogous to those of bailiff, or county sheriff; combining, however, with them some of the duties of a prosecuting attorney.* Thus the towns themselves were aggregates of voluntary associations of burghers; and the burghers, looking upon their towns as, to a certain extent, their nation, firmly insisted, through all vicissitudes, on being governed by representatives of their own classes.

Effects of the municipal system.

The local municipal system of the Dutch, which jealous enemies continually prophesied would end in disunion, was, in truth, their salvation. Bound together by the strongest ties of reciprocal interest, the community of families, of guilds, of towns, of provinces, became invincible. Subjugation was impossible, when each individual city, was endued with the spirit of the whole province, and each province was a fresh nation to conquer. As the only form of political liberty which the Dutch had really known was localism, so, in the organization of their general government, they only expanded the system which was the very core of their existence. The self-relying burghers governed the towns; the representatives of the towns and of the rural nobility governed the several provinces; and the several "states" of the respective provinces claimed supreme jurisdiction within their own precincts. The deputies which each constituent province sent to the States General were rather envoys, with limited powers, than plenipotentiary representatives. They had explicit instructions which they dared not exceed; and in every case of importance they were obliged to ask the directions of their Provincial Legislatures. Thus jealously did the Dutch restrain the limits of the political power they intrusted to their representatives.

The States General was, in one sense, an aggregate as-

* Guicciardini, ii., 160–180; Grotius, Inleyding, 127; Meyer, Inst. Jud., iii., 160–186; Van Leeuwen's Roman Dutch Law, i., 15; Van der Linden, i., ch. ii., § 4; Wagenaar, Besch. van Amst., iii., 141–161, 269–355; Davies, 1., 76–90; *ante*, p. 326, 327; *post*, p. 474.

sembly of the states of the provinces, each of which might send an unlimited number of deputies.* The votes, however, were taken, as we have already seen, not according to the number of individual deputies, but according to the number of the provinces represented; and there were, therefore, never more than seven. By this system, each province maintained its own due weight and influence in the affairs of the republic. The doctrine of State Rights, which forms so vital a principle in the American confederation, was, from the first, a distinguishing characteristic in the union of the provinces of the Netherlands.

Provincial equality in the States General.

Doctrine of State Rights.

The results which followed this union of self-confiding communities in one firm association signally attested the wisdom of the Dutch in thus making their national government reflect the national mind. All were stimulated to a noble competition; all felt a personal interest in the common weal and the common woe. The nobles of Holland had the wisdom to identify their interests with those of the people; and, in return, the nobility were permitted, without jealousy, to enjoy a large share of political influence and public honors. "Those families who live upon their patrimonial estates," says the courtly but candid Temple, "are differently mannered from the traders, though like them in garb and habit. Their youth are generally bred up at schools and universities; and when they are rich, they travel for some years, after the course of their studies at home. The chief end of their breeding is to make them fit for the service of their country." Thus educated for the business of state, it is not surprising that the descendants of the old Dutch nobles were intrusted by a business people, who esteemed fitness above all things, with a greater proportion of important public functions than were conferred upon men of their own order.† At the same time, the constitutional government of Holland seems from the first to have recognized the principle that her great commercial interests could be adequately repre-

Social results of the Dutch political system.

* Basnage, i., 14, 15. When the Twelve Years' truce with Spain was ratified at Bergen-op-Zoom, eight hundred members attended the meeting of the States General.

† Temple, ch. iv.; Har. Misc., ii., 599.

CH. XIII. 1648.

sented only by commercial men. The success of the Dutch was attributed, by a shrewd observer, to the leading circumstance that, "in their greatest councils of state and war, they have trading merchants, who have not only the theoretical knowledge, but the practical experience of trade."* This happy absence of class jealousies consolidated the social as well as the political constitution of the republic; and thought, speech, enterprise, and commerce, unfettered by illiberal regulations, assured the prosperity of the wise people who so earnestly, so steadily, and so successfully vindicated their capacity to govern themselves.

Prosperity of the Dutch.

And great, indeed, was their prosperity. It was not because Holland enjoyed great natural advantages. On the contrary, nature gave her a sandy and marshy soil. The surface of Holland is flat, like the sea in a calm, and looks as if, after a long contention, it had been divided between land and water. The elements are there at constant variance. The fat soil is made into turf and burned; the excavated land is drained by countless wind-mills. Not a block of stone nor an ore of metal can be found within her territory. The granite with which the Dutch faced their dikes and built their palaces was brought from other lands. Their country yielded them "almost nothing out of its own bowels."† All the corn which was raised in Holland was not sufficient to feed the men employed in keeping the dikes in repair. Yet the indefatigable people who inhabited this barren region became one of the richest in the world. An infinity of sails crowded her endless canals. The Rhine and the Maese brought down the commodities of Germany to the magazines of her merchants, who, in the days of her power and glory, were accustomed to "vent them by their shipping into all parts of the world where the market calls for them."‡ In the year 1650, the whole population of Holland was estimated at two millions four hundred thousand souls. Of these, De Witt supposed that six hundred and fifty thousand lived by manufactur-

* Sir J. Child, Discovery of Trade.
† De Witt, i., ch 9.
‡ Har. Misc., ii., 597.

ing articles for exportation; as many more were employed in trades, and in contributing to the pleasure, ease, or comfort of those who dwelt at home; four hundred and fifty thousand subsisted by the fisheries, and other callings dependent on them; two hundred and fifty thousand by navigation and commerce; two hundred thousand by agriculture; and a like number by civil and military public service, by rents of land, or interest on invested capital, and by taxes for the support of the poor.* The whole Batavian territory was only a little larger than Wales. "But all that narrow space was a busy and populous hive, in which new wealth was every day created, and in which vast masses of old wealth were hoarded. The aspect of Holland, the rich cultivation, the innumerable canals, the ever-whirling mills, the endless fleets of barges, the quick succession of great towns, the ports bristling with thousands of masts, the large and stately mansions, the trim villas, the richly-furnished apartments, the picture galleries, the summer-houses, the tulip beds, produced on English travellers in that age an effect similar to the effect which the first sight of England now produces on a Norwegian or a Canadian."†

Aspect of Holland.

After the sack of Antwerp, the prosperity of Amsterdam began rapidly to increase. Her merchants, finding themselves prohibited from trading to Spain, boldly sought the ends of the earth, and, in spite of all the efforts of their enemies, their expanding commerce soon covered every sea.

Extensive commerce

> "Each waxing moon supplied her watery store,
> To swell those tides which from the line did bear
> Their brimful vessels to the Belgian shore."

Their exchange presently resounded with a confused hum of all the languages spoken by civilized man. The floor of the Burghers' Hall, in the magnificent stadthuys at Amsterdam, which was begun in 1648, was inlaid with marble, so as to represent maps of all the nations of the world—"a mute but eloquent expression of the all-embracing enterprise of the people." And thus the Dutch

* De Witt, i., ch. 8; McCullagh, ii., 279.

† Macaulay, i., 201.

CH. XIII. 1648.

soon rendered themselves the chief carriers of the world, and their country the chief depository of its productions. Without mines, or vineyards, or forests, there was nowhere such an abundance of metals, wines, and timber as in Holland; and when, in years of scarcity, France and England needed supplies of corn, "they looked not to Poland or Livonia, where it grew, but to the cities of the Dutch, where they were always sure to find a ready and plentiful store."* This constant abundance among the Dutch grew out of their liberal commercial policy. "The freedom of traffic," said De Witt, "has ever been greater with them than among any of their neighbors."† "The low duties of these wise states," said Raleigh, "draw all traffic to them, and the great liberty allowed to strangers makes a continual mart. And although the duties be but small, yet the vast exports and imports do greatly increase their revenues, which vast commerce enables the common people not only to bear the burden of the excises and impositions laid on them, but also to grow rich."‡

Free Trade.

Universal toleration.

The liberal commercial policy of Holland was accompanied by entire freedom in matters of faith, and by a generous statesmanship which offered a secure asylum to strangers of every race and creed. This universal sentiment of toleration among the Dutch was neither a political expedient, nor the result of any state necessity. "It was the instinct, and habit, and traditional law of right in the heart of the nation, the observance of which they could boast, with honest pride, for ages."§ However much the clergy of Holland may have been inclined toward sectarian exclusiveness, the magistrates and the people, who made the laws, were almost universally liberal. "The great care of this state has ever been to favor no particular or curious inquisition into the faith or religious principles of any peaceable man who came to live under the protection of their laws, and to suffer no violence or oppression upon any man's conscience whose opinions broke

* McCullagh, ii., 265, 266.
† De Witt, i., cap. ii.
‡ Raleigh's Observations to King James.
§ McCullagh, ii., 169.

not out in expressions or actions of ill consequence to the state."* Attracted by this magnanimous liberality, fugitive Walloons from the Spanish Netherlands, Lutherans from Germany, Puritans from England, Huguenots from France, Waldenses from Piedmont, and long-persecuted Jews from Portugal, found in Holland a cordial welcome and full employment. And the liberal-minded Hollanders received a prompt and abundant reward. New branches of manufactures were introduced and established, the unrivaled excellence of which soon commanded the markets of the world. Even English cloths, sent to Amsterdam to be dressed and dyed, were shipped thence to foreign countries, and sold "by the name of Flemish Bayes," said Raleigh; "so we lose the very name of our home-bred commodities."† For ages, the linens and the paper of Holland maintained the highest reputation, and found a large consumption abroad.‡ The printing of books early became an important branch of the national industry, and men of taste and learning constantly superintended the press. The names of the Elzeviers of Leyden are still cherished with the sincerest respect by all who have seen their admirable editions, which, for accuracy and beauty of typography, are unsurpassed by the publications of our own day. As long as an author abstained from uttering positive libels, he might promulgate whatever opinions he saw fit; and the natural consequence of the freedom of the Dutch press was the publication of a vast number of books, the exportation of which for a long time formed a lucrative branch of trade. The High Court of Holland was sometimes called upon to interfere, in cases of gross offense; but the plans which they more than once suggested to the states, for restricting the liberty of the press, were invariably rejected.§ Thus it was that the people of the Netherlands became prosperous and great.

Foreigners attracted.

New Manufactures established.

Publication of books.

Liberty of the Dutch press.

* Har. Misc., ii., 600; *ante*, p. 102. † Observations to King James.

‡ While examining the documents relating to New York in the English archives at London, I observed that many of the official dispatches to and from our colonial governors, from the time of Colonel Nicolls down to the period of the Revolution, were written on paper bearing the Dutch water-mark.

§ Wagenaar, Vad. Hist., xc., 218; Davies, iii., 402.

CH. XIII. 1648. Illustrious men of Holland.

While the Dutch, as a people, were distinguished by talents perhaps more solid than brilliant, some of the most illustrious men of modern times were natives of Holland. In politics, none are greater than Barneveldt and the De Witts; in arms, none excel Maurice and the other princes of Orange; in naval affairs, none surpass Heemskerk, and Heyn, and Tromp, and De Ruyter. Holland was equally remarkable for intellectual superiority. Her Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen produced scholars equal to most, and superior to many. In the schools of divinity, few have obtained higher distinction than Agricola, Arminius, Cocceius, Episcopius, Gomarus, Junius, or Witsius. In classical accomplishments, few scholars have ever surpassed Gronovius, Heinsius, Scaliger, or Vossius. In philosophy and science, the world has assigned the highest place to Erasmus, Grotius, Plancius, Huygens, Jansen, and Spinosa. In medicine and surgery, none have excelled Boerhaave, and Ruysch, and Tulp. Among her own sons, Holland has found worthy historians in Bor, Brandt, De Laet, Hooft, and Van Meteren. In lighter literature, also, the Dutch were not deficient; and, though the propensity of the people to rhyming perhaps corrupted the national taste, the illustrious names of Cats and Vondel are quite sufficient to rescue from contempt the poetical reputation of their Fatherland.

Eminent artists.

The Netherlands, too, can boast of having produced some of the most eminent artists. There were born Backhuysen, Cuyp, Gerard Dow, Hobbima, Mieris, Paul Potter, Rembrandt, Jan Steen, Van der Huyden, Vandervelde, Wouvermans, and many others of nearly equal celebrity. The visitor at Gouda can not fail to render a tribute of admiration to the talents of the brothers Crabeth, who painted the magnificent glass windows in the cathedral, perhaps among the finest specimens of the art now existing. The engravers of Holland have been among the first in the world; and the elaborate pulpit in the New Church* at Amsterdam to this day attests the eminence

* This building, though known as the "New Church," is more than four centuries old.

of her carvers in wood. The invention of the highest of all the arts—that of printing—is confidently claimed for Lawrence John Coster, a native of Haerlem.*

Characteristics of the Dutch.

The Dutch were eminently a plain-spoken, industrious, frugal, charitable, well-educated, and moral people. Straight-forward simplicity and boldness of speech were always their peculiar characteristics. Their blunt frankness constantly drew upon them the satire of the rest of Europe. In the meanness of his sycophancy to an ungrateful king, the bitterest couplet that Dryden could write about them was

Frankness.

> "Well may they boast themselves an ancient nation;
> For they were bred ere manners were in fashion."

Party spirit.

Party spirit ran high in Holland, as it ever will run high in countries where the expression of opinion is unrestrained by arbitrary laws and sectarian despotism. From the time of the famous factions of the "Hoeks" and the "Kabbeljaus,"† the country was never free from political contentions. But these disagreements, though sometimes pushed into popular excesses, so far from retarding, steadily accelerated the cause of civil liberty, by interesting the minds of the masses of the people. The intelligent Temple, travelling, *incognito*, to the Hague, in 1667, remarked, that the chief pleasure he had, was "to observe the strange freedom that all men took, in boats, and inns, and all other common places, of talking openly whatever they thought upon all public affairs."‡

Economy and frugality.

To proverbial industry, the Dutch united habits of thrift and economy. These habits, in connection with their large commercial resources, enabled them to sustain with

It was founded in 1408. The "Oude Kerk," or Cathedral of Saint Nicholas, was built before the year 1300. * Davies, ii., 665–669; McCullagh, ii., 287–292.

† These whimsical names are said to have originated, about the year 1346, in a dispute at a feast, whether the codfish (Kabbeljau) took the hook, or the hook took the codfish. Graver history, however, alleges that these household words among the Dutch early marked their independent spirit. The nobles who attempted oppression were compared to the codfish, which devours the smaller fry; while the people were likened to the hook, because, though apparently insignificant, it can master the all-devouring cod. Whatever may have been their actual origin, these names continued, for nearly two centuries, to distinguish those rival parties, the feuds of which, while they temporarily distracted Holland, gave the Dutch that habit of free thought and action which has always characterized the nation. ‡ Temple's Works, i., 286.

CH. XIII. 1648.

ease the enormous public expenses, which in some years amounted to three times the value of the whole produce of the land.* The direct taxes and excises, which constituted the chief revenues of Holland, were willingly paid, because there was no suspicion that they were misapplied. "No great riches," says Temple, "are seen to enter by public payments into private purses, either to raise families, or to feed the prodigal expenses of vain, extravagant, and luxurious men; but all public moneys are applied to the safety, greatness, or honor of the state."† Among Hollanders, it was always a cardinal principle to live within one's income. "Every man spent less than he had coming in, be that what it would; and he would be thought to have lived a year to no purpose who had not realized a sum to lay by at the end of it."‡

Hospitality and benevolence.

Yet, with all their economy and thrift, the Dutch were neither mean nor sordid. Their houses were richly furnished with pictures, and fine linen, and carved work, and plate; and an overflowing hospitality always distinguished their kind-hearted and liberal inhabitants. Their benevolence was expansive; among civilized nations the Dutch early obtained celebrity for their kindness to the poor. The wealth which their industry gained was liberally expended in acts of humanity and charity. The thrifty habits of the working classes generally enabled them to support themselves in independence. But the sick, and aged, and poor, were always sure of finding comfortable asylums provided for them by the large benevolence of their more opulent countrymen. The orphan was protected and reared, and the soldiers and the sailors, who won the laurels of Holland, were never forgotten.

Early establishment of free schools. 1585.

Neither the perils of war, nor the busy pursuit of gain, nor the excitement of political strife, ever caused the Dutch to neglect the duty of educating their offspring to enjoy that freedom for which their fathers had fought. Schools were every where provided, at the public expense, with good schoolmasters, to instruct the children of all classes

* Hol. Mer., 1685, p. 107. † Observations, 136. ‡ Ibid., p. 158.

in the usual branches of education; and the consistories of the churches took zealous care to have their youth thoroughly taught the Catechism and the Articles of Religion.*

The purity of morals and decorum of manners, for which the Dutch have always been conspicuous, may, perhaps, be most justly ascribed to the happy influence of their women. The empire which the sex obtained was no greater than that which their beauty, good sense, virtue, and devotion well entitled them to hold.† They mingled in all the active affairs of life, and were always consulted with deferential respect. Their habits of business enabled them to manage, with skill and advantage, the interests which their husbands confidently intrusted to their care. They loved their homes and their firesides, but they loved their country more. Through all their toils and struggles, the calm fortitude of the men of Holland was nobly encouraged and sustained by the earnest and undaunted spirit of their mothers and wives.‡

Influence of the Dutch women.

Of all the moral qualities which distinguished the Dutch, and to which their prosperity as a nation is to be attributed, perhaps the most remarkable was their honesty. In their darkest hour of trial, none doubted their national credit. The interest on their loans was punctually paid. Their word was always faithfully kept, and the spirit of commerce, "honoring the people of whom it had honor," won for them the confidence of the world. The very year the truce with Spain was signed, the Bank of Amsterdam was established on the basis of so high a credit as, by degrees, to attract to its coffers a large portion of the wealth of Europe. The Dutch soon became the cashiers of the Old World; and the nation, which had been trained to labor and to liberty in the same school of experience, gathered the substantial rewards of integrity. Their high-minded and punctilious honesty, which "shamed out of countenance the poor prejudices of their age,"§ became a proverb abroad, as their commerce expanded over every

Honesty of the Dutch.

* Davies, ii., 202; Decrees of Synod of 1586, art. 17–19. The states of Friesland established the College of Franeker, in 1585, upon the free principle.

† Beaumarchais, Let. sur Hol., 25. ‡ Davies, i., 487; iii., 381. § Verplanck.

CH. XIII. 1648.

sea, and wealth flowed back upon them in a ceaseless tide. At home, their counsels, guided by good faith and mutual confidence, bound all ranks together by the strongest ties, and secured their well-deserved prosperity.

Firmness.

With integrity, the Dutch possessed the no less striking characteristic of firmness. Nature early taught them that the very existence of their country depended on their sleepless vigilance and ceaseless toil; and from sire to son the hereditary lesson was constantly repeated. The dikes which kept the ocean off their swampy soil were not more firm than the will of the men who built them, and of the posterity which kept them in repair. They calmly measured their strength against their task, and what they calmly undertook they as resolutely accomplished. And they were as modest as they were undaunted. In prosperity and in adversity, in sunshine and in storm, they pursued their purposes with steadfast constancy; and animated by a determination which no obstacles could discourage and no dangers dismay, "they acquired power in the struggle for existence, and wealth under the weight of taxation."*

Incorruptible patriotism.

Honest and firm, the Dutch were universally patriotic and incorruptible. Their country was identified with themselves; her glory, her honor, her greatness was their own. An ardent love of that country was one of their most distinctive traits. "The Fatherland" — that delightful word — always awakened the most dear and cherished associations, the most tender and sacred feelings. And thus the Dutch, loving their own land above all other lands, were universally incorruptible. During all the long war with Spain, not a solitary traitor was found to barter his country for gold; and the most successful among the admirals of Holland added enormous wealth to her treasury without soliciting the smallest portion for his own reward.†

Such was the Batavian Republic, and such were the people who made their Fatherland prosperous, great, and respected. The descendants of such an ancestry laid the foundations of New York.

* Gouverneur Morris.

† Davies, ii., 657; *ante*, p. 184.

CHAPTER XIV.

1647–1648.

CH. XIV.

1647.

Commencement of Stuyvesant's administration.

WELL might Peter Stuyvesant describe New Netherland as in a "low condition" on his arrival. Excepting the Long Island settlements, scarcely fifty bouweries could be counted; and the whole province could not furnish, at the utmost, more than three hundred men capable of bearing arms. The savages were still brooding over the loss of sixteen hundred of their people. Disorder and discontent prevailed among the commonalty; the public revenue was in arrear, and smuggling had almost ruined legitimate trade; conflicting claims of jurisdiction were to be settled with the colonial patroons; and jealous neighbors all around threatened the actual dismemberment of the province. Protests had been of no avail; and the decimated population, which had hardly been able to protect itself against the irritated savages, could offer but a feeble resistance to the progress of European encroachment.* Under such embarrassing circumstances, the last director general of New Netherland began his eventful government. 27 May.

Stuyvesant's haughtiness.

The arrival of Kieft's successor was joyfully hailed by the people as their deliverance from a terrible evil. But the new director's supercilious bearing soon indicated the character of his future government. His first coming "was like a peacock's, with great state and pomp." Some of the principal inhabitants going to welcome him, were left to wait, "for several hours, bareheaded," while Stuyvesant himself remained covered, "as if he was the Czar of Muscovy." When he took the direction from his predecessor, the whole community was called together to witness the

* Hol. Doc., xi., 213; Breeden Raedt, 19; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 689; iv., 105.

CH. XIV. 1647.

ceremony. Kieft began by thanking the people for their fidelity to him, "which he much exaggerated, in hopes that the commonalty would unanimously have thanked him." But Kuyter and Melyn, both members of the board of "Eight Men," and several others, spoke out boldly that "they would not thank him, as they had no reason to do so." Stuyvesant "under the blue heavens loudly declared that every one should have justice done to him." The assurance gladdened the commonalty; nevertheless, their director's haughty carriage "caused some to think that he would not be a father."*

Occurrences at his inauguration.

Organization of the council.

Whatever Stuyvesant did, he did vigorously. His first care was to organize his council, which consisted of Van Dincklagen, the vice-director, Van Dyck, the fiscal, Commissary Keyser, and Captain Bryan Newton, besides the experienced La Montagne, who was retained as a counselor, and Van Tienhoven as provincial secretary. Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist was appointed "equipage master;" and Baxter, who had served as English secretary since 1642, was continued in that post, as none of the company's officers "could tolerably read or write the English language."

28 June.

31 May. Police regulations.

Proclamations were immediately issued with a zeal and rapidity which promised to work a "thorough reformation." Sabbath-breaking, brawling, and drunkenness were forbidden. Publicans were restrained from selling liquors, except to travellers, before two o'clock on Sundays, "when there is no preaching," and after nine o'clock in the evening. To the savages no liquor was to be sold at any time. The revenue, which had been greatly defrauded by the smuggling of furs to New England and Virginia, for shipment thence to England, and by the introduction of foreign merchandise in vessels which ran past Fort Amsterdam during the night, was protected by stringent regulations, which soon excited a violent opposition. All vessels were required to anchor under the guns of the fort,

1 July.

4 July. Revenue laws.

* Vertoogh van N. N., in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 308; Breeden Raedt, 27, 28; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 108, 109; *ante*, p. 433.

near the "hand-board," which was erected on the water-side. Further to replenish the treasury, an excise duty was now, for the first time, levied on wines and liquors. The people, who had looked for the abolition of Kieft's obnoxious beer-excise, murmured at the new imposition. It was "like the crowning of Rehoboam;" if their yoke was heavy under Kieft, it was still heavier under Stuyvesant. The export duties on peltries were increased and regulated. The outstanding tenths due from the impoverished farmers were called in; but a year's grace for the payment was allowed them, in consideration of their losses by the war. Still further to aid the revenue, two of the company's yachts were ordered to cruise in the West Indies, and capture, if possible, some of the rich galleons returning to Spain. The Court of Justice was also organized by the appointment of Van Dincklagen as presiding judge; but the director required that his opinion should be asked in all important cases, and reserved the right to preside in person whenever he should think fit. The municipal affairs of Manhattan were also attended to. At this time its aspect was unattractive; fences were straggling; the public ways crooked, and many of the houses encroached on the lines of the streets. Proprietors of vacant lots were, therefore, directed to improve them within nine months; and Van Dincklagen, Van der Grist, and Van Tienhoven were appointed the first "surveyors of buildings," to regulate the erection of new houses "within or around the city of New Amsterdam."*

CH. XIV. 1647. Wine excise. 23 July. Court of Justice. 25 July. Building regulations at New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant, who was a devout member of the Reformed Church of the Fatherland, and firmly attached to its doctrines and discipline, soon became a member of the consistory of the church at Fort Amsterdam. The building was still unfinished; and the director, as an elder and church-master, in association with Jan Jansen Dam and another colleague, undertook to complete the work in the course of the next winter. Bogardus, whose difficulties

Church in Fort Amsterdam.

* Alb. Rec., vii., 3–61, 290–297; New Amsterdam Records, i., 1–7; Vertoogh, ut sup., 295, 296, 304–308, O'Call., ii., 21–24; Dunlap, ii., App. xxiv., xxv.; *ante*, p. 394; App. Note Q.

CH. XIV. with Kieft had produced disaffection in the congregation, and had become the subject of remark in the Classis of Amsterdam, now resigned his charge, with a view of proceeding to Holland to meet his ecclesiastical superiors. Johannes Backerus, formerly the clergyman at Curaçoa, and who had accompanied Stuyvesant to New Netherland, was installed as the successor of Bogardus, at a yearly salary of fourteen hundred guilders.*

1647. 22 July.

Bogardus succeeded by Backerus.

Temper of the people, and of their director.

The inherent sentiment of popular freedom, which had exhibited its power during Kieft's unquiet government, moved the commonalty throughout Stuyvesant's more arbitrary administration. His military training made him imperious in his ideas of government. He looked upon himself as almost supreme in the far-off province. All attempts of the people to limit and restrain the abuse of his delegated authority he resisted with characteristic vigor and resolution. On the other hand, the colonists were constantly endeavoring to obtain for themselves the franchises and freedoms of their Fatherland. Affectionately loyal to the government of their native country, they felt that a participation in the liberties which their brethren enjoyed in Holland was their own birth-right in New Netherland.

Kieft's official conduct arraigned.

The contest between the prerogative of the provincial government and the popular sentiment of the commonalty was reopened soon after Stuyvesant was installed; and Kieft's reckless administration was made the subject of a formal complaint to his successor. Kuyter and Melyn, who had openly refused to join in a vote of thanks to their late director, now petitioned that the members of his council should be examined on searching interrogatories, which embraced the whole provincial policy from the imposition of the Indian tribute in 1639. The evidence thus obtained they proposed to use with effect in Holland.

Stuyvesant sides with Kieft.

Stuyvesant instantly took the alarm. If the administration of Kieft were now to be judged at the demand of the people, his own acts might have to pass the same or-

* Corr. Cl. Amst.; Alb. Rec., vii., 55; Rev. Dr. De Witt, in Proc. N. Y. H. S., 1844, 60, 61, 74; Breeden Raedt, ut sup.; Moulton's N. Y. in 1673, 18; Vertoogh van N. N., 309; *ante*, p. 418.

deal. The precedent would be dangerous; the prerogative of the directorship must be sustained. He therefore "chose the side of Kieft;" and looked upon Kuyter and Melyn, not as members of the former board of Eight Men, but simply as "private persons." Convening a special council, Stuyvesant, without waiting for the advice of his associates, announced his authoritative opinion. The petitioners had not shown that they were "solicited by the citizens at large" to propose the examination of the late director and his council, by whom they had been considered "disturbers of the public peace and tranquillity." "If this point be conceded, will not these cunning fellows, in order to usurp over us a more unlimited power, claim and assume, in consequence, even greater authority against ourselves and our commission, should it happen that our administration may not square in every respect with their whims?" The officers of the provincial government should not be obliged to disclose the secret instructions of the West India Company on the demand of two private individuals. In the opinion of the director, "it was treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not." Stuyvesant's decided tone swayed the opinions of his compliant council, and the petition of the two "malignant subjects" was rejected.

CH. XIV. 1647. 14 June. Complaints dismissed.

It was only natural that the unsuccessful petitioners should pay the penalty of their temerity. Instead of Kieft and his council, Kuyter and Melyn were now ordered to be examined as to the origin of the Indian war; and they were required to name its authors, and state whether their own demand for an investigation had been authorized by the home or provincial governments, or by the commonalty at large. If so, Kieft's instructions and dispatches might be communicated to them; if not, the accused must be sent to Holland with the recalled director, whom they had inculpated, to make good their complaints before the States General.

This decision was a triumph for Kieft. Finding that his successor was already prepossessed against Kuyter and

CH. XIV. 1647.

Melyn, he determined to gratify his personal revenge, and accused them before Stuyvesant of being the authors of the memorial of the 28th of October, 1644, which the Eight Men had addressed to the College of the XIX., a copy of which the directors had sent to him, "that he might see his impeachment, and purge himself; but without any authority to molest the signers of the letter on that account." That letter, he now charged, was false and calumnious, and prepared and dispatched clandestinely; and he alleged that the majority of its signers had been cajoled into statements tending to bring their magistrates into contempt. The authors should be compelled to produce copies of all their letters to the West India Company, and should be banished "as pestilent and seditious persons." Kieft's application was granted, and Kuyter and Melyn were ordered to answer in forty-eight hours.

18 June. Kuyter and Melyn accused by Kieft.

In their defense, the accused produced evidence to sustain their charges against Kieft, toward whom they declared they had no vindictive feelings. In the heat of war they had indeed complained to the West India Company, "but not to strangers, nor to the enemies of the United Provinces." Between forty and fifty bouweries had been destroyed during the hostilities with the Indians, and it was only right that a searching inquiry should now be made. They had used no deception toward any of the Eight Men, or any of the commonalty. They were willing to go to Holland, not as "pestilent and seditious" persons, but as good patriots, who by the war had lost all that they had possessed in New Netherland. The four survivors of the Eight Men, who had jointly signed the letters, should nevertheless accompany them, to verify their complaints before the States General.

22 June. Answers of Kuyter and Melyn.

In Stuyvesant's judgment, the frank answers of the accused only aggravated their offense; and Fiscal Van Dyck was ordered to prosecute them vigorously. But the indictment which he prepared was thought so imperfect, that the director and council determined to act as both prosecutors and judges. Melyn was accordingly charged with rebell-

4 July. Formal indictment of the accused.

11 July.

ious conduct; with having endeavored to entice the company's servants away from their employment; and with having deprived the Indians, before the war, of a part of their lands. Kuyter was accused of counseling treachery toward the savages; of urging the mortgage of Manhattan to the English; and of having threatened Kieft with personal violence, when he should "take off the coat with which he had been bedecked by the Lords his Masters." Both Melyn and Kuyter were charged with having fraudulently procured the signatures of the Eight Men to the "calumnious and scandalous" letter of the twenty-eighth of October, 1644, which it was also alleged the commonalty had not authorized them to write.

16 July. Defense of Kuyter and Melyn.

These charges were fully answered by the accused; and Kuyter for himself maintained that, as a member of the board of Eight Men, he had, in good faith, advised the pledging of Manhattan to the English, as a measure of necessity. In a few days the prejudged case was decided, and sentence pronounced. Stuyvesant wished Melyn to be punished with death, and the confiscation of his property; and Kuyter to be subjected to an "arbitrary correction," and pay a fine of three hundred guilders. But the majority of the council modified the director's severe opinion; and Melyn was sentenced to seven years' banishment, to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, and "to forfeit all benefits derived from the company;" while Kuyter was sentenced to three years' banishment, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. One third of both fines was to be given to the poor, one third to the Church, and one third to the fiscal. It was alleged that Melyn was accused more bitterly, and punished more severely than Kuyter, "because Kieft had formerly flattered himself that he should have a part with him in Staten Island, and finding himself deceived, he had been obliged to make other conditions with other persons."*

25 July. Their conviction and sentences.

The right of appeal to the Fatherland, which Kieft had

* Alb. Rec., vii., 9–17, 34–67; Hol. Doc., iii., 184–205; v., 31; Breeden Raedt, 28, 29; O'Call., ii., 24–34; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 109, 110; Vertoogh, 308; *ante*, p. 397–400, 416.

CH. XIV. denied to Doughty and to Van Hardenburg, was now again openly denied by Stuyvesant. "If I were persuaded," said the director, addressing Melyn, "that you would divulge our sentence, or bring it before their High Mightinesses, I would have you hanged at once on the highest tree in New Netherland." Not long afterward, upon leaving the Parsonage house, where he had been attending a meeting of the consistory, Stuyvesant interrupting Van Hardenburg, who was relating Kieft's proceedings in his case, openly declared, "If any one, during my administration, shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way." Doughty, too, was again made to feel the abuse of provincial authority. His petition to be allowed to return to Europe was at first denied, and he was "threatened with this and that." He was finally permitted to depart, "provided he gave a promise under his hand that he would not, in any place to which he might come, speak or complain of what had befallen him, here in New Netherland, from Directors Kieft or Stuyvesant."*

1647. Right of appeal denied to Melyn.

Van Hardenburg.

Doughty.

16 August. Kieft embarks for Holland.

Elated with his full measure of personal revenge, Kieft embarked for Holland a few weeks afterward in the ship Princess, carrying with him specimens of the minerals of New Netherland, and "a fortune," which his enemies estimated at four hundred thousand guilders. Domine Bogardus, and Van der Huygens, the late fiscal, were his fellow-passengers in the richly-laden ship, on board which Kuyter and Melyn were also brought "like criminals." But the "man of blood" never revisited the Fatherland. Within four years, De Vries's parting malediction was terribly fulfilled. The Princess, navigated by mistake into the Bristol Channel, struck upon a rock, and was wrecked on the rugged coast of Wales. Seeing death at hand, Kieft's conscience smote him, and turning toward Kuyter and Melyn, he said, "Friends, I have been unjust toward you—can you forgive me?" Toward morning, the ship went to pieces. Kieft, and "eighty other persons," includ-

27 Sept. Shipwreck.

* Vertoogh, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 309, 310; Breeden Raedt, 30; *ante*, p. 417.

ing Bogardus, Van der Huygens, and a son of Melyn, were drowned. Of all on board, only twenty were saved. Kuyter, clinging to a part of the wreck on which stood a cannon, was thrown on shore "to the great astonishment of the English, who crowded the strand by thousands, and who set up the piece of ordnance as a lasting memorial." Melyn, floating on his back, was driven on a sand-bank, from which he reached the main land in safety. As both Kuyter and Melyn "were more concerned for their papers than for any thing else," they caused them to be dragged for; and on the third day, Kuyter succeeded in recovering a small box of them, which he carried to Holland. Kieft's retributive fate produced no sympathy in the province he had misgoverned; and when intelligence of the sad calamity reached New England, it was considered to be "an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherland," and a special mark of the Lord's "favor to his poor people here, and displeasure toward such as have opposed and injured them."*

1647. Lives lost.

Escape of Kuyter and Melyn.

The grand principle of "taxation only by consent," which the Fatherland had maintained since 1477, was now to be recognized, to a limited extent, by the provincial government of New Netherland. According to his instructions, the director was bound to "use dispatch in the repairs of Fort Amsterdam;" and as the company's revenue was embarrassed, the colonists themselves were to be "induced to aid in the work." Trouble, too, was apprehended with the neighboring savage tribes, whose promised presents remained in arrear. But the provincial treasury was "actually unprovided with money or goods," and the people were unwilling to be taxed without their own consent. In this exigency, Stuyvesant, distrusting "the wavering multitude, ready to censure him if war should break out,"† demanded the advice of his council.

Popular representation demanded. 26 August.

Necessity produced concession, and prerogative yielded to popular rights. The council recommended that the

* Alb. Rec., iv., 1, 4, 11; Breeden Raedt, 30, 31; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 111, 112; Van der Donck's N. N., p. 30, and in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 162; Winthrop, ii., 316; De Vries, 183; *ante*, p. 266, 371.

† Alb. Rec., vii., 73; *ante*, p. 192, 437.

CH. XIV. principle of representation should be conceded to the people. Stuyvesant assented; and an election was ordered to be held, at which the inhabitants of Manhattan, Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Pavonia chose eighteen "of the most notable, reasonable, honest, and respectable" persons among themselves; from whom, "as is customary in the Fatherland," the director and council were to select NINE MEN, to advise and assist, when called upon, in promoting the welfare of the province at large.

1647. Concession by Stuyvesant

In a few days, the powers and duties of the Nine Men were defined in a proclamation by the council. Stuyvesant was reluctant to yield at all to the people; the concessions to which he finally assented were jealously limited and guarded. Yet the cause of popular rights gained largely. Under Kieft, the Twelve Men, and afterward the Eight Men, had possessed scarcely any influence, and had been treated with scarcely any respect. Under Stuyvesant, the Nine Men were to form an important element in the provincial administration. The proclamation, which may, perhaps, be regarded as in some sort a charter of popular rights, while it declared that nothing was more desirable than that New Netherland, "and principally New Amsterdam, our capital and residence, might continue and increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity, and mutual harmony, and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading-place, harbor, and similar highly necessary public edifices and improvements," at the same time avowed the desire of the council to obtain the voluntary assistance of the whole commonalty, "as nothing is better adapted to promote their own welfare and comfort, and as such is required in every well-regulated government." As it was difficult "to cover so many heads with a single cap, or to reduce so many opinions into one," it had therefore been proposed to the people to elect eighteen persons, nine of whom should be selected, to confer with the director and council "as their tribunes, on all means to promote the welfare of the commonalty, as well as that of the country." The Nine

25 Sept.

The Nine Men.

Men who had been chosen from the double popular nomination were, "as good and faithful interlocutors and trustees of the commonalty," to exert themselves "to promote the honor of God, and the welfare of our dear Fatherland, to the best advantage of the company, and the prosperity of our good citizens; to the preservation of the pure Reformed religion, as it is here, and in the churches of the Netherlands, inculcated." They were not to "assist at any private conventicles or meetings," and they were to meet only when convened, "in a legitimate manner." After consulting together upon the propositions of the director and council, they might then "bring forward their advice." The director, as one of the council, might at any time attend the meetings and act as president. Three of the Nine Men, in rotation, were to have seats at the council once in each week, "on the usual court-day," to whom, as arbitrators, civil cases might be referred. By their award the parties were to be bound; though an appeal might be made to the colonial council upon the payment of one pound Flemish. "The number of nine chosen men shall continue until lawfully repealed, provided that annually six leave their seats, and from the most notable citizens again twelve be nominated, who, with the nine assembled, shall be communicated to Us, without Our being required to call in future the whole commonalty together. This meeting shall take place, after next New Year's day, on the last of December annually."

Their duties.

Term of office.

Thus jealously did Stuyvesant hedge the meagre privileges he was forced to concede to the people. In the first election alone was the voice of the "wavering multitude" to be expressed; the Nine Men were to nominate their own successors. The popular tribunes selected by the director, and who were immediately sworn "to conduct themselves reasonably, and be faithful to their instructions," were Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus van Hardenburg, and Govert Loockermans, from among the merchants; Jan Jansen Dam, Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, and Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, from the citizens;

Oath of office.

CH. XIV. 1647.

and Michael Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall, from the farmers.*

Stuyvesant's first communication to the Nine Men.

The Nine Men were soon summoned to deliberate. The fort was dilapidated; the houses in New Amsterdam were chiefly built of wood, and thatched with straw; and no school had been kept for three months, owing to the want of a proper school-house. Confined to his room by an epidemical influenza, which raged "through the country, among Indians and English, French and Dutch," Stuyvesant was

15 Nov.

obliged to communicate his views to the meeting in writing. For their own security, the people should repair the fort. The company, however, would defray a part of the expenses of education, and would continue their assistance "to promote the glorious work;" while temporary accommodation for a school and schoolmaster would be provided in one of the government houses. The church which Kieft had commenced in 1642, should be promptly completed; and proper municipal regulations should be adopted for the prevention of fires.

Action of the Nine Men.

Most of these propositions were approved by the Nine Men, and arrangements were made for finishing the church and reorganizing the public school. For these purposes the commonalty were willing to tax themselves. But the suggestion respecting contributions for the repair of Fort Amsterdam was promptly rejected. The company had distinctly bound itself by the charter of 1629, "to finish the fort on the island of the Manhattes, and put it in a posture of defense without delay." As the commonalty was obliged to pay customs duties, excises, and tolls at the company's mill, the expenses of maintaining the

* Alb. Rec., vii., 72–84; O'Call., ii., 36–39. Heermans, a Bohemian by birth, came out under the patronage of the Chamber at Enckhuysen, as agent of the mercantile house of Gabry of Amsterdam; Van Hardenburg emigrated to New Netherland in 1644, and was fined by Kieft, in 1646, for attempting to appeal from one of his decisions; Loockermans, who was a brother-in-law of Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, and Jacob van Couwenhoven, came out with Van Twiller in 1633; Dam was one of the "Twelve Men" who instigated Kieft to attack the savages; Van Couwenhoven came out with his brother-in-law Loockermans in 1633; Kip was a tailor, and in 1643 had advised the deposition of Kieft, and afterward opposed his treaty of 1645; Michael Jansen emigrated to Rensselaerswyck in 1636, whence he removed to Manhattan; Jan Evertsen Bout was Pauw's superintendent at Pavonia in 1634, and one of the Eight Men in 1643; Thomas Hall, the only Englishman in the board, was also one of the board of Eight Men. *Ante*, p. 317, 365, 453, 454.

fortifications should be paid out of the company's revenue from these sources.* CH. XIV.

1647.

While the director was thus engaged, his attention was called to a new effort to dismember the company's American territory. Lord Stirling dying the year after the unsuccessful attempt of Farrett, his agent, to take possession of the western portion of Long Island, his widow determined to maintain her title, and accordingly gave a power of attorney to Andrew Forrester, a Scotchman, with which she sent him to America. On his arrival at Vlissingen, September. Forrester boldly announced himself to the English settlers there and at Heemstede as Governor of Long Island, under the Dowager Countess of Stirling. The Schout of Vlissingen sent intelligence of these proceedings to Stuyvesant; and, the day after, Forrester himself visited Manhattan. He had come, he said, to see the Dutch director's commission; if that were better than his, he would give way; if not, Stuyvesant must yield to him. The director, surprised at Forrester's "very consequential" airs, ordered him to be arrested and examined before the council, where he stated that he was a native of Dundee, and produced a parchment with a mutilated seal, and Lady Stirling's power of attorney. But Stuyvesant promptly rejected the insufficient claims of "this pretended governor." Copies of his papers were taken, and the agent himself was sent on board the Falconer, to be conveyed to Holland, where he might defend himself if he could. But the ship put into an English port, and Forrester escaping, "never troubled the captain afterward."

Arrest of Lady Stirling's agent. 27 Sept.

28 Sept.

Forrester sent to Holland.

By the same vessel was sent Picquet, a Frenchman, who had been sentenced to banishment from New Netherland, and eighteen years' confinement in the "rasp-house" at Amsterdam, for threatening to shoot the director and fiscal. The convict escaped ashore in England; but the Amsterdam Chamber hastened to admonish Stuyvesant that he had exceeded his authority in sentencing a prisoner to punishment in Holland. The magistrates of the

Case of Picquet. 4 October.

1648. 7 April.

* Alb. Rec., vii., 106–116; Winthrop, ii., 310; O'Call., ii., 41, 42; *ante*, p. 196.

CH. XIV. 1647. Fatherland would hardly "deem themselves justifiable" in executing a provincial sentence. "We would advise you," added the directors, "to punish, after due inquiry, all delinquents in the country in which they are condemned."*

Correspondence with New England.

Soon after his inauguration, Stuyvesant addressed courteous letters to the governors of the neighboring colonies, announcing his arrival, and expressing his feelings of amity.

25 June.

In writing to Winthrop, he distinctly asserted "the indubiate right" of the Dutch to all the territory between the Connecticut and the Delaware; and suggested an interview for the purpose of arranging all differences. This letter Winthrop immediately communicated to the commissioners then sitting at Boston. Some of the members advised that Stuyvesant's proposition should be accepted, and a "visit at his own home," or a meeting at any of the New England towns, be tendered. But the Connecticut commissioners "thought otherwise, supposing it would be more to their advantage to stand upon terms of distance."

17 August.

Winthrop, therefore, merely replied that a meeting would be given "in proper time and place." The commissioners on their part also joined in a letter, remonstrating against the "dangerous liberty" the Dutch traders were in the habit of taking, in selling guns and ammunition not only at Fort Orange, but along the coasts of Long Island Sound; complaining of the high recognitions imposed in New Netherland upon imports and exports, and requesting to be informed of their precise nature, so that the New England merchants "might steer a course accordingly."†

Customs' duties in New Netherland.

The colonial duties which the West India Company exacted were injuriously high, and in Stuyvesant himself they had a faithful agent in executing their system of exclusion and selfishness. An opportunity soon occurred to test the zeal of the new director.

17 Sept. Dutch ship illegally trading at New Haven.

Secretary Van Tienhoven, accidentally visiting New Haven, found lying at anchor an Amsterdam ship, the Saint Beninio, which had been trading there for a month without the license of the

* Alb. Rec., iv., 2–5; vii., 85–88, 95; Vertoogh, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 275, 322; O'Call., ii., 46, 47; *ante*, p. 298, 299.

† MS. Letters, Alb., i., 1–4; Winthrop, ii., 314; Hazard, ii., 97, 98.

West India Company. Meeting the Secretary of New Netherland, Westerhouse and Goedenhuysen, two of the owners of the cargo, applied for permission to trade at Manhattan, upon the payment of the usual duties. Van Tienhoven, on his return, reported the circumstances to Stuyvesant, and the desired permit was sent to New Haven. A few days afterward, Goedenhuysen, arriving at Manhattan, informed Stuyvesant that the ship was about to sail from New Haven directly to Virginia; but he neither produced his manifest, nor offered to pay any duties. The case, which from the first had been an infringement of the charter of the West India Company, now assumed the aspect of an open violation of the colonial revenue laws; and Stuyvesant determined to seize the ship as she lay at anchor in New Haven harbor, which he considered to be within the jurisdiction of New Netherland. A short time before he had sold one of the company's vessels to some merchants of New Haven, and agreed to deliver it to them at that place. On board this vessel he embarked a company of soldiers, with instructions to capture the Saint Beninio. The stratagem was successful. The smuggler was seized in New Haven harbor, "on the Lord's day," and with a fair wind was soon brought to Manhattan, and confiscated.*

Seized by Stuyvesant, and brought to Manhattan. 11 October.

This bold movement, which was executed so adroitly that the New Haven people had no time to interfere, naturally produced a great excitement there. Stuyvesant had accompanied his proceeding with a letter to the New Haven authorities, in which he claimed all the regions from Cape Hinlopen to Cape Cod as a part of the territory of New Netherland, and asserted his right to levy duties upon all Dutch vessels trading at New Haven. Eaton immediately protested against the Dutch director as a disturber of the peace, by "making unjust claims to our lands and plantations, to our havens and rivers, and by taking a ship out of our harbor without our license." Another cause of embarrassment had meanwhile occurred.

Excitement at New Haven. 18 October.

* Alb. Rec., iii., 315; vii., 70–79, 95–102; Winthrop, ii., 314; Hazard, ii., 101–103.

CH. XIV. 1647. Retaliatory measures.

Three of the West India Company's servants had fled from Manhattan to New Haven, where, "being pursued," they were apprehended and imprisoned. The provision in the Articles of Union between the New England colonies of 1643, for the mutual delivery of fugitives from justice or servitude, had been virtually extended to New Netherland,* and Eaton had agreed to surrender the prisoners. But as Stuyvesant now so boldly asserted a claim of jurisdiction over New Haven, the delivery of the fugitives might be interpreted "as done in a way of subordination," and it was therefore "not thought fit to send them." This decision was communicated to the Massachusetts government, and their advice requested. The General Court wrote at once to the New Haven authorities, that they "might deliver the fugitives without prejudice to their right or reputation." Eaton, however, rejecting the advice of Massachusetts, detained the runaways, and took them into the public service. The Commissary of Fort Amsterdam arrived soon afterward at New Haven, with a letter from Stuyvesant, justifying his seizure of the ship, and entreating that the fugitives might be delivered to him. But Eaton declined, and sent back a sharp reply. "You have imposed an excessive high custom for all goods sold within your jurisdiction, with seizures for omissions or misentries; our vessels must anchor under your erected hand, a place very inconvenient; and, as if you meant to shut up the passage by the Manhattans, or by insufferable burthens to weary the English out of trade, you begin to take recognitions upon goods traded elsewhere, and in their return passing only by the Manhattans." The post on the Paugussett had been threatened by the Dutch, and slanders against the English had been circulated among the savages. "I doubt not but we may retaliate," added Eaton, who, referring to the "sending Captain Forrester to Holland," suggested, in closing his letter, that the English colonies might hereafter have occasion "to write after the same copy."

Advice of Massachusetts.

15 Nov.

25 Nov. Eaton's letter to Stuyvesant.

* Hol. Doc., v., 360; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 335.

1647.

16 Dec. Stuyvesant's vindication.

Indignant at Eaton's "unjust charges," Stuyvesant declined replying to his lecturing letter, but sent a full vindication of his own conduct and administration to Goodyear, the deputy governor of New Haven. Eaton's letter was "but as an aggravating of former passages to the worst sense," said the irritated director; "ripping up, as he conceives, all my faults, as if I were a school-boy, and not one of like degree with himself." With regard to the recognitions exacted at Manhattan, "every state hath power to make what laws and impose what customs in its own precincts it shall think convenient, without being regulated or prescribed by others; yet, notwithstanding we have been so favorable to your countrymen trading here that they pay eight per cent. less than our own." As Eaton was "so full of his retaliation, he must, according to his own words and practice, give us leave to give liberty to any that shall elope from your jurisdiction to remain under our protection until our fugitives are delivered."*

5 Dec. Stuyvesant's retaliatory proceedings.

The threatened measure was promptly executed. A proclamation was issued, reciting the provocations which the director had received from Eaton, and declaring that "if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea, to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the colony of New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance."†

This unwise step placed Stuyvesant in a false position, both at home and abroad. The New Netherland colonists objected to it as tending to convert the province into a refuge for vagabonds from the neighboring English settlements, who would not be a desirable addition to their population. This view, however, did not impress the director as strongly as the apprehension that his proclamation might "embitter" the other English colonies against the Dutch. He therefore wrote to the governors of Massachusetts and Virginia, "blaming the practice in general, but excusing it in this particular case" as a measure of neces-

* Stuyvesant Letters, Alb., i., 4–9.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 18; vii., 111, 112.

CH. XIV. sity, and which had reference to New Haven alone. The following spring, finding that his unwise policy produced

1648. March. no good result, "he wrote privately to the fugitives," offering them pardon and satisfaction if they would return to New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant's offer, backed by letters from Domine Backerus, was gladly embraced, and the runaways "made an escape and returned home." Eaton being thus signally foiled, the obnoxious proclamation was revoked.*

1647. Almost as soon as Stuyvesant landed at Manhattan, he was informed of the injurious behavior of Printz, and a

South River. courier was promptly dispatched to the South River with

17 August. a protest against the Swedish governor. Soon afterward,

28 Sept. Hudde reappointed commissary. the director and council "having considered the abilities of Andries Hudde," confirmed him in office as commissary at Fort Nassau. In the beginning of the next year, a

1648. 3 April. Insults of the Swedes. Swedish bark, going up the river, passed the Dutch post without stopping or displaying her colors, was fired at, and, on returning, her master was required to explain his conduct. But the schipper only boasted that he acted so to insult the Dutch commander, and would "certainly do

4 April. so in future." Some of the Passayunk sachems now came to Fort Nassau with intelligence that the Swedes had collected a great quantity of logs for a new fort on the Schuylkill, where they had already constructed some buildings. By this means they hoped to cut off the Dutch from all access to "the large woods," and secure to themselves a trade with the Minquas, which would yield some thirty or

The savages invite the Dutch to build on the Schuylkill. forty thousand beaver skins annually. "Why do you not build on the Schuylkill yourselves?" demanded the sachems; and Hudde, feeling that without the trade with the inland Minquas, the possession of the South River "would deserve very little consideration," determined to follow the suggestion of the friendly savages.

Preparations were immediately made to build, and

27 April. Hudde went to the Schuylkill "with the most necessary

* Winthrop, ii., 315; Hol. Doc., v., 18, 43; O'Call., ii., 48–57; Vertoogh, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 312, 335.

timber." The sachems themselves warned the intruding Swedes to depart, and told them that they had already ceded the spot to the Dutch, who, moreover, "should build there." Two of the principal chiefs then "planted there, with their own hands, the colors of the Prince of Orange," and asked Hudde to fire a gun three times "as a mark that he had taken possession." This was done; and the first house in the new Dutch Fort "Beversrede" was raised in the presence of the sachems.* CH. XIV. 1648. Fort Beversrede.

Toward evening, Huygens, the Swedish commissary, arrived at Fort Beversrede, with seven or eight men, and demanded by whose authority Hudde was raising the building. "By order of my masters, and with the previous consent of the savages," replied the Dutch commissary. The sachems now interposed. "We shall grant this land to the Dutch, who will settle here; but by whose orders do the Swedes erect buildings here?" said they to Huygens. "Is it not enough that the Swedes are already in possession of Matinnekonk, the Schuylkill, Kinsessing, Kakanken, Upland, and other places, all of which they have stolen from us? About ten or eleven years ago, Minuit had no more than six small tracts of land upon Paghaghking, which he bought to plant there some tobacco, of which we were to enjoy half the produce. You would be greatly surprised if we were to come to you and purchase land, and then take the land adjoining it, as you have done on the river here, and yet continue to do. You would even prescribe laws to us, who are the original and natural proprietors of the land, as if we might not do with our own what we wish. The Swedes have only lately arrived on the river, yet they have already taken so much land from us, which they have actually settled; while the Dutch have never taken from us any land, although they have dwelt here and conversed with us more than thirty years." Interference of the Swedes. Reproved by the savages.

With this admonition from the savages, Huygens and his party retired, and Hudde continued his "commenced

* Alb. Rec., iii., 258; vii., 80; xvii., 268, 321; Hudde's Report, 436–439; O'Call., ii., 80; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 94–99, 115; *ante*, 232, 426.

CH. XIV. work." While he was thus engaged, Mounce Kling, the Swedish lieutenant of the fort on the Schuylkill, arrived

1648. May. "with twenty-four men, fully armed with charged muskets, and bearing maces, marching in ranks." To his demand whether the Dutch intended to proceed with their fort, Hudde promptly replied, "What is commenced must be finished." Upon this, the Swedish soldiers were ordered to cut down every tree near the house. The order was soon executed; and even the fruit trees which Hudde had planted were destroyed.*

Damages inflicted by the Swedes.

16 May. Campanius returns to Sweden.

Campanius, who had accompanied Printz to New Sweden as chaplain six years before, now returned home. His desire to improve the condition of the savages induced him to study their language; and he has the honor of having been the first missionary among the Indians of Delaware and Pennsylvania. After his return to Sweden, he completed the translation, which he had begun at Tinnicum, of Luther's Catechism into the Lenni-Lenape tongue, in which, accommodating the Lord's Prayer to the circumstances of the savages, he interpreted the petition for "daily bread" into a supplication for "a plentiful supply of venison and corn."†

Plowden again visits Manhattan. May.

About the same time, Sir Edmund Plowden, the titular earl palatine of New Albion, whose pretensions had been derided by Kieft in 1643, paid a second visit to Manhattan. He had now been "about seven years" in Virginia, where he lost all the property he had brought over. Plowden's absurd claim seems to have been treated as contemptuously by Stuyvesant as it had been by Kieft; and

14 June. the bankrupt earl palatine went to Boston, on his way "to England for supply, intending to return and plant Delaware, if he could get sufficient strength to dispossess the

* Hudde's Report, 439, 440; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 100, 101.

† Campanius, Preface, 72; Records of Swedes' Church; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 101, 102. The translated Catechism, a copy of which is in the library of the Am Phil. Society, was printed in Delaware and Swedish at Stockholm, in 1696. Campanius died on the 17th of September, 1683. In 1702, his grandson, who had never been in America, published the "Description of New Sweden," now generally quoted as "Campanius." A translation of this work, by Mr. Du Ponceau, of Philadelphia, was issued by the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1834.

1648.

Swedes." But his purpose was never executed; though, upon reaching London, he seems to have published a romantic pamphlet—"Description of the Province of New Albion"—under the fabulous name of "Beauchamp Plantagenet."*

Plantagenet's New Albion.

In the mean time, the West India Company had expressed their dissatisfaction that the limits between the Swedes, the English, and the Dutch were still unsettled. Stuyvesant accordingly dispatched Van Dincklagen and La Montagne to the South River, with instructions to procure a formal confirmation of the lands which had been previously purchased of the savages. Three days after their arrival at Fort Nassau, the commissioners proceeded to Fort Beversrede, and invited to a conference the native chiefs and "rulers over the territories and lands lying on and around the Schuylkill, called Armenveruis." Their former sale to Arendt Corssen, of "the Schuylkill and adjoining lands," was now irrevocably confirmed; and of all this territory the Dutch officers "took a public and lawful possession."†

4 April.

Van Dincklagen and La Montagne sent to the South River.

7 June.

10 June.

Purchase of the Schuylkill confirmed.

The commissioners then sailed to Tinnicum "with a becoming suite," and solemnly protested against the injurious acts of the Swedish governor. Nevertheless, Printz continued his vexatious conduct. Hans Jacobsen, attempting to establish himself on the Schuylkill, was stopped, and threatened "that if he came there again and dared to build, he should carry off with him a good drubbing." A few days afterward, Thomas Broen was treated in a similar manner at "New Holm."

Interview with Printz.

2 July.

Continued annoyances from the Swedes.

6 July.

The next autumn Hudde visited Manhattan, at Stuyvesant's summons, and made a report on the situation of affairs on the South River, with suggestions for their improvement. Not long afterward, the director received intelligence of new provocations of the Swedes. Printz had

8 Sept.

Hudde's report.

25 Sept.

* Winthrop, ii., 325; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 279, 323–326; *ante*, p. 381, 382; Appendix, note E. Plantagenet's "Description" has been reprinted by Mr. Force, in his Collection of Tracts, vol. ii.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 5; Hudde's Report, 440; Hol. Doc., viii., 55; O'Call., ii., 81; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 102; *ante*, p. 232.

CH. XIV. built a large house, thirty feet long and twenty wide, in front of Fort Beversrede, and within twelve feet of its gate, so that it could now be scarcely seen from the river. The inland savages, too, were dissatisfied that the river was not "always crowded" with Dutch cargoes; for the Swedes had but few. The commissariat of the company was "in want of every necessary article," and there were now only six able-bodied men on the South River to garrison the two Dutch forts.*

1648.

16 Sept.

Settlement commenced at Passayunk.

It was therefore determined to commence the colonization of Passayunk; and patents were granted to Simon Root and other freemen, to settle and build on the Schuylkill, at "the Mast-maker's Point." With these patentees,

16 October. Hudde returned to Fort Nassau. Preparations were immediately made for building in the neighborhood of Fort Beversrede; and the palisades around that post which the

4 Nov. Swedes had torn down were replaced. The work had scarcely been repaired, before it was destroyed a second

Interrupted by the Swedes. time by the Swedes. The same day, the Swedish lieutenant, Swen Schute, going to Mast-maker's Point, where Root was beginning to raise a house, forbade him to proceed. At the intercession of Adriaen van Tienhoven, the clerk of the court on the South River, and Alexander Boyer, the deputy commissary, Schute "relented" until they could send to Fort Nassau and obtain Hudde's further or-

5 Nov. ders. These were sent the same night; and at sunrise the next morning Schute warned the Dutch officers that he had also received "positive orders" from Printz to destroy what they had built. Ordering his men to draw their swords, he marched to Mast-maker's Point, followed by the Dutch. In spite of all protests, and the exhibition of Stuyvesant's instructions, the Swedes presently destroyed Root's building, "using their swords in lieu of axes."

7 Nov. Protests of the Dutch. 9 Nov. Hudde, not having "any other arms than paper," again protested against this "destruction of mutual harmony and friendship." Van Tienhoven also wrote to Stuyvesant, de-

* Alb. Rec., v., 71; xvii., 268; Hol. Doc., viii., 32–35; Hudde's Report, 440, 441; S. Hazard, 78, 102–104.

tailing the injurious conduct of the Swedish officers, and urging him to examine in person the situation of the South River, "because the Swedes do here what they please." They had entirely shut out the garrison at Fort Beversrede from "the sight of the water on the kill," and had not left them land enough "to make a small garden in the spring." The savages, too, "continually renew their demand for powder and balls." Commerce was "nearly spoiled;" for the Dutch were compelled to give two fathoms of white, and one fathom of black sewam for a beaver. This barter was "rather too much against them." Every fathom, it was found, amounted "to three ells," as "the Indians always take the largest and tallest among them to trade with us."*

Municipal affairs at New Amsterdam.

The director, in the mean time, had not neglected municipal affairs at New Amsterdam. Commissary Keyser, from the council, and Thomas Hall, Martin Kregier, and George Woolsey, from the commonalty, were appointed "fire-wardens," to visit and inspect all the houses in the town, "between the fort and the Fresh Water." In case any house should be burned through the owner's negligence, he was to be fined twenty-five guilders. If the fire-wardens should condemn any chimney as foul, the owner was to pay a fine of three guilders, "to be appropriated to the maintenance of fire-ladders, hooks, and buckets, which shall be provided and procured the first opportunity." Taverns were also regulated. As "almost one full fourth part of the town of New Amsterdam" had become "houses for the sale of brandy, tobacco, or beer," it was ordained that no new taverns should be licensed, except by the unanimous consent of the director and council. Those already established might, however, continue for four years longer, upon condition that their owners would abstain from selling to the savages, report all brawls to the council, and procure

23 January.

Fire department.

10 March.

Taverns regulated.

* Alb. Rec., v., 6, 10, 11; vii., 206; xvii., 340–348; Hol. Doc., viii., 35, 36, 57, 58; Hudde's Report, 441, 442; O'Call., ii., 83; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 104–108; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 248. A fathom was commonly estimated at as much as a man could reach with outstretched arms. The Indians, therefore, had good reason to choose their "largest and tallest" men to trade with the Dutch.

CH. XIV. 1648.

decent houses, according to their ability, "to adorn the town of New Amsterdam." To prevent further damage, no hogs nor goats were thereafter to be pastured between Fort Amsterdam and the "Fresh Water," except within proper inclosures. With the approbation of Domine Backerus, the council also ordained that "from this time forth, in the afternoon as well as in the forenoon, there shall be preaching from God's word, and the usual exercises of Christian prayer and thanksgiving," which all persons were required to "frequent and attend." Notwithstanding every precaution, the savages were daily seen "running about drunk through the Manhattans." The placard against selling them strong drink was thereforere published; and in addition to former penalties, offenders were now "to be arbitrarily punished without any dissimulation." Many of the inhabitants had been in the habit of employing the Indians as servants, or work-people, and had allowed their wages to become in arrear. The Indians had threatened to right themselves in their own fashion; and all persons were therefore warned to pay their debts to the savages promptly, under penalty of a fine. A new proclamation forbade the townspeople from harboring runaway servants, whether of the company, "or of any other persons living here or elsewhere." The community was also warned, "for the last time," to improve their vacant lots in the town of New Amsterdam. In default, such lots would be assigned to persons inclined to improve them, and a reasonable compensation would be awarded to the original owner.*

29 April. Church services.

Indians at Manhattan.

13 May.

28 Sept.

6 October.

15 Dec. Vacant lots to be improved.

The Nine Men take the initiative.

The "Nine Men," as we have seen, had commenced their public service by passing upon the propositions of the director. An occasion soon arose for them to take the initiative. The commonalty, anxious for the prosperity of the province, desired to encourage the immigration of persons who intended to make New Netherland their permanent home. Whoever came with such an intention was welcome. Many strangers had already settled themselves

* New Amst. Rec., i., 8–11, 15–19, 22–24; Appendix, Note Q.

at Manhattan and on Long Island without awakening and jealousy. But there were many besides who had come with other designs; and the Nine Men wished to check what seemed a growing evil. A remonstrance was, therefore, addressed to Stuyvesant and his council, proposing various measures for remedying the injuries caused by persons who contributed nothing toward the advancement of the province, but who merely carried on a temporary trade in furs, which they procured from the Indians by improper traffic, and then smuggled out of the country at night. CH. XIV. 1648. 18 Feb.

The remonstrance of the Nine Men prompted new proclamations, which only produced embarrassment. No person was thereafter to be allowed to carry on business in New Netherland except permanent residents who had taken the oath of allegiance, were rated at from two to three thousand guilders at least, and who intended to "keep fire and light" in the province. "Old residents," however, though not possessing the full property qualification, were allowed trading privileges, provided they remained in the province, and used only the weights and measures of "Old Amsterdam, to which we owe our name." To carry out this policy, it was soon afterward ordained that "all Scotch merchants and small dealers, who come over from their own country with the intention of trading here," should "not be permitted to carry on any trade in the land" until they had resided three years in the province; and they were further required to build "a decent habitable tenement" within one year after their arrival. Strangers, however, might sell goods from their vessels, if they were properly entered, and the duty paid on all sales. Every Monday was to be a market day, "as well for strangers as residents." In imitation of one of the customs of the Fatherland, an annual "Kermis," or fair for ten days, commencing on the Monday after Saint Bartholomew's day, was established, at which all persons were privileged to sell goods from their tents. The trade on the North and South Rivers was reserved to citizens of the requisite qualifications, who had obtained a pass from the director. The

10 March. Residence required.

18 Sept. Scotch merchants or peddlers.

Kermis or fair.

CH. XIV. 1648.

East River, however, was declared to be "free and open to every one, no matter to what nation he may belong." All vessels under fifty tons were to anchor between the Capsey "Hoeck," which divided the East from the North River, and the "hand," or guide-board opposite the "Stadtherberg," which Kieft had built in 1642. Larger vessels might anchor as far eastward as the "second guide-board," opposite the "Smit's Vleye." No freight, however, was to be landed, nor were any boats to leave the vessels between sunset and sunrise.*

Hand or guide-boards.

All these regulations were strictly enforced. The contraband trade in fire-arms, of which the New England commissioners had complained, was as severely condemned by the commonalty; and the new regulations for its suppression met their warm approbation. All they desired was that they "should be executed without partiality." Cases, however, occurred in which the director's action exposed him to severe criticism. Govert Barent, the armorer of Fort Amsterdam, Joost Teunissen de Backer, Jacob Reintsen, Jacob Schermerhorn, and his brother, were arrested, and Reintsen and the two Schermerhorns were convicted and sentenced to death for violating the proclamation against illicit trade in fire-arms. The sentence, however, was commuted, "by the intervention of many good men," to the confiscation of the goods of the convicts. Teunissen was released on bail; and failing to receive a passport to return to Holland, he left New Netherland secretly the next year, and brought his case before the States General. Stuyvesant was blamed for undue severity in these instances, as well as for the seizure of a cargo of goods in a ship consigned to Govert Loockermans, one of the Nine Men.† But his conduct seems to have been dictated by an earnest desire to repress the mischievous traffic which had been carried on so long with the savages.

9 July. Contraband trade in fire-arms.

This trade centered chiefly at Rensselaerswyck, where

* Alb. Rec., vii., 160–189; New Amst. Rec., i., 20, 21; O'Call., ii., 59–62; C. F. Hoffman's Address, 1847, p. 27.

† Alb. Rec., vii., 240; viii., 60; Hol. Doc., iv., 238, 243; O'Call., ii., 62–64; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 290, 311, 312, 334, 335.

1648.

Brandt van Slechtenhorst, the recently-appointed commissary of the infant patroon, had now arrived. The new colonial officer, who was esteemed "a person of stubborn and headstrong temper," took an early opportunity to exhibit his devotion to his feudal chief, and his insubordination to the provincial government. A proclamation for the observance of a general fast-day throughout New Netherland having been sent to Beverswyck or Beverwyck, for publication, Van Slechtenhorst protested against it as an invasion of "the right and authority of the Lord Patroon." Stuyvesant, whose attention had already been called to the illicit trade carried on within the colonie, therefore determined to hasten his proposed visit there. Embarking with a small escort of soldiers, he soon afterward reached Fort Orange, where Carl van Brugge was now the company's commissary, in place of Bogaerdt.

22 March. Van Slechtenhorst, commissary at Rensselaerswyck.

26 April. His insubordination.

July. Van Brugge, commissary at Fort Orange.

The arrival of the commander-in-chief was greeted by salutes from the artillery of Fort Orange, and the patroon's "three pieces of cannon." Van Slechtenhorst, summoned to answer for his contempt of the company's authority, retorted by complaining of Stuyvesant's infringement of the privileges of the patroon. The director general was in no mood to trifle, and a protest, conveying the orders of the provincial government, was handed to the contumacious colonial officer. He was directed to refrain from putting up any buildings within range of the guns of Fort Orange, as they rendered the post insecure. No new ordinances affecting trade or commerce within the colony were to be made, unless with the assent of the provincial authorities. The pledge which the patroon and his officers exacted from the colonists, not to appeal from their judgments to the Supreme Court of New Netherland, was held to be "a crime;" and the annual return of all the affairs of the colony to the director and council at Manhattan, provided for in the charter of privileges, was peremptorily required. In reply, Van Slechtenhorst complained that the director had acted "as if he were the lord of the patroon's colonie." The prohibition from building near Fort Orange was unjustifiable;

Stuyvesant visits Fort Orange. 21 July.

23 July. Orders to Van Slechtenhorst.

28 July. Van Slechtenhorst's reply.

CH. XIV. 1648.

for "a few years ago" the patroon's trading-house had stood on the very border of the moat, and, moreover, the land all around was his. After directing that the palisades of the fort should be replaced by a solid stone wall, and after endeavoring to induce the Mohawks and other neighboring savages to preserve peace among themselves, with the Dutch, and with their "brethren, the English and French," the provincial commander-in-chief returned to New Amsterdam, saluted on his departure, as he had been on his arrival, by all the artillery at Beverwyck.

Fort Orange to be repaired.

Notwithstanding Stuyvesant's orders, Van Slechtenhorst persevered; and a new protest from Manhattan warned him to refrain from encroachments on the precinct of Fort Orange. The colonial officer replied by excepting to the technical formality of the director's legal proceedings, and by contrasting the practice at New Amsterdam, where streets full of houses clustered around the fort, with the more severe restrictions at Beverwyck, where no buildings were thenceforth to be erected within the range of a musket ball from Fort Orange. Van Slechtenhorst followed up his letter by forbidding the company's commissary to quarry stone, or cut timber within the colonie. At the same time, he persisted in erecting houses for the patroon "even within pistol-shot of Fort Orange."

23 August.

8 Sept.

Soldiers sent to Fort Orange.

Stuyvesant promptly dispatched a corporal's guard to Fort Orange, and ordered Commissary Van Brugge to demolish the prohibited buildings, arrest Van Slechtenhorst, and keep him in custody until he produced his commissions and instructions. The patroon's officer was also summoned to appear and answer at Fort Amsterdam; and the importation of fire-arms into the colonie, without the permission of the "Lords Majors" at Amsterdam, was formally prohibited.

The unusual presence of a military force created some excitement in the quiet hamlet. The bearing of the soldiers was insolent; Van Slechtenhorst himself, while walking in the street with his deputy, was rather rudely saluted; the colonists were offended; and the Mohawk sav-

21 Sept.

ages wondered why the "Wooden Leg"* wished to destroy the houses "which were to shelter them in storms and winter." They could not understand the motives for the director's military restrictions. "Come to us in the Maquaas country," said they, "and we will give you plenty of land."

1648. Feelings of the Mohawks.

Van Brugge, unwilling to proceed to extremities, forbore to demolish the houses or arrest the patroon's officer; but he executed the rest of his duty; and Van Slechtenhorst refusing to produce his commission, was summoned to appear and answer at Fort Amsterdam. The soldiers were now directed to return to Manhattan. The patroon's representative again exhibited his loyalty in a protest against Stuyvesant's infringement of the privileges of his feudal chief. Van Brugge's mode of serving the summons had not technically conformed to the practice at home, and was not legal. The patroon was master on his own land, and his officers could arrest all trespassers, and prevent the cutting of timber. It was a mere subterfuge that his buildings interfered with the safety of Fort Orange, which one could now "enter or quit at pleasure, by night or by day."

Van Slechtenhorst summoned to Manhattan.

20 October. Protest.

The provincial government promptly maintained that their authority "extended to the colonie of Rensselaerswyck, as well as to the other colonies, such as Heemstede, Vlissingen, and Gravensande." The company's chief officers, Van Brugge and Labbatie, were directed to proceed with the repairs of Fort Orange, and authorized to take timber and quarry-stones for that purpose from any place within the territory of New Netherland. All buildings within gun-shot of the fort were to be destroyed, and the jurisdiction of the company over its precinct, and their "ancient and uninterrupted use" of the land in its neighborhood, were to be firmly maintained. A fresh citation

23 Nov. Fresh orders from Stuyvesant.

* The savages constantly gave descriptive or characteristic names as well to the Europeans as to themselves. They called Stuyvesant the "Wooden Leg." Josselyn, in 1674, spoke of him as the Dutch governor "with a silver leg;" and Ebeling and Acrelius follow Josselyn. The Mohawks and Josselyn were probably both right; Stuyvesant seems to have used a wooden leg strapped with silver bands.

CH. XIV. 1648. 30 Nov.

from the schout-fiscal accompanied these orders. Van Slechtenhorst's insubordination, it averred, had become notorious, and the summons which had been served upon him, in a courteous and sufficiently formal manner, had been disobeyed, though "the river remained open, the winter pleasant, and several vessels sailed up and down during the whole month of November." To cure all doubts, Van Slechtenhorst was now peremptorily commanded to appear, the next April, at Fort Amsterdam, where he would "be informed of the complaint against him." Thus ended the question for the present. In Stuyvesant's military judgment, the colonists at Beverwyck clustered near Fort Orange "through pride." Perhaps a still stronger motive was their natural anxiety to be as near as possible to the only frontier citadel which could protect them, in time of need, from the wild men of the forests.*

Megapolensis and Backerus.

15 August.

2 Sept.

11 Sept.

7 Dec.

Megapolensis, who had been the clergyman of the colonie since 1642, having requested permission to return to the Fatherland, at the earnest solicitation of the Classis of Amsterdam, agreed to remain until the next year. Domine Backerus, not satisfied with the condition of things at Manhattan, also asked his dismission. This request was seconded by Stuyvesant and the other elders and deacons, who desired that "an old, experienced, and godly minister might be sent to them, to the end that their very bewildered people might not, by the departure of their present clergymen, be left in destitution." The Classis endeavored to procure other clergymen for New Netherland, and consultations were held with the directors of the company and the heirs of Van Rensselaer; but while every effort was made, it was difficult to find any experienced ministers in Holland willing to undertake "so far distant a voyage."†

The popular discontent at New Amsterdam had now grown to a very significant degree. The debts due to the

* Alb. Rec., iv., 16, 44; v., 72–90; vii., 192–219; Stuyvesant's Letters; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 69–79; *ante*, 304, 374, 420.

† Cor. Classis Amst.; Letters of Megapolensis of the 15th of August, and of Backerus of the 2d of September, 1648.

company, which Kieft had left uncollected to the amount of thirty thousand guilders, were called in; while the people complained that their own claims for wages and grain remained unpaid. The Nine Men were obliged to interfere; and the proceedings which the fiscal had been directed to take were "put off for a time." The high customs' duties which were exacted from the colonists, amounting to nearly thirty per centum, "besides waste," and the avidity which the director exhibited to confiscate, was a "vulture, destroying the prosperity of New Netherland, diverting its trade, and making the people discontented." The "bad report" spread itself every where; among the neighboring English; north and south; and even in the West Indies and Carribee Islands. Not a ship dared come from those places; while credible Boston traders assured the Nine Men that more than twenty-five vessels would annually visit Manhattan from those islands, "if the owners were not fearful of confiscation."

Ch. XIV.

1648.

Growth of popular discontent at Manhattan. 18 October.

The representatives of the commonalty complained to Stuyvesant, and contrasted their own "desolate and ruinous" state with the "flourishing condition" of their neighbors. This the director admitted that he observed, but could not remedy; he only followed the company's orders. The commonalty now thought it expedient and necessary "to send a deputation to their High Mightinesses." Stuyvesant commended the project, and "urged it strongly." A person was already spoken of to go as delegate, when the director required that the communication with the government of the Fatherland should be "according to his wishes." Perceiving the object of this demand, the Nine Men would not consent, "and the matter therefore fell asleep." The English emigrants, "who had been depended upon, and who were associated in the affair," from time to time withdrew from the Dutch, who were eager for reforms. This made the necessity of action greater; and at the next election the Nine Men were changed.*

The Nine Men complain to Stuyvesant.

Delegation to Holland proposed.

Defection of the English from the popular side.

December.

* Hol. Doc., iv., 40; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 312–315, 335, 336. The new board of Nine Men for 1649 consisted of seven of the old members, with Adriaen van der Donck and Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt.

CH. XIV.

1648.

The New England colonies complain of the Dutch trading regulations.

The onerous customs' regulations of New Netherland were not only a sore annoyance to the New England colonial governments, but they produced their natural consequence. Retaliation was threatened. The sale of guns and powder to the Indians was another grievance. By this practice the greater part of the beaver trade had been drawn to the French and Dutch; and the means of the New England colonies to make returns for English commodities "were grown very short."*

March.

Early in the year, Eaton had written to Massachusetts, proposing "a prohibition of all trade with the Dutch until satisfaction were given," and accusing the director of having endeavored to "animate the natives to war upon the English." A long correspondence ensued, in which Stuyvesant vindicated his conduct, pressed for a meeting with the commissioners, and reiterated his peaceful professions; and the New England authorities, on their side, proposed to fix June of the next year as the time for a conference. In this correspondence, Stuyvesant, betraying too much anxiety, displayed a want of diplomatic tact. The English regarded his conduct as an evidence of the weakness both of the West India Company and of the Dutch colonial government, and thought that their embarrassed adversary, whose spirit was "beginning to fall," could very well abide their convenience.†

Correspondence with the New England authorities. April to August.

The following September the commissioners met at Plymouth, and, "by way of preparation to a meeting with the Dutch governor, or provision for their own safety and convenience," thought fit to write to Stuyvesant. The Mohawks near Fort Orange, whom Pynchon, at Springfield, had described as the "terror of all Indians," were growing bold and daring with the possession of arms furnished to them by the Dutch. The customs' regulations at Manhattan had not yet been modified; the seizure of Westerhouse's ship at New Haven, and the claim of territorial jurisdiction, were unexplained. They therefore notified

$\frac{16}{26}$ Sept.

* Winthrop, ii., 312.

† Winthrop. ii, 315, 316, 324-330; Hubbard, 438; Stuyvesant's Letters, Alb., i.

1648.

the director that Dutch traders in New England must expect a requital of the "inconvenient impositions" laid upon all persons within "the Dutch Plantation;" that guns and ammunition would be seized, and retaliatory restraints upon the Indian trade would be enforced; and that future seizures of ships within English jurisdiction would be met by "all suitable and just" reprisals.

The commissioners adopt measures of retaliation.

Stuyvesant replied that he had done all in his power to repress the illicit traffic with the savages; that English traders had been treated with all possible lenity, and, in some respects, were even more favored than the Dutch; and that he had urged the West India Company to modify their injurious regulations. As to territorial claims, what the English called Cape Cod the Dutch called Cape Malebarre; what he himself had meant by Cape Cod, was Point Judith. His own commission was as ample as could be desired. New Netherland was not a "plantation," as the commissioners had erroneously called it. The States General had invested it with the privileges of a "province," and in all their commissions had recognized it as such.

Stuyvesant's explanations.

The director also wrote to the West India Company, in pressing terms, urging that the differences between the colonial governments of New Netherland and New England ought to be promptly settled in Europe.* But the distracted condition of England prevented any immediate hope of an arrangement.

23 Dec.

* Winthrop, ii., 386; Hazard, ii., 102–105; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 202; Stuyvesant's Letters; O'Call., ii., 98–104; Alb. Rec., iv., 15.

CHAPTER XV.

1649–1651.

CHAP. XV. 1649. THE year 1649 was one of the most memorable in history. A contest between the people and their sovereign had been carried on in England, as it had long before been carried on in the Netherlands. Opposition had been succeeded by revolt and civil war. The King of Great Britain, more unfortunate than the King of Spain, became a prisoner in the hands of his subjects. A revolutionary tribunal pronounced him a tyrant and a traitor. In the end of January, 1649, Charles I. was beheaded in front of his own banqueting-hall, and England was declared to be a republic.

30 January. Death of Charles I.

Yet the English monarchical principle survived. The army and its great leader were supreme. A military despotism governed the land; and Cromwell at length became dictator. The people of England had exercised their right to revolt; but they did not gain, by a change of masters, those political advantages which the people of the Netherlands had gained by the deposition of their sovereign and the declaration of their national independence.

Feelings of the Dutch.

The terrible tragedy at Whitehall excited the detestation of all classes throughout the United Provinces. The Dutch government was seriously embarrassed. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, escaping from England, had found an asylum at the Hague, with their brother-in-law William, prince of Orange, the stadtholder; and their united influence had prevailed on the States General to refuse an audience to Strickland, the parliamentary agent, while Boswell was still recognized as the resident minister of Great Britain. This naturally provoked antipathy

and suspicion in London. A new cause of bitterness arose, when Dorislaus, who had been sent by the Parliament to propose an alliance with the United Provinces, was murdered by some Scotchmen who had taken refuge at the Hague. Soon afterward, Strickland quitted Holland, without having obtained an audience of the States General; and Joachimi, the Dutch ambassador, was ordered to leave London. A rupture between the United Provinces and England appeared imminent.

1649.

12 May.

Threatened rupture between England and the Netherlands.

The shock which troubled Europe was felt in America. The new order of government established in England was viewed with more favor in the Puritan colonies than in Virginia. From Cromwell's jealousy of the Dutch much was hoped; and the dim prospect of a war between the Batavian Republic and the English Commonwealth could not but have an important influence upon the intercourse between their colonial governments across the Atlantic.

Effect of the king's death in America.

At this crisis, the negotiations between New Netherland and New England were renewed. In view of public affairs, the West India Company had instructed their director "to live with his neighbors on the best terms possible."* Eaton, in the name of the commissioners, now proposed to Stuyvesant a meeting at Boston, in June or July, as Bradford and Dudley were both too far advanced in life to make a long journey. He also insisted that the customs' duties exacted at Manhattan should be speedily abolished. Meanwhile, Winthrop, the venerable father of Massachusetts, had died, at the age of sixty-one years; and his death was regretted by the Dutch director as "the sad loss of one whose wisdom and integrity might have done much in composing matters" between New Netherland and New England. In regard to the proposed interview, Stuyvesant considered Connecticut a more convenient place for both parties than Boston; and he offered to visit the English governor at New Haven to have a friendly conference.

Negotiations with the United Colonies.

27 January.

21 April.

Death of Winthrop.

26 March.

4 May.

Conference proposed by Stuyvesant.

10 May.

Eaton, however, did not think that a private interview could be satisfactory, as he would be obliged to press the

Eaton declines.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 15; Basnage, i., 141–147; Davies, ii., 673–676; Bancroft, ii., 14–17.

CHAP. XV. 1649.

complaints of his own people very urgently. At the same time, he requested specific information respecting the rumored changes in the Dutch customs' regulations. The director acquainted him that the ten per cent. formerly levied on goods imported from New England had been suspended; and that the hand-board which marked the anchorage-ground off the shore of New Amsterdam had been blown down, and would not be re-erected. Eaton now demanded that English vessels passing to and from Virginia and Delaware Bay, and trading at Manhattan, should be entirely free from all charges, "by what name soever called," both on goods imported and exported. Stuyvesant, however, replied, that he had yielded already as much as he dared, without further orders from his superiors. To them alone was he responsible; by no other power would he allow his public conduct to be regulated.*

26 May.

17 June.

2 July.

The commissioners of the United Colonies soon afterward held an extraordinary meeting at Boston, at which Eaton urged that measures should be taken to support the New Haven people in their proposed settlements on Delaware Bay. But Stuyvesant had already warned Endicott and Bradford that he would vigorously maintain the right of the Dutch to the South River. The commissioners, therefore, prudently determined not to encourage, by any public act, the settlement of English colonists in that region. They insisted, however, upon the English right to New Haven, and thence eastward to Point Judith and Cape Cod. The director's reply to their letter of the previous September was unsatisfactory and defective. He was silent with respect to the trade in guns and ammunition carried on at Fort Orange; he had not informed them about the revenue regulations at Manhattan; he had made no reparation for the seizure of Westerhouse's ship at New Haven, but had referred him "to the justice of Holland." They therefore notified him that all trade with any of the Indians within the limits of any of the United Colonies was forbidden, under penalty of confiscation, "to all per-

2 August.

$\frac{6}{16}$ August. Letter of the commissioners to Stuyvesant.

* Stuyvesant's Letters, Alb., i.; O'Call., ii., 104–106; Hazard's Ann. Penn., 118.

1649.

sons but such as are inhabitants within the said English jurisdictions, and subject to their laws and government."*

With this bold step, the correspondence between the commissioners and Stuyvesant ended for the present. Excluding the Dutch from the valuable Indian trade which they had so long enjoyed, and to which they felt they had a right, it only added to the causes of dissatisfaction already rankling in the minds of the people of New Netherland.

Dutch forbidden to trade with the New England Indians.

Effect in New Netherland.

At the last election, the Nine Men had been strengthened by the choice of the energetic Adriaen van der Donck to a seat at their board. It was now determined that the project of sending a delegation to Holland, which had fallen through the previous year, should be executed. The company had been waited upon a long while in vain. Reforms had been promised from time to time, but there was no amendment. The Nine Men therefore applied to Stuyvesant for leave to confer with the commonalty. In reply, the popular tribunes received "a very long letter," to the effect that "communication must be made through the director, and his instructions be followed."

Delegation to Holland again proposed.

Stuyvesant's demands.

To this the Nine Men could not assent. They informed Stuyvesant that they would not send any thing to the Fatherland without his having a copy, so that he could answer for himself; but that his last demand was unreasonable, and "antagonistic to the welfare of the country." The director's letter, however, as the Nine Men read it, suggested that they should inquire "what approbation the commonalty would give to this business, and how the expense should be defrayed." As the director would not allow the people to be convened, the popular representatives "went round from house to house," and spoke to their constituents. This excited Stuyvesant's displeasure, and means were used to prevent the Nine Men from doing any thing. Injurious reports were spread among the commonalty; and the English settlers, who were chiefly in the interest of the director and council, were employed in coun-

Views of the Nine Men.

The commonalty consulted.

Intrigues of Stuyvesant.

* Hazard, ii., 127–134; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 208–210; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 119.

CHAP. XV. teracting the efforts of the popular tribunes. These in-
1649. trigues were discovered and exposed; so, "in order to make a diversion, many suits were brought against those who were considered the ringleaders." To neutralize the proposed movement of the Nine Men, the director and council also summoned a meeting of delegates from the militia and the burghers, to consider the question of sending agents to the Fatherland on "some important points."

A great council summoned. 21 Feb.

The Nine Men, feeling their responsibility, considered it necessary that regular memoranda should be kept, from which "a journal" might be drawn up at the proper time. This duty was intrusted to Van der Donck, who, "by a resolution adopted at the same time," was lodged in the house of Jansen, one of the board. The director, informed of this by Hall and Jansen, went to Van der Donck's chamber during his absence, and seized the "rough draft," and other papers of the Nine Men. The next day, Van der Donck himself was arrested and imprisoned.

Van der Donck's journal seized.

4 March. Meeting of the Great Council.

A short time afterward, the delegates from the militia and the burghers met in "great council" at Fort Amsterdam. Van Dincklagen, the vice-director, protested against Stuyvesant's arbitrary proceedings, and demanded that Van der Donck should be admitted to bail. This, however, was refused. Van der Donck now asked for his papers, to correct some errors which had crept into them But this request was also denied; and, on his examination, he "could not make it right in any way." Another meeting of the council was summoned, at which Stuyvesant delivered his written opinion. Van der Donck had been arrested for calumniating the officers of the government; he had explained his libels equivocally; his conduct tending to bring the sovereign authority into contempt, he should be compelled to prove or to retract his allegations; and, in default, should be excluded from the council and from the board of Nine Men. Van Dincklagen alone opposed the opinion of the director. The rest of the members sided with Stuyvesant; and Van der Donck was unseated.*

5 March. Proceedings against Van der Donck.

15 March.

* ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 315–317, 336; O'Call., ii., 89–92; Breeden Raedt, 39; *ante*, p. 495.

1649.

In the mean time, the harsh judgment against Kuyter and Melyn had been reviewed in the Fatherland, and acts had been passed by the States General suspending Stuyvesant's sentence, citing him to defend it at the Hague, and granting to the appellants the full enjoyment of all the rights of colonists in New Netherland. Bearing these authoritative papers, Melyn returned to Manhattan. Anxious that his triumph should be as public as his disgrace had been, he demanded that the acts of their High Mightinesses should be read and explained by the Nine Men to the commonalty, who were assembled in the church within Fort Amsterdam. A hubbub arose. After an exciting debate, the point was yielded, and the mandamus and summons were read to the people. "I honor the states, and shall obey their commands," said Stuyvesant; "I shall send an attorney to sustain the sentence." This was all the answer he would give. The members of the council explained their conduct as they severally thought best. Van Dincklagen frankly acknowledged that he had erred; but the rest of his colleagues would give no satisfactory replies. The director and secretary positively refused to give the written answer which Melyn demanded. Stuyvesant's enmity even extended to Melyn's family; and his son-in-law, Jacob Loper, was refused permission to trade on the South River.*

Case of Kuyter and Melyn.

8 March.

16 March. Stuyvesant's obstinacy.

23 March.

14 June.

A circumstance now occurred which added to the popular dissatisfaction. The directors of the West India Company, fearing that war might break out with the savages unless their anxiety to be provided with arms and ammunition should be satisfied, had intimated an opinion that "the best policy is to furnish them with powder and ball, but with a sparing hand;" and, upon the representation of the colonists at Rensselaerswyck, Stuyvesant had ordered Gerrit Vastrick, a factor, to bring him over a case of guns from Holland. These arms were landed "in the full light of day," and delivered to Commissary Keyser at Fort

Affair of Vastrick.

April.

* Hol. Doc., iii., 128–228, 233, 360–378; v., 66–106; Alb. Rec., iv., 95, 104, 215; vii., 246; Hazard's Ann. Penn., 117; O'Call., ii., 59, 84; Breeden Raedt, 31–36; *ante*, p. 473.

CHAP. XV. 1649.

Amsterdam. The people now began to complain that "the director was every thing, and did the business of the whole country, having several shops himself; that he was a brewer, and had breweries; was a part owner of ships, and a merchant and a trader, as well in lawful as contraband articles." Finding how strongly public opinion was running against him, Stuyvesant was obliged to exhibit the orders of the directors, and explain his own interest in the affair. His explanations, however, were not entirely satisfactory, and the transaction was complained of to the States General. The Amsterdam Chamber afterward reproved their director for his indiscretion, and also commented upon his purchase, for private purposes, of a large bouwery upon Manhattan Island.*

21 April.

Stuyvesant's Bouwery.

Stuyvesant still opposes the Nine Men.

Van der Donck had now become a political martyr, and Stuyvesant's inveterate hostility confirmed the popular tribunes in their determination to obtain a redress of their grievances from the States General. Kieft's placard respecting the authentication of all documents before the provincial secretary was again formally enacted, "for the purpose of cutting off the convenient mode of proof;" and the director's fears even led him to tell Domine Backerus in person, not to read from the pulpit any papers whatsoever referring to the provincial government, unless they had been previously approved by the administration.† But none of these measures could repress the spirit of the popular representatives.

8 May. Forbids Domine Backerus to read unauthorized papers from the pulpit.

26 July. Memorial of the Nine Men to the States General.

A memorial to the States General was prepared, in which the reforms sought for from the government of the Fatherland were distinctly stated. I. New Netherland should be peopled at once with colonists, to be brought over from Holland in public vessels. The States General should also "be pleased to take this province under their own gracious safeguard, and to allow their fatherly affection for this land to be promulgated and made manifest throughout the United Netherlands by their own accorded

* Alb. Rec., iv., 1, 2, 24, 31; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 310, 311, 334; O'Call., ii., 93, 108; Bancroft, ii., 294. † Alb. Rec., vii., 243; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 318.

privileges. Many would then be attracted toward this country; while, on the contrary, every one is now discouraged by the company's harsh proceedings and want of means." II. The States General should establish a "suitable Burgher Government, such as their High Mightinesses shall consider adapted to this province, and resembling somewhat the laudable government of our Fatherland." Free trade, colonial commerce, and the encouragement of the fisheries would also contribute materially to the prosperity of the province. III. The boundaries of New Netherland should be established, so that the people might "dwell in peace and quietness, and enjoy their liberty, as well in trade and commerce as in intercourse and settled limits." Referring the States General for further information to their annexed "Remonstrance," this bold memorial to the government of the Fatherland was signed on the twenty-sixth of July, "in the name and on the behalf of the commonalty of New Netherland," by Van der Donck, Heermans, Hardenburg, Couwenhoven, Loockermans, Kip, Van Cortlandt, Jansen, Hall, Elbertsen, and Bout, all members of the existing and former board of Nine Men.*

CHAP. XV. 1649. Burgher government. 26 July.

The inhabitants of New Netherland had now for many years observed the administration of the New England governments; and in some marginal "remarks and observations" upon their memorial, the Nine Men explained, in detail, to the States General, the organization of the Puritan colonies, where "neither patroons, nor lords, nor princes are known, but only the people." Between the system of their "neighbors of New England" and that of the United Netherlands, they urged, there was "no difference, but fundamentally a similarity."† It was against the misgovernment of the West India Company and its agents that the popular representatives complained; and they now asked that the franchises enjoyed in Holland should be enjoyed in New Netherland, and that the government of the province should resemble the "laudable government" of their Fatherland.

Remarks and observations of the Nine Men.

* Hol. Doc., iv., 28–36; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 595–598. † Hol. Doc., iv., 53–55.

CHAP. XV. 1649. "Remonstrance" of New Netherland. 28 July.

The "Remonstrance" of New Netherland, which accompanied the memorial of the Nine Men, was drawn up for the purpose of detailing the grievances of the people, and of enforcing the necessity of the political reforms for which they had petitioned the States General. It described the aborigines, and the physical features of the country; sketched the first discovery and occupation of New Netherland by the Dutch; and reviewed the policy and proceedings of the West India Company and of its colonial agents. The administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant were described in terms of severity, and the personal characters of both directors, and of the prominent members of their councils, were graphically sketched, by no friendly pen. In conclusion, several specific measures of relief, in addition to the reforms requested in the memorial, were suggested. "In our opinion," said the representatives of the commonalty, "this country will never flourish under the government of the honorable company, but will pass away, and come to an end of itself, unless the honorable company be reformed. Therefore it would be more profitable for them and better for the country that they should be rid thereof, and their effects be transported hence. * * * It is doubtful whether divine worship will not have to cease altogether, in consequence of the departure of the minister,* and the inability of the company. There should be a public school, provided with at least two good masters, so that first of all, in so wild a country, where there are many loose people, the youth be well taught and brought up, not only in reading and writing, but also in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. As it is now, the school is kept very irregularly; one and another keeping it according to his pleasure, and as long as he thinks proper. There ought also to be an alms-house and an orphan asylum, and other similar institutions. * * * The country must also be provided with godly, honorable, and intelligent rulers, who are not very indigent, and who are not too covetous. A covetous governor makes poor

Further measures of relief.

Public school.

* Domine Johannes Backerus.

1649.

subjects. The mode in which the country is now governed falls severely upon it, and is intolerable, for nobody is unmolested or secure in his property longer than the director pleases, who is generally strongly inclined to confiscating. * * * A good population would be the consequence of a good government, as we have shown, according to our ability, in our memorial. And although to give free passage and equip ships, if it be necessary, would be expensive at first, yet, if the result be considered, it would ultimately prove to be a wise measure, if by that means farmers and laborers, together with other poor people, were brought into the country with the little property which they have. Of these the Fatherland has enough to spare. We believe it would then prosper, especially as good privileges and exemptions, which we regard as the mother of population, would encourage the inhabitants to carry on commerce and lawful trade. Every one would be allured hither by the pleasantness, situation, salubrity, and fruitfulness of the country, if protection were secured within the already established boundaries. It would then, with God's assistance, according to human judgment, all go well, and New Netherland would in a few years be a brave place, and be able to do service to the Netherland nation, to repay richly the cost, and to thank its benefactors."

A better government required.

Prosperity predicted.

This "Vertoogh," or Remonstrance, which, as well as the memorial, appears to have been drawn up by Van der Donck, was signed by the same persons. Three of the signers, Van der Donck, Couwenhoven, and Bout, were deputed by the rest to proceed to the Hague, and lay their complaints before the government of the Fatherland. Bearing with them formal letters of credence to the States General from their colleagues, and from Van Dincklagen, the vice-director, the first delegates of the people of New Netherland embarked for Holland on their important mission.*

Authorship and signers of the "Remonstrance."

Delegates to the Fatherland.

26 July. 12 August.

15 August.

Domine Backerus, who had already received permission to return from the Classis of Amsterdam, now took his

Departure of Domine Backerus.

* Hol. Doc., iv., 22, 26, 71–207, 208; v., 57–63; ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 319, 320.

CHAP. XV. 1649.

leave of the church at Manhattan. Stuyvesant very naturally apprehended that the Domine, on his arrival in Holland, would "join the complainants" coming from New Netherland; and the event verified the director's fears. He availed himself, however, of the occasion to write earnestly to the Classis of Amsterdam to send out a pious, well-qualified, and diligent schoolmaster. "Nothing," he added, "is of greater importance than the right early instruction of youth."

6 July.

August.

Domine Megapolensis, having also obtained his letters of dismission from the church at Rensselaerswyck, was about to sail for the Fatherland, whither his wife had already returned. The colonists appeared to be threatened with the total loss of a ministry; and Stuyvesant pressed Megapolensis to remain at Manhattan, where children were every Sunday presented for baptism, "sometimes one, sometimes two, yea, sometimes three and four together." The Domine was finally prevailed upon to give up his voyage at the urgent solicitation of the council, and was formally installed as the successor of Backerus, in the church of New Amsterdam, with a yearly salary of twelve hundred guilders.*

Succeeded by Megapolensis. 6 August.

29 July. Melyn's case. 9 August.

All this time Melyn had been fruitlessly endeavoring to obtain from Stuyvesant a reversal or mitigation of his sentence. Weary of suffering, he now embarked again for Holland, "with the delegates of the commonalty," to seek tardy justice in the Fatherland. The director's pride was sorely wounded by the action of the States General; to whom, however, he wrote that he would obey their summons, and appear in person at the Hague, if discharged by the company; but that, as it was, he should send an attorney. He thanked them for having "kept one ear open," as many of the papers necessary to his justification had been lost with the Princess, in which Kieft had been wrecked. Melyn had abused their safe-conduct, and had behaved mutinously; and he himself would rather never

10 August. Stuyvesant's answer to the States General.

* Cor. Classis Amsterdam; Letter of Stuyvesant to the Classis, August, 1649; Alb Rec., iv., 16, 23; vii., 229, 251–256; Rev Dr. De Witt, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, 71.

have received the commission of their High Mightinesses, than have had his authority lowered in the eyes both of neighbors and subjects.

Van Tienhoven sent to Holland on the part of the director.

Cornelis van Tienhoven, the secretary of the province, was the person whom the director selected to appear for him at the Hague. Van Tienhoven was "cautious, subtle, intelligent, and sharp-witted;" he had been long in New Netherland, and its circumstances were thoroughly known to him. The representative of the director immediately set sail for Holland in a small vessel, carrying with him a mass of exculpatory documents; among which was a letter to the Amsterdam Chamber from the magistrates of the English settlement at Gravesend, who, under the influence of Baxter, declared their confidence in Stuyvesant's "wisdom and justice in the administration of the common-weal." To insure Van Tienhoven's earlier arrival in Holland, he was sent off fourteen days before the ship which conveyed the popular delegates and Melyn. The secretary, wishing to avoid the scene of Kieft's shipwreck, went by the north of Ireland. But the experiment was unlucky. The ship in which Van der Donck and his colleagues sailed, keeping a straight course for the channel, reached the Fatherland before Stuyvesant's baffled emissary could make his port.*

August.

Letter from Gravesend.

Temper of the North River savages.

Since Kieft's treaty of 1645, the disposition of the savages had generally been friendly, although the contiguity of the whites occasionally produced excesses and bloodshed. Early in the spring of this year, a Meckgackhanic Indian killed Simon Vanderbilt at Paulus' Hook. Stuyvesant refrained from attempting retaliation; and the savages sent a deputation to Fort Amsterdam to solicit forgiveness and renew their covenant of peace. The director thanked them for their visit, and expressed his wish to live in "neighborly friendship." Any injuries done them by

July.

* Hol. Doc., iv., 8, 217; v., 65, 66, 82–205; ix., 234; Alb. Rec., vii., 220–247; O'Call., ii., 86–88, 143; Breeden Raedt, 37. During this visit, Melyn seems to have prepared the "Breeden Raedt," which was printed at Antwerp, his native place. It is a quarto tract of forty-five pages, bearing the date of 1649, and is the earliest known separate publication respecting New Netherland.—See *ante*, p. 48, note; Int. Mag., Dec., 1851, p. 597.

CHAP. XV. 1649.

the Dutch would be surely punished, if they complained directly to him. Accepting their gifts, Stuyvesant made them some presents in return; the chain of peace was again rubbed bright; "and so the savages departed very much satisfied."

Katskill and Claverack ceded to the patroon of Rensselaerswyck.

From the time that Van der Donck attempted to establish a colonie at Katskill, the patroon of Rensselaerswyck had coveted that region; and, disregarding the patent which Kieft had granted three years before, Van Slechtenhorst now procured a cession of the Indian title. The next month, a large tract was purchased at Claverack, on the opposite side of the river. These acquisitions emboldened the proprietors of the colonie to reassert their claim to a staple right at Beeren Island. The arrogant pretension was derided; but as yet Stuyvesant had taken no measures to oppose it. Two months afterward, however, he bought for the company the region called Weckquaesgeek, on the east shore of the North River, comprising a large proportion of the present county of West Chester; and the Indian grantors at the same time promised to induce the North River chiefs "to talk the matter over, and not to sell to any without the knowledge of the director general."*

19 April.

27 May.

14 July. Weckquaesgeek purchased by the West India Company.

South River.

In the mean time, Printz had spared no efforts to obtain from the savages all the lands on the east side of the South River, between Fort Nassau and the Falls at Trenton. intelligence of this design was communicated to the government at Fort Amsterdam, who, perceiving that its object was to cut the Dutch off from intercourse between the North and South Rivers, heartily assented to Hudde's proposition to purchase "all the lands above Fort Nassau." As the commissary was unprovided with means, an association was formed with Simon Root and three other Dutch traders, providing that the territory they might obtain should be transferred to the company whenever their advances should be repaid. Under this agreement, the part-

23 May.

6 April. Purchase of lands above Fort Nassau.

* Alb. Rec., vii., 252; G. G., 507; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 95, 96, 159; Bolton's West Chester, i., 165; *ante*, p. 378, 421.

ners purchased "the lands at the east and west side," extending southward from Rancocus Creek, in West Jersey, to Fort Nassau. CHAP. XV. 1649.

At the same time, Thomas Broen was authorized by Stuyvesant to take possession of "Red Hook, otherwise called Mantes Hook," a little below Fort Nassau, with the promise of letters patent, as soon as the Dutch should extinguish the Indian title. Broen, presenting his authorization to Printz, solicited his assistance in the construction of the proposed buildings. The Swedish governor assented, upon condition that the settlement should be under his jurisdiction. To this Broen refused to accede; and Printz immediately purchased from the savages the lands from Mantes Hook downward to the Narratikon or Raccoon Creek, and erected upon it a post with the arms of the Swedish crown.* Stuyvesant's personal presence at Fort Nassau was now anxiously desired. But affairs at New Amsterdam were too pressing to allow the director to leave the seat of government; and the Swedes, who far outnumbered the Dutch, remained for more than a year in virtual command of the whole of the South River. Conduct of Printz.

On reaching Holland, Van der Donck and his colleagues proceeded at once to the Hague, without communicating with the Amsterdam Chamber. The voluminous papers which the delegates of the commonalty of New Netherland submitted to the States General were referred to a committee, with instructions to examine and report on the whole case as soon as possible. Several weeks afterward, Van Tienhoven, arriving at the Hague, presented documents in support of Stuyvesant's proceedings against Melyn. These, together with several other memorials and letters complaining of the director's treatment of Teunissen, Claessen, and Heermans, were referred to the committee of their High Mightinesses, who had already made progress enough to satisfy themselves that there were indeed grievances in New Netherland to be redressed.† The popular delegates at the Hague. 13 October. 2 Dec. 13 Dec.

* De Vries, 103; Alb. Rec., xii., 526; xvii., 270–274; Acrelius, 411, 412; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 113–116; *ante*, p. 225. † Alb. Rec., iv., 24; Hol. Doc., iv., 211, 231, 233, 254.

CHAP. XV. 1650.

The popular delegates, faithful to their trust, now laid before the committee a formal abstract, detailing sixty-
27 January. eight specific points, in which they alleged that the company had treated their province with "excessive and most prejudicial neglect." To these charges Van Tienhoven
31 January. drew up a reply on behalf of the Amsterdam Chamber. Addressing themselves again directly to the States Gen-
7 February. eral, the delegates contrasted the condition of New England with that of their province, and urged that New Netherland should be taken under the sole protection of the general government, and the administration of its affairs be intrusted to its inhabitants. Unless this were done, they distinctly declared that its prosperity could not be assured. Still further to aid their efforts, they caused
The "Vertoogh" printed. the "Vertoogh," or Remonstrance of the commonalty, to be printed and circulated.*

The distant province was now brought prominently to the notice of the people of the Fatherland. The states of
16 Feb. Letter of the West India Company. Guelderland were addressed. "The name of New Netherland," wrote the Amsterdam Chamber to Stuyvesant, "was scarcely ever mentioned before, and now it would seem as if heaven and earth were interested in it." "Your apprehensions in regard to Domine Backerus have been verified. He has made a common cause with the complainants who have arrived here from your country. These silly persons, or at least the largest part of the petitioners, have been imposed upon by a few worthless persons, namely, Cornelis Melyn, Adriaen van der Donck, and a few others, who, as it appears, will leave nothing untried to abjure every kind of subjection to government, under pretext that they groaned under too galling a yoke. In this frantic opinion they are confirmed by Wouter van Twiller, who aims to appoint himself as the only commander on the North River, and dares to declare in public that he

* Hol. Doc., v., 1–64. The Remonstrance was printed at the Hague in 1650, in the form of a quarto tract of forty-nine pages, under the title of "Vertoogh van Nieuw Nederlandt," &c. A copy which I procured in Holland is in the library of the N. Y. H. Society, and a translation, with notes by Mr. Murphy, is in ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 253–338. There seems to have been a map of New Netherland annexed to the original, but I could not find it in the archives at the Hague.

does not intend to permit any one to navigate this river with a commercial view; and that he will repel with force every one who with that purpose shall come there, or into Rensselaerswyck."*

22 Feb. Measures to promote emigration

Suggestions were soon made that several hundred charity children in the orphan houses at Amsterdam should be sent over; and emigrants in large numbers pressed their applications for means of conveyance. But the company did not supply sufficient vessels for the demand. At last Van der Donck and his colleagues succeeded in arranging for the conveyance of two hundred additional persons. The company agreed to advance four thousand guilders, and to allow seven thousand more out of the colonial revenue, upon condition that the emigrants would bind themselves to remain three years in the province. Van Tienhoven also prepared several explanatory papers respecting the boundaries, the customs' regulations, the mode of establishing colonies and bouweries in New Netherland, and a schedule of the taxes imposed in New England, which were all submitted to the committee of the States General. The delegates of the commonalty, on their part, presented further memorials respecting the high duties exacted by the company, and the unredressed grievances of the province.†

19 March.

4 March.

7 March.

11 April. Report of the committee of the S. G. on New Netherland.

After full consideration, the committee reported to the States General "a remedy" which it was thought "ought to give contentment to both parties until further provision should be made." Passing over for the present several points in the "great Remonstrance presented from the commonalty," they submitted the draft of a "Provisional Order" for the government of New Netherland, which they recommended that the States General, with the advice and consent of a majority of the directors of the company, should enact.

The proposed Order condemned the measures by which Kieft had brought on the Indian war, and required that

* Alb. Rec., iv., 25, 26; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 377; *ante*, p. 420.

† Hol. Doc., v., 111, 123, 131, 134, 159, 179, 191, 215; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 25–36.

CHAP. XV. 1650.

Provisional order for the government of New Netherland.

in future no hostilities should be waged "against the aborigines or neighbors of New Netherland" without the knowledge of the States General. Dam and Planck, who had petitioned for the war, should be sent to the Hague, to be examined. The trade with the Indians, in guns and ammunition, should be gradually and totally abolished; the inhabitants should be armed and enrolled as militia; and the forts should be maintained in such a manner as to afford proper protection to the inhabitants. Three clergymen more should be provided; one to attend divine service at Rensselaerswyck, one "in and around the city of New Amsterdam," and a third in the "distant settlements;" while the commonalty should "be obliged to cause the youth to be instructed by good schoolmasters." The provincial council should favor, by every means, agriculture and the peopling of the country, restrain the exportation of cattle, and promote "a good trade and commerce" between New Netherland and Brazil. The commonalty should be convoked, and be induced to consent to the imposition of taxes and duties, "placing the collection, administration, and payment of the recognitions on such a footing as their constituents shall order." Two counselors should be elected by the commonalty. Stuyvesant should be instructed "to return to Holland and report;" and a suitable person, "experienced in matters relating to agriculture," should be dispatched "to take charge of the country lying on both sides of the great North River, extending south to the South River, and north to the Fresh River." A Court of Justice should be erected in the province. A burgher government, consisting of a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, should be established in the "city of New Amsterdam." In the mean time, the Nine Men should continue three years longer, and should have limited judicial powers in small causes "between man and man." All inhabitants and immigrants should take "an oath of fidelity." Private ships, sailing from Holland to North America, should, according to their tonnage, be compelled to convey emigrants. And, finally, at least fifteen thousand

Clergymen and schoolmasters.

Taxes.

Burgher government.

guilders should be expended every year by the "commissioners of New Netherland," in the Amsterdam Chamber, in the transportation of poor agricultural emigrants.*

While, on the one hand, this Provisional Order did not fully meet the views of the delegates of the commonalty, on the other it provoked the determined resistance of the Amsterdam Chamber. Its statements relative to Kieft's war were questioned. In regard to the Indian trade, the provincial government was obliged to furnish the savages sparingly with arms, "in order to prevent misunderstanding;" and as to prices, the Indians would sometimes in the spring pay one hundred and twenty guilders for a gun, and ten or twelve for a pound of powder. The patroons of Rensselaerswyck should provide a clergyman for themselves; there was one already at New Amsterdam, and "none are required for the more distant places." It was improbable that the colonists could be induced to defray the public expenses voluntarily, when they had already complained so much about the wine and beer excises. For the satisfaction of the colonists, however, two persons might be added to the council; but they should be selected by the company from a triple nomination by the people. It would be unnecessary to recall Stuyvesant; the vice-director could be sent for, if requisite. The Nine Men should have no more power; the administration of justice in the province had better be left "as it then stood." Vessels going thither would be required to carry as many passengers as their burden was rated in tons; but it would be unjust to the creditors of the company if, in the exhausted state of their treasury, the directors should be bound to expend fifteen thousand guilders a year for the conveyance of emigrants to New Netherland.

11 April. The Amsterdam Chamber opposes the provisional order.

Thus pertinaciously did the Amsterdam directors oppose the measures of improvement suggested at the Hague; and the meagre modifications of the "Freedoms and Exemptions" of 1629 and 1640, which they grudgingly proposed, scarcely deserved the name of reforms. The Pro-

24 May.

* Hol. Doc., v., 223–238; O'Call., ii., 132–137; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 598, 599.

CHAP. XV. 1650.

visional Order itself was referred back to the committee, and was also communicated to the several Chambers of the company. "We send you a copy of this resolution," wrote the directors to Stuyvesant, "from which you may learn what vexations we have suffered, and how full of danger it is to irritate a furious multitude."

15 April. Instructions to Stuyvesant.

Return of Couwenhoven and Bout.

Leaving Van der Donck to prosecute in the Fatherland the cause of the commonalty, Couwenhoven and Bout obtained letters from the States General forbidding Stuyvesant to molest them; and accompanied by Dirck van

8 April.

Schelluyne, who had received a commission to practice as a notary public in New Netherland, the two delegates set sail for New Amsterdam, carrying with them two hundred stand of arms and a flag for the use of the burghers.*

Ecclesiastical affairs.

The Classis of Amsterdam, anxious to promote the cause of education and religion in New Netherland, where Megapolensis was their solitary clergyman, now sent out Will-

10 January.

iam Vestens, "a good, God-fearing man," as "Siecken-trooster," or consoler of the sick, and schoolmaster at Manhattan. Domine Wilhelmus Grasmeer, a son-in-law of

Domine Grasmeer. April.

Megapolensis, also set sail to take charge of the church at Beverwyck. Grasmeer, however, had been under the censure of the Classis of Alckmaer, and his departure for America without their approbation was considered disor-

4 April.

derly. The consistory of the church at New Amsterdam was, therefore, warned not to allow him to take any part in the administration of the Gospel, in case he should offer to do so, "until he should have made satisfaction to the Classis of Alckmaer."†

Municipal affairs of New Amsterdam.

The municipal affairs of the capital of New Netherland continued to be administered by the provincial government. Jan Cornelissen was employed to keep the com-

School.

mon school; and an academy was contemplated. Contracts for land on Manhattan Island had now become so

7 Feb.

frequent, that to guard against fraud, it was ordained that all sales of real estate should be void, unless approved by

* Hol. Doc., v., 202–207, 211–213, 239–259, 274, 276–296; Alb. Rec., iv., 29.

† Cor. Classis Amsterdam.

1650.

the director and council. Bakers were required to make their bread of the "standard weight of the Fatherland," and to use "naught else than pure wheat and rye flour as it comes from the mill." The currency of the province was again regulated; and "there being at present no other specie," wampum was made lawfully current, at the rate of six white or three black beads of "commercial sewan," or of eight white and four black of the "base strung," for one stuyver. As men were now employed in repairing and restoring Fort Amsterdam, in obedience to the orders of the company, the inhabitants were warned not to let their cattle run at large without a herdsman, "between the fort and the company's bouwery, and the pasture-ground occupied by Thomas Hall, and the house of Mr. Isaac Allerton."*

14 April. 30 May. 27 June.

On the return of Couwenhoven and Bout, the commonalty learned the details of what had occurred in Holland. The States General had not turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the people of their province; and though the Provisional Order was not yet ratified, it at least foreshadowed reform. The Nine Men now requested the director to promulgate it officially; but all he would do was to proclaim the peace of Westphalia, in obedience to the orders of the States General. The company, he said, was opposed to the Provisional Order, and he would not conform to an instrument which his immediate superiors disregarded.

28 June. Stuyvesant's continued opposition to popular reform.

For two years, Stuyvesant's jealousy had prevented the mustering of the burgher guard; the same jealousy now refused them the stand of colors which the delegates had brought out from Holland. Even the arms which had been procured for their use were not delivered. Food, too, was scarce; for the previous winter had been so cold "that the ink froze in the pen." In the midst of this famine, the director was obliged to send provisions to Curaçoa, and victual the company's vessels. Van Dincklagen and the Nine Men protested against diminishing the scanty supplies of the province. The people were exasperated, and

Fresh difficulties.

15 August.

* New Amst. Rec., i., 28–31, 33; ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 331.

CHAP. XV. 1650.

Stuyvesant added to the feeling by depriving the Nine Men of the pew in the church which the consistory had appropriated to their use. In writing to his superiors in Holland, the director accused the returned delegates of endeavoring to draw away the people from their allegiance to the company and its officers. The English on Long Island, who the year before had expressed their confidence in Stuyvesant, again endorsed his administration. A letter, signed by Baxter and the other magistrates at Gravesend, was addressed to the Amsterdam Chamber, "thankfully acknowledging" the benefits which they had enjoyed under the rule of the company, "who are the rightful owners of this place." The delegates who had come back from Holland had given birth to "schisms, factions, and intestine commotions," which could be best prevented "by supporting and maintaining our present governor against those malignants, and by our superiors in Holland discrediting the false reports of discontented persons."

17 August.

21 August. Another letter from Gravesend.

But, if the English settlers thus exhibited their sycophancy to Stuyvesant and their devotion to the West India Company, the "idea of popular freedom" among the Dutch commonalty could not be repressed. The Nine Men again appealed to the States General, whom they had already found to be their "affectionate fathers." No amendment had followed the interposition of the home government. "We can not," wrote the tribunes, "undertake any thing so long as reform is withheld. We hope, therefore, that your High Mightinesses will confer on us a good and wholesome government."*

13 Sept. The Nine Men write again to the States General.

Stuyvesant at Hartford.

In this extraordinary position of affairs—his administration bitterly opposed by his own countrymen, and strenuously supported by the English residents—Stuyvesant prepared for the long-projected meeting with the commissioners of the United Colonies. Embarking at Manhattan, accompanied by George Baxter, his English secretary, and a large suite, he touched at several of the settlements along

17 Sept.

21 Sept.

* Hol. Doc., v., 272, 346, 354; vi., 25; ix., 234; Alb. Rec., iv., 43; O'Call., ii., 140–143; Bancroft, ii., 304.

1650.

the Sound, and in four days arrived at Hartford. The director opened the negotiations by a letter, recapitulating the considerations which had moved him to undertake his "troublesome journey." This communication, though signed at Hartford, was dated "New Netherland." To this the commissioners took exception; and Stuyvesant promptly explained that, as the substance of his letter had been agreed upon in council at Manhattan, it had been dated as it was; if, however, the commissioners would forbear calling Hartford "in New England," he would not date his letters as "in Connecticut in New Netherland."

23 Sept. Negotiations.

24 Sept.

The commissioners declaring themselves satisfied, the negotiation proceeded. After a long correspondence, in which the points of controversy were reviewed and explained in detail, it was agreed that "all differences" should be referred to two delegates from each side, who should prepare satisfactory articles of agreement. On their part, the commissioners appointed Simon Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, and Thomas Prence, of Plymouth; and Stuyvesant, on his part, delegated Captain Thomas Willett and Ensign George Baxter.*

28 Sept.

Arbitrators appointed.

"Upon a serious examination and consideration of the particulars committed to reference," the arbitrators delivered their award. Judgment as to what had happened during Kieft's administration was respited until Stuyvesant could communicate with his superiors in Holland. In regard to the South River, both parties were left "in statu quo prius." Respecting the seizure of Westerhouse's ship, New Haven should acquiesce in Stuyvesant's explanations. Concerning bounds and limits, the arbitrators determined, "I. That upon Long Island, a line run from the westernmost part of the Oyster Bay, so and in a straight and direct line to the sea, shall be the bounds betwixt the English and Dutch there; the easterly part to belong to the English, the westernmost part to the Dutch. II. The bounds upon the main to begin at the west side of Greenwich Bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and so

29 Sept. Hartford treaty arranged.

Boundary between New Netherland and New England.

* Hazard, ii., 154–170; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., 210–234; Col. Rec. Conn., 184, 198, 199.

CHAP. XV. 1650.

to run a northerly line twenty miles up into the country, and after, as it shall be agreed by the two governments of the Dutch and of New Haven; provided the said line come not within ten miles of Hudson's River. And it is agreed that the Dutch shall not, at any time hereafter, build any house or habitation within six miles of the said line. The inhabitants of Greenwich to remain, till further consideration thereof be had, under the government of the Dutch. III. That the Dutch shall hold and enjoy all the lands in Hartford that they are actually possessed of, known or set out by certain marks or bounds; and all the remainder of the said land, on both sides Connecticut River, to be and remain to the English there. And it is agreed that the aforesaid bounds and limits, both upon the island and main, shall be observed and kept inviolate both by the English of the United Colonies and all the nation, without any encroachment or molestation, until a full and final determination be agreed upon in Europe by the mutual consent of the two states of England and Holland." It was also agreed that the provision in the eighth article of the New England confederation, for the surrender of runaway slaves and fugitives from justice, should be observed between the English of the United Colonies and the Dutch within the province of New Netherland. And the arbitrators finally suggested that the proposition of "a nearer union of friendship and amity" between the English and Dutch colonists in America should be recommended to the several jurisdictions of the United Colonies.*

Greenwich.

Dutch possessions at Hartford.

Further provisions.

Returning to Manhattan, after an ineffectual effort to arrange the proposed alliance with the United Colonies against the Indians, Stuyvesant reported the result of his negotiation to the Chamber at Amsterdam. But he omitted to send them a copy of the Hartford treaty; and, five years afterward, the directors expressed their apprehension that the discussions with the commissioners had not resulted in a definite arrangement.†

Stuyvesant returns to Manhattan. 12 October. 26 Nov.

* Hazard, ii., 170–173; Hol. Doc., viii., 124; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., 234–237, 301–303; Trumbull, i., 191; O'Call., ii., 151; Bancroft, ii., 295; *ante*, p. 362.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 177, 198; Stuyvesant's Letters, 10–13.

CHAP. XV

1650.

Both the referees whom Stuyvesant had appointed at Hartford were Englishmen. This was naturally felt as a slight, and even an insult, by his own countrymen, who now avowed their opposition to a treaty which they had had no hand in framing. Complaints were sent to Holland that the director had surrendered more territory than might have formed fifty colonies; and that he had ceased to consult with Vice-director Van Dincklagen and Fiscal Van Dyck, and had taken into his confidence an Englishman who did not understand the Dutch language, and a Frenchman heavily in debt to the company.

Opposition of the commonalty to the Hartford treaty. 19 Dec.

The Nine Men again brought the condition of the province before the States General. Stuyvesant had refused to select from their nominations to fill the vacancies about to occur in their board, which was thus threatened with dissolution. "The grievous and unsuitable" government of New Netherland should be reformed, and the measures recommended by the committee of their High Mightinesses should be promptly adopted, "so that we may live as happy as our neighbors," wrote the representatives of the commonalty to the home government. All these documents were sent to Van der Donck at the Hague.*

22 Dec. The Nine Men complain again to the States General.

In the mean time, the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, deriding the pretension that Fort Orange, which had been constructed and garrisoned "years before any mention of Rensselaerswyck exists," was built upon the soil of that colonie, determined to use their "sovereign right" to the confusion of the ungrateful Van Twiller, who, they declared, had "sucked his wealth from the breasts of the company which he now abuses." Stuyvesant was accordingly instructed to repel by force any attempts to "vilify" his jurisdiction. Beeren Island, which the patroon's agents had "usurped in such a lofty way" that they named it "the place by right of arms," and levied a toll, was to be deprived of its artillery, should any be planted again. "Every one shall navigate this river unmolested, and enjoy a free trade at our Fort Orange, which these colonists

Pretensions of the proprietaries of Rensselaerswyck rebuked by the company. 16 Feb.

The North River to be free.

* Hol. Doc., vi., 4, 11, 15, 25-70; O'Call., ii., 155-157.

CHAP. XV. 1650.

pretend is constructed on their own territory," again wrote the directors to Stuyvesant.*

Conflicting claims to Katskill. 24 May.

The claims of the proprietaries of the colonie to the territory about Katskill were also openly denied by the West India Company; under whose orders Stuyvesant prohibited any settlements there by tenants claiming to hold under leases which had been already granted by the authorities

15 June.

of Rensselaerswyck. The colonial officers replied that they had only obeyed the instructions of their patroons; and promising to refrain from taking any further steps to occupy the disputed territory, they requested the director to suspend action on his part until the question could be settled in Holland.

Domine Grasmeer.

Domine Grasmeer, in open contempt of ecclesiastical censure, had, meanwhile, arrived at Rensselaerswyck. The Classis of Alckmaer promptly suspended him from the ministry; but he seems, nevertheless, to have preached with acceptance to the colonists, who were glad to have the services of an ordained clergyman, even though he was under the discipline of his clerical peers. The cause of education was not neglected; the people earnestly entreated the colonial officers to provide them with a proper schoolmaster, and steps were taken to raise a fund for building a

9 Sept. Schoolmaster.

school-house. This was soon accomplished, and Andries Jansen was appointed the first schoolmaster of Beverwyck.

Temper of the Mohawks. 20 Sept.

In the autumn, a Tappan savage coming up to Fort Orange, reported that the Mohawks were meditating an attack upon the Dutch. "Ye Hollanders," said he, "have now been selling guns long enough to the Maquaas," who, he added, had been endeavoring to excite the Southern tribes to exterminate the isolated colonists as soon as the river should freeze, and assistance from Fort Amsterdam be almost impossible. The inhabitants were therefore called

23 Sept.

together; and, after free consultation, the colonial authorities appointed commissioners to proceed to the Mohawk country, with proper presents, and renew the friendship and alliance of the Dutch with the Iroquois. Labbatie,

* Alb. Rec., iv., 26, 46, 49; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 377, 378; *ante*, p. 304.

the company's commissary at Fort Orange, who had accompanied Van Curler in 1642, was asked to repeat his visit with the new embassy. But Labbatie, feeling himself secure within his fortified post, declined. The colonial delegates therefore proceeded alone on their mission; and friendship was secured with the Mohawks by the distribution of presents to the value of nearly six hundred guilders. The main fountains of "mischief, trouble, and animosity" were the trading licenses, and the "bosch-loopers," or runners in the woods, known among the French as "coureurs de bois." This system of licenses, which had helped the patroon's revenue to the injury of the colonists, was now formally abolished by a placard, with the full approbation of the people, who testified their assent "in Fort Orange under their own hands."*

2 October. A new embassy to the Mohawk valley.

Trading licenses abolished.

Van der Donck, in the mean time, had remained a faithful representative of the commonalty of New Netherland in their Fatherland. Learning that Van Tienhoven was on the point of returning, "to exercise his vengeance" on the popular party, he obtained an order of the States General for the examination of the secretary upon fifty-nine specific points touching the misgovernment of the province. A long report upon the subject was accordingly submitted to their High Mightinesses. The letter of the thirteenth of September, in which the Nine Men renewed their demand for "a good and wholesome" government, was soon afterward received; and the publication of the Remonstrance of the commonalty attracted so much attention, that a formal defense of the West India Company's administration in New Netherland became necessary.†

Van der Donck and Van Tienhoven in Holland.

21 July.

9 August.

18 Nov.

For this purpose, Van Tienhoven, after a year's delay, drew up, and submitted to the States General "a brief statement," in answer to some of the points in the "Vertoogh." The secretary's reply was an able paper. It took no notice of the charges against himself; exhibited a succinct and skillful defense of the company and its officers;

29 Nov. Van Tienhoven's reply to the Remonstrance of New Netherland.

* Alb. Rec., viii., 318; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 161–163, 185; Cor. Classis Amst.

† Hol. Doc., v., 310–325, 339–345, 354–357; *ante*, p. 512, 518.

CHAP. XV. 1650. and closed by retorting upon the signers of the Remonstrance short descriptions of their individual characters, in terms meant to be by no means flattering.*

1651. 14 January. Van der Donck, however, soon presented another memorial to their High Mightinesses; and the Amsterdam Chamber was directed to send Van Tienhoven and his father-in-law, Jan Jansen Dam, to the Hague for examination. But the secretary, who had employed himself during the winter in deceiving a poor girl at Amsterdam, while his wife was yet living at Manhattan, was about to return, with the spring fleet, to New Netherland; and the company, to mark their appreciation of his "long and faithful services," had renewed his appointment as provincial secretary, made him likewise their receiver general of revenue, and granted him a well-stocked farm. The directors were now ordered to prevent Van Tienhoven's embarkation until he should have reported himself at the Hague. The secretary, obliged to obey, was arrested on reaching the seat of government, and was fined for adultery. A week afterward, he managed to embark, in spite of the prohibition of the States General; and, accompanied by his paramour, he returned to Manhattan, where the rich cargo of a Portuguese prize, captured on the voyage, procured for him an acquittal in the fruitless prosecution commenced by his undeceived victim.†

14 March. Van Tienhoven ordered to come to the Hague.

21 April.

28 April.

5 May.

Van Tienhoven returns to New Netherland.

1650. 8 Feb. Melyn returns to New Netherland. Melyn, who had not failed to bring before the States General Stuyvesant's "irreverent neglect" of their mandamus, intrusting his undecided case to an attorney, availed himself of the growing interest in New Netherland to induce Baron Hendrick van de Capellen, of Ryssel, one of the committee of the States General, and several Amsterdam merchants, to form an association for the colonization of Staten Island and its neighborhood. A ship called the "New Netherland's Fortune" was purchased, in which some twenty colonists, with proper farming implements,

18 May.

* Hol. Doc., v., 360–401; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 329–338. In O'Call., ii., 121–127, this paper is erroneously ante-dated as of the year 1649.

† Hol. Doc., v., 404, 408, 410, 412, 413; vi., 6, 33–59, 246, 267–280; Alb. Rec., iv., 70; O'Call., ii., 168, 169.

were sent out, under the charge of Adriaen Pos. Procuring a new letter of safe-conduct from the States General, Melyn set sail in his influential friend's vessel; which, forced by a long and boisterous voyage to put into Rhode Island for supplies, did not reach Manhattan until mid-winter. Stuyvesant eagerly availed himself of this deviation as a pretext to seize the ship and vent his animosity against the patroon, by prosecuting him as the alleged owner. As the vessel was owned by Van de Capellen and his associates in Holland, the action against Melyn failed; but the ship and cargo were nevertheless confiscated and sold. The patroon now went to his colonie at Staten Island, "for the greater security" of which, Van Dincklagen had just before purchased from the Raritans, for Van de Capellen, the lands "at the south side, in the Bay of the North River." Summoned to Manhattan on new charges, Melyn refused to obey, and a house and lot which he owned at New Amsterdam were seized and sold Apprehending further trouble, the patroon fortified himself in his colonie, where he established a manorial court. Before long, he was charged with distributing arms and ammunition among the Raritans and the South River tribes, and with stirring up the Nyack savages against Stuyvesant. The council accordingly passed a resolution that the director should be attended by a body-guard of four "halberdiers" whenever he went abroad.*

1650. 30 June. 19 Dec. 5 August. Lands purchased of the Raritans. Melyn on Staten Island. Stuyvesant's body-guard.

Notwithstanding the rebukes which his administration had received at the Hague, Stuyvesant persisted in his arbitrary course. But the spirit of the Dutch colonists did not slumber; and the vice-director, and the fiscal, Van Dyck, joined in preparing a new protest expressing the popular griefs. Stuyvesant now ordered Van Dincklagen to be expelled from the council. The vice-director refused to obey; for his commission was from the same supreme

Stuyvesant persists in arbitrary measures. 1651. 28 Feb. Van Dincklagen expelled from the council

* Alb. Rec., iv., 90; viii., 1–7, 23, 64–66; Hol. Doc., v., 65, 306; vi., 42, 263; vii., 32; East Jersey Records, B. 7; Whitehead's East Jersey, 19; O'Call., ii., 130, 157, 158, 575. The "New Netherlands' Fortune" was sold to Captain Thomas Willett, one of Stuyvesant's Hartford arbitrators, who sent her on a voyage to Virginia and Holland, where she was replevined by Van de Capellen; and the West India Company, after a long lawsuit, was obliged to pay heavy additional damages.

CHAP. XV. 1651. authority as was that of the director himself. Newton and Baxter, with a file of soldiers, therefore arrested Van Dincklagen, and conveyed him to the guard-room, where he was imprisoned several days. After his liberation, he retired to Staten Island, to brood with Melyn over their mutual injuries. Van Schelluyne, the notary, who had authenticated the protest, was arbitrarily forbidden to practice his profession, and scarcely dared to keep any papers in his house for fear they should be seized by the director. Loockermans and Heermans both suffered vindictive prosecutions. Stuyvesant's displeasure seemed chiefly directed against his own countrymen of the popular party; the English, who had shown their sycophancy, were treated with consideration and regard.

Van Schelluyne and others oppressed.

The return of Van Tienhoven only added to the popular discontents. "Our great Moscovy duke," wrote the vice-director to Van der Donck, "keeps on as of old—something like the wolf, the longer he lives, the worse he bites." On the other hand, the English at Gravesend, at Baxter's instigation, addressed another letter to the Amsterdam Chamber, expressing their great satisfaction that Stuyvesant had been sustained by the directors in Holland, and praying that he might be continued in his administration. The elective franchise desired by the Dutch colonists was condemned by the English refugees. "We willingly acknowledge," said they, "that the frequent change of government, or the power to elect a governor from among ourselves—which is, we know, the design of some here—would be our ruin and destruction, by reason of our factions and the difference of opinion which prevails among us." Private traders were, in their judgment, "the oppressors of the people." They therefore asked to be allowed to hire vessels in Holland to bring over farmers and laborers, provided the directors would permit "these ships, and no others, to trade hither." The company should also supply more negroes. It was not in New Netherland as in Holland, or in states whose laws and institutions were matured. "Our small body, composed of divers pieces,

19 Sept.

14 Sept. A third letter from Gravesend to the Amsterdam Chamber.

namely, of people of divers nations, requires many things for the laying a foundation, for which there are no rules nor examples, and which must therefore be left to the discretion of a well-experienced governor." A similar letter, certified by John Moore, their clergyman, was addressed to the Amsterdam Chamber by the English at Heemstede.*

25 Sept. Letter from Heemstede.

With these testimonials in their favor, it was no wonder that the officers of the West India Company continued their opposition to the spirit of popular freedom among the Dutch colonists, and to the liberal movements of the States General. But Van der Donck still remained the faithful representative of the commonalty in their Fatherland; where an enterprising bookseller at Amsterdam again drew public attention to the province, by issuing a pamphlet containing a descriptive account of the European settlements in America.†

Publications in Holland.

The Hartford treaty having left the interests of the Dutch and the English on the South River "in statu quo," several inhabitants of New Haven and Totoket equipped a vessel, in which fifty emigrants were dispatched to settle themselves upon some land which they claimed to have purchased there. On reaching Manhattan, two of the passengers landed, and presented to Stuyvesant a letter of recommendation from the governor of New Haven. The director, viewing this new expedition as a breach of the recent treaty, committed them, as well as the master and two others of the company, "close prisoners under a guard" at the house of Martin Kregier, the captain lieutenant of New Amsterdam. There they remained in custody "till they were forced to engage under their hands not then to proceed on their voyage toward Delaware;" and the defeated expedition returned to New Haven. Stuyvesant at

A new expedition from New Haven to the South River.

March.

Stuyvesant defeats the enterprise.

* Hol. Doc., vi., 5, 7, 53–60, 67, 68; ix., 240–248; O'Call., ii., 170–172.

† "Beschryvinge van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Nieuw Engelandt," &c., Amsterdam, 1651. Joost Hartgers. This pamphlet is a mere compilation from De Laet, and from Van der Donck's Vertoogh; and though it contained nothing new, its cheap form no doubt gave it a large circulation in Holland. Megapolensis' tract on the Mohawk Indians was now also published by Hartgers for the first time, and, according to Van der Donck, without its author's knowledge or consent; *ante*, p. 376, note.

CHAP. XV. 1651. 11 April.

the same time wrote to Eaton, threatening "force of arms and martial opposition, even to bloodshed," against all English intruders within southern New Netherland.*

In this new attempt of the English to gain a foothold on the South River, Stuyvesant perceived a covert purpose to dispossess the Dutch of all their American territory. He therefore called upon the authorities at Rensselaerswyck for a subsidy. But as the patroons had alone borne all the expenses of colonization, this demand of the provincial government was felt to be unjust; and Van Slechtenhorst went down to New Amsterdam to remonstrate. His representations were disregarded; and the director, to punish him for his conduct with respect to the Katskill settlements, ordered his arrest. In spite of all his protests, and the repeated applications of the colonial officers at Rensselaerswyck, Van Slechtenhorst was arbitrarily detained four months at Manhattan.†

Calls on Rensselaerswyck for a subsidy.

29 April.

1 May. Van Slechtenhorst arrested at Manhattan.

Views of the West India Company about the South River. 21 March.

The West India Company had now become aware of the necessity of arranging with the newly-crowned Queen of Sweden the differences respecting jurisdiction on the South River. In the mean time, they instructed Stuyvesant to "endeavor to maintain the rights of the company in all justice and equity," while they recommended him to conduct himself with discretion and circumspection. The director, therefore, resolved to make his long-projected visit to the South River, where his presence was again urgently desired. Upon his arrival at Fort Nassau, whither he was accompanied by Domine Grasmeer and a large suite of officers, he communicated to Printz an abstract of the Dutch title. This was stated to rest on first European discovery and occupation, and actual purchase from the savages "many years before the Swedes arrived there." The Swedish governor was also requested to produce, on his part, proof of what lands his countrymen had purchased, and their authority to possess them. But Printz simply replied that the Swedish limits were "wide and

July. Stuyvesant on the Delaware.

* Hazard, ii., 192–195, 260; New Haven Records, 40; Trumbull, i., 196; Bozman, ii., 486, 487.

† Renss. MSS; O'Call., ii., 164, 173, 174.

broad enough;" and excused himself from producing his muniments of title, as they were in the chancellery at Stockholm. Wappang-zewan, one of the chief sachems, soon afterward informed the director that Printz was at this very time endeavoring to purchase from him the lands upon which the Swedes were settled. He had, however, refused to sell; and he now "presented" to Stuyvesant, in behalf of the West India Company, all the lands on the east and west shores; commencing, on the eastern side, from Narratikon or Raccoon Creek, "and stretching down the river to Maetsingsing, and on the western side, from a certain creek, called Neckatoensing, to the westward along the river to Settoensoene, also called the Minquas' Kill, on which is the Swedish Fort Christina."

CHAP. XV. 1651.

New acquisition of land.

Stuyvesant soon summoned all the Indian chiefs who lived near the river, and who claimed to own any lands there, to attend a grand council at Fort Nassau, in the presence of the officers who had accompanied him from New Amsterdam. After a solemn conference, in which the sachems declared that the Swedes had usurped all the land they claimed, except the precinct of Fort Christina itself, they confirmed to "the chief sachem of the Manhattans," as a perpetual inheritance for the West India Company, the whole territory south of that fort to "Boomtje's" or Bombay Hook, "called by them Neuwsings." The conveyances were duly attested; and the only conditions which the chief Pemmenatta imposed were, that the Dutch "should repair his gun when out of order," and give the Indians, when they required it, "a little maize."

Conference with the savages.

19 July.

More territory purchased.

The director, thinking that Fort Nassau "was too far up, and laid too far out of the way," now demolished the post which the Dutch had first built on the Jersey shore, twenty-eight years before, and erected a new fort, "called Casimir," on the west side of the river, at "Sand Hook," near the present site of New Castle, and about four miles below the Swedish Fort Christina. Against the building of this new fort Printz protested in vain; and Stuyvesant, having completed his object, prepared to return to Man-

Fort Nassau demolished, and Fort Casimir built.

CHAP. XV. 1651. hattan. Previously to his departure, he had several interviews with the Swedish governor, in which both officers "mutually promised to cause no difficulties or hostility to each other, but to keep neighborly friendship and correspondence together, and act as friends and allies."*

Foiled in their designs upon the South River, the New Haven people laid their case before the other colonies; and
24 May. the Massachusetts government remonstrated with Stuyvesant. New Plymouth was also applied to for assistance;
5 June. but the "Old Colony" of New England "would have no hand in any such controversy." At their annual meeting, the subject was brought before the commissioners, who
25 Sept. protested against the director's "hostile carriage," and declared the Dutch claim to the South River no better than that "which the English, upon as good grounds, can make
Complaints of New Haven. to the Manhatoes." Eventual assistance was also promised to New Haven; and information was asked from Edward Winslow, who was then in London, "how any engagement by the colonies against the Dutch, upon the aforementioned occasion, will be resented by the Parliament." Anxious to obtain a leader of courage and skill, the New Haven people made liberal offers to Captain John
16 October. Mason; but the General Court at Hartford opposed his removal from Connecticut, and so the project was again frustrated.†

A change was now made in the provincial government on the North River. Labbatie was superseded, and Jo-
Dyckman appointed commissary at Fort Orange. hannes Dyckman, a former clerk in the Amsterdam Chamber, who had come out with Van Tienhoven in the spring, as book-keeper at Fort Amsterdam, was promoted to be commissary and vice-director at Fort Orange. Van Slechtenhorst, the patroon's commissary, who had remained un-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 46; Hol. Doc., viii., 32–50, 59–65, 67, 77; *ante*, p. 153, 511; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 122–127; O'Call., ii., 166, 167; Smith's N. Y., i., 9; Ferris, 77, 78; Acrelius, 412; Chalmers, 632; Bozman, ii., 481. The latter writer is misled by the errors of Chalmers and Acrelius. Stuyvesant's attendants, on the 19th of July, when the Indians conveyed their land, were Domine Grasmeer, Isaac Allerton, Cornelis de Potter, Captain Newton, Ensign Baxter, Isaac de Forcest, Captain Martin Kregier, and Surgeon Abraham Staats.

† Plymouth Coll. Rec., iv., 234; Col. Rec. Conn., 227; Hazard, i., 554; ii., 192–196; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 123, 127–133; Trumbull, i., 197–201.

der arrest at Manhattan, finding Stuyvesant inexorable, at length secreted himself on board a sloop, the schipper of which he was obliged to indemnify against future harm, and returned to Beverwyck. The director, enraged at this audacity, arrested the schipper on his return to Manhattan, and fined him two hundred and fifty guilders and costs for helping the escape of the unfortunate commissary, who reckoned the whole expenses of his luckless visit to Fort Amsterdam at about a thousand guilders.

CHAP. XV.

1651. September. Van Slechtenhorst breaks his arrest, and returns to Beverwyck.

One of Van Slechtenhorst's motives for breaking his arrest was his anxiety to cause an exploration of the Katskill Mountains. A daughter of one of the farmers at Katskill had found a stone, "which some thought was silver;" and the proprietaries in Holland had directed an examination of the country. Van Slechtenhorst, therefore, sent his son Gerrit to make a search. But a heavy rain set in as soon as the young adventurer reached the patroon's newly-established bouwery. In three hours, the mountain torrent rose thirty feet; the farm-house was swept into the kill, and all the cattle and horses would have perished, but for the exertions of Gerrit Van Slechtenhorst, "who was an excellent swimmer." The ruin which the flood had caused diverted all thought of immediate explorations; and the hope of finding a silver mine in the Katskill Mountains was postponed.

Proposed exploration of the Katskill Mountains.

10 Sept.

Abandoned on account of a great flood.

Fearful that the director would execute his threatened purpose of extending the jurisdiction of Fort Orange, Van Slechtenhorst now called upon all householders and freemen of the colonie to take the "Burgherlyck oath of allegiance." At the appointed day, the order was obeyed by a number of the residents, who bound themselves "to maintain and support, offensively and defensively, against every one, the right and jurisdiction of the colonie." Among the persons who took this oath was John Baptist van Rensselaer, a younger half-brother of the patroon, and the first of the name who appears to have come to New Netherland.*

23 Nov.

28 Nov. Colonists take oath of allegiance to the patroon.

* Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 174–177; Holgate's American Genealogy.

CHAPTER XVI.

1652–1653.

CH. XVI. 1652. THE four years during which Stuyvesant had administered the government of New Netherland were marked by arbitrary efforts to repress the spirit of popular freedom which the Dutch emigrants brought with them from their Fatherland. In turn, the Nine Men, the vice-director, the only notary in the province, and the patroon of Staten Island, were made to feel the displeasure of authority. Van Dyck, the schout-fiscal, who sided with the Nine Men, was early excluded from the council, and personally insulted by his imperious chief. The fiscal, indeed, had been complained of for leading "a disorderly life," and the Amsterdam Chamber had threatened to punish him. A pasquinade against the director, of which he was assumed to be the author, was now made the occasion of his removal from office by the council, whose action was claimed to have been "by and with the advice of the Nine Men." They, however, afterward declared that they had never assented to the resolution, which was Stuyvesant's own work, and that "the secretary had falsely appended to it their names." Van Tienhoven was accused by Van Dyck of having originated the lampoon to accomplish the displacement of an obnoxious official. Whatever may have been the truth in that respect, Van Tienhoven was promoted to be schout-fiscal; Van Brugge, the former commissary at Fort Orange, was made provincial secretary; and Adriaen Van Tienhoven, lately the clerk of the court on the South River, succeeded his brother as receiver general. Appealing to the States General, Van Dyck denounced his successor, in plain terms, as "a

26 March.

Fiscal Van Dyck superseded.

Van Tienhoven promoted.

18 Sept.

reproach to this country, and the main scourge of both Christians and heathens, with whose sensualities the director himself hath always been acquainted."* CH. XVI. 1652.

In the mean time, the question of jurisdiction at Fort Orange remained unsettled. If Van Slechtenhorst was earnest in maintaining the rights of the patroon, Dyckman was no less so in support of the director; and personal difficulties now vexed the quiet hamlet of Beverwyck. Some of the soldiers of Fort Orange, out on a New Year's night frolic, fired their matchlocks at the patroon's house; and but for the exertions of its tenants, the thatched building would have been destroyed. Young Van Slechtenhorst was assaulted in the street by some of the garrison the next day; and Philip Pietersen Schuyler, who came to the rescue of his brother-in-law, was threatened by Dyckman with a drawn sword. The friends of Van Slechtenhorst vowed revenge; and the commissary prudently ordered the guns of Fort Orange to be loaded with grape.

Affairs at Fort Orange.

1 January. Quarrels at Beverwyck.

2 January.

Not long afterward, Dyckman, with a small retinue, went to the court-room where the magistrates of the colonie were sitting, to publish some placards which Stuyvesant had sent up, relative to the jurisdiction of Fort Orange. Van Slechtenhorst, viewing the commissary's proceedings as insulting, ordered him to retire. Dyckman again demanded that the obnoxious proclamations should be published with sound of bell; but the colonial court refused, until they had received orders from the States General and their own immediate superiors. The bell of Fort Orange was now rung three times; and Dyckman, returning to the patroon's court-house, ascended the "stoep"† with his attendants, and ordered his deputy to read the proclamations. Van Slechtenhorst, however, snatching the instruments out of the deputy's hands, again protested against the attempted infringement of the rights of his chief.

8 February

Van Slechtenhorst opposes Dyckman.

24 Feb.

The director promptly sent up another placard, declar-

5 March.

* Hol. Doc., vi., 193–276; Alb. Rec., iii., 264–268; iv., 74; O'Call., ii., 181, 182; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 306.

† Anglicé, "the steps at the entrance of a house." The word "stoop" is still in familiar use among the descendants of our old Dutch families.

CH. XVI. 1652.

ing that the jurisdiction of Fort Orange extended a distance of six hundred paces from its walls, and ordered Dyckman to affix copies of it to posts, "marked with the company's mark," to be erected on this new line, "north, south, and west of the fortress." No house was thereafter to be built within these limits, except by the permission of the director and council at Fort Amsterdam, or their agents at Fort Orange. But Van Slechtenhorst was not disposed to submit. He had just purchased for his patroon two large additional tracts on the east side of the river; one called "Paanpaack," including the site of the present city of Troy, and another further north, called "Panhoosic;" and he now ordered the constable of Beverwyck to remove the posts which Dyckman had set up. A new protest declared that the colonists of Rensselaerswyck had never sworn allegiance either to the West India Company or to Stuyvesant, and that they recognized no masters but the States General and their own feudal superiors. Fresh troubles soon arose. Dyckman, attempting to apprehend a negress belonging to Alexander Glen, one of the colonists, was opposed by her master, who was arrested the next day at Fort Orange. It was now rumored that the director himself was about to revisit Beverwyck, and that "a new gallows" was being prepared for the rebellious Van Slechtenhorst and his son, and Van Rensselaer.

Proclamation about the jurisdiction of Fort Orange.

13 March.

19 March.

Protest of Van Slechtenhorst.

21 March.

Stuyvesant again at Fort Orange.

Stuyvesant, who had been detained at Manhattan by the proceedings against the fiscal, Van Dyck, soon afterward arrived at Fort Orange. The colonial officers were required to furnish a statement of the bounds of Rensselaerswyck; and were told that as the "Exemptions" allowed a colonie to extend sixteen miles on one side of a river, or eight miles, if both banks were occupied, the director would recognize the patroon's jurisdiction only to that extent. As the authorities of the colonie were without instructions on this point, the question was postponed until they could communicate with their superiors in Holland. But Stuyvesant was not to be diverted from his purpose with regard to Beverwyck. Sergeant Litschoe, with a

1 April.

party of soldiers, was sent to the patroon's house, and Van Slechtenhorst was ordered to strike the colonial flag. Upon his refusal, "fourteen soldiers, armed with loaded muskets, entered the inclosure, and, after firing a volley, hauled down the lord's colors." A few days afterward, a proclamation was issued declaring Beverwyck to be independent of the patroon's colonie, and establishing a Court of Justice in Fort Orange for the government of the hamlet. By this act Stuyvesant completed his long-cherished design; and the germ of the present city of Albany was released from feudal jurisdiction.

The patroon's colors hauled down.

10 April. Beverwyck declared annexed to Fort Orange.

Still, Van Slechtenhorst's loyalty to his immediate superiors could not be shaken. The director's placard was torn down, and a counter-proclamation, indicating the claims of the patroon, was posted in its stead. This bold proceeding filled the measure of Van Slechtenhorst's offenses. He was arrested and imprisoned in Fort Orange, and afterward conveyed under guard to New Amsterdam, where he remained until he was released for the purpose of installing his successor in office.

15 April.

18 April. Van Slechtenhorst conveyed to New Amsterdam.

2 Sept

Before leaving Rensselaerswyck, Stuyvesant confirmed the authority of the West India Company by issuing patents to several of the principal colonists for lots of land within the bounds of Beverwyck. John Baptist van Rensselaer took Van Slechtenhorst's place provisionally, and was soon afterward formally appointed director by the patroon. About the same time, Gerrit Swart was commissioned as "officer or schout," and furnished with instructions, which required him "above all things to take care that divine worship shall be maintained in said colonie, conformably to the Reformed religion" of Holland.*

23 April.

24 April. J. B. Van Rensselaer director.

8 May. Gerrit Swart schout.

These difficulties, and a desire to free themselves from subjection to the patroon, induced several inhabitants of

* Alb. Rec., vi., 2; ix., 123; Fort Orange Rec., Mortgage Book A, Alb. Clerk's Office; Renss. MSS.; Barnard's Sketch, 128–130; O'Call., 175–184, 207, 564–566, 587. Upon the reconquest of New York by the Dutch, in 1673, the West India Company admitted that Stuyvesant's proceedings in regard to Beverwyck were in violation of the charter of 1629; and Governor Dongan, in 1686, deemed it prudent to require from the patroon of that day a formal release of his claims two days before the charter of the city of Albany was passed.

CH. XVI. 1652. Rensselaerswyck to seek another abode. Between Katskill and Manhattan there were as yet few European inhabitants; and Thomas Chambers, who had occupied a farm near what is now the city of Troy, removing with some of his neighbors to "Atkarkarton," or Esopus, an "exceedingly beautiful land," began the actual settlement of the present county of Ulster.*

First settlement of Ulster county.

On his return to the seat of government, Stuyvesant, in order to check the growing disposition on the part of individuals to monopolize large tracts of wild land for the purposes of speculation, issued new regulations on the subject. The sales by the Indians to Van Twiller and others on Long Island, to Van Slechtenhorst at Katskill and Claverack, and to Van de Capellen about Nevesinck, were declared void. The "pretended proprietors" were ordered to return the purchase-money; if, however, they petitioned within six weeks, they might retain such tracts as the director and council might assign them. All persons were forbidden to buy any lands from the natives without the previous consent of the director and council. This order was afterward modified by the Amsterdam Chamber in favor of the purchasers of lands near Katskill, Claverack, and Rensselaerswyck, to whom grants free from any feudal "patronage" were to be issued in the name of the company.

1 July.

Regulations for purchases of land.

Several additional settlements were now commenced on Long Island, under patents from Stuyvesant. One of these, immediately east of Doughty's colonie at Mespath, was called by the Dutch "Middelburgh," but was more familiarly known as Newtown. Another in the "Vlacke Bosch," or Flatbush, between Breuckelen and Amersfoort, the principal patentees of which were Jan Snedekor, Arendt van Hattem, and Domine Megapolensis, was named by Stuyvesant "Middelwout" or Midwout. The Indian title to these places was not, however, extinguished for several years; and in the mean time, the settlers whose bouwer-

New settlements on Long Island.

Middelburgh or Newtown.

Midwout or Flatbush.

* Megapolensis to Classis, 5 Aug., 1657; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 107; O'Call., ii., 357, 394, 588; *ante*, p. 76, 306 In 1672, Chambers became proprietor of the manor of Foxhall.

ies were threatened by the savages, did not thrive. Two other large tracts, the one adjoining the company's lands at Gowanus, and the other at "Nyack," within the present town of New Utrecht, were also purchased by Cornelis van Werckhoven, an influential member of the provincial government of Utrecht. Van Werckhoven had previously notified the Amsterdam Chamber of his intention to plant two colonies in New Netherland; and Augustine Heermans had purchased for him the lands now known as the "Raritan Great Meadows," and the territory along the Staten Island Kills, from "Ompoge," now Amboy, to the "Pechciesse" Creek. A tract on the south side of the Raritan, opposite Staten Island, called "Kehackanick Wakonaback," was also bought. Van de Capellen, however, objecting to these acquisitions, the question was brought before the Amsterdam Chamber. Upon their decision, Van Werckhoven abandoned his purchases in New Jersey, and began a settlement on his Long Island lands; but his death, which happened in 1655, retarded the prosperity of New Utrecht.*

CH. XVI

1652.

New Utrecht.

1651.

7 Nov.

6 Dec. Van Werckhoven's purchases in New Jersey.

1652.

13 Dec.

After nearly two years' absence in New Netherland, Domine Grasmeer had meanwhile returned to Holland, with warm testimonials from the people at Rensselaerswyck and Manhattan, and had besought the Classis to recommend him to the West India Company for appointment as second minister at New Amsterdam. The Classis, however, declined his request; and the directors requested the appointment of Domine Samuel Drisius, of Leyden, who, having lived in England, could preach in Dutch, French, and English, and who, upon his examination, gave full satisfaction. The company soon completed its arrangements with Drisius to become the colleague of Megapolensis, at a salary of fourteen hundred and fifty guilders; and with the spring fleet, the Domine sailed for New Amsterdam. At the same time, the directors agreed that the public school should be established in the "city tav-

Ecclesiastical affairs.

12 Feb. Domine Grasmeer.

Domine Drisius 26 Feb.

18 March.

4 April.

Public school.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 88, 97; vii., 318–320; viii., 20, 55, 151, 161, 191; Hol. Doc., vi., 221; New Amst. Rec.; Flatbush Rec.; Thompson's L. I., ii., 137, 200; O'Call., ii., 185–187, 194; Whitehead's East Jersey, 19, 20; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 633; *ante*, p. 333, 410.

CH. XVI. 1652.

ern," if practicable; and La Montagne was, for the present, appointed schoolmaster.*

It was more difficult to procure a proper clergyman for Rensselaerswyck. At last, Gideon Schaats, a schoolmaster at Beest, and a candidate in theology, signified his willingness to go to America; and his examination being found satisfactory, he was ordained, in full Classis, by the imposition of hands. Two days afterward, the patroon and co-directors of Rensselaerswyck signed an agreement with the Domine, pledging themselves to pay him an annual salary of eight hundred guilders for three years. Besides his regular services as clergyman of the colony, he was "to use all Christian zeal there to bring up both the heathens and their children in the Christian religion; to teach, also, the Catechism there, and instruct the people in the Holy Scriptures, and to pay attention to the office of schoolmaster for old and young." Under this agreement, Domine Schaats soon afterward sailed for New Netherland.†

6 May. Domine Schaats.

8 May. Called to Rensselaerswyck.

The news of the demolition of Fort Nassau and the erection of Fort Casimir reaching Amsterdam, the directors wrote to Stuyvesant. "Your journey to the South River, and what has passed there between you and the Swedes, was very unexpected to us, as you did not give us before so much as a hint of your intention." "We can not give an opinion upon it, until we have heard the complaints of the Swedish governor to his queen, and have ascertained how these have been received at her court. We hope that our arguments to prove that we were the first possessors of that country will be acknowledged as sufficient." "Time will instruct us of the design of the new-built Fort Casimir. We are at a loss to conjecture for what reason it has received this name. You ought to be on your guard that it be well secured, so that it can not be surprised."

4 April. Views of the Amsterdam Chamber respecting Fort Casimir.

* Cor. Cl. Amst.; Alb. Rec., iv., 68, 75.

† Cor. Cl. Amst.; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 567. In 1657, Domine Schaats became minister of Beverwyck and Fort Orange, where he continued to reside until his death, in 1694. I have in my possession an old spoon, given, according to custom, to one of the pall-bearers at his funeral, bearing a Dutch inscription to this effect: "Gideon Schaats, preacher at Albany, died the 27th of February, 1694, being eighty-six years old, in the forty-second of his service." See also *post*, p. 624, 625.

The expenses of the last year's expedition to the South River now pressed so severely on the provincial exchequer that the director and council were obliged to postpone the payment of one half of the "just demands" against them.* 4 August.

In the mean time, Van der Donck had not ceased to urge on the attention of the States General the complaints of the commonalty of New Netherland. Stuyvesant's Hartford treaty, too, was severely censured in a long "Deduction," prepared by the indefatigable agent. Too much had been surrendered. The Fresh River should have formed the eastern boundary of New Netherland, and the whole of Long Island should have been retained. The Dutch trade was seriously injured; for by the treaty New England had obtained the control of the chief manufactories of wampum—the lawful currency of the province—and New Netherland must henceforth "eat oats from English hands." 10 Feb. 16 Feb. Van der Donck in Holland censures the Hartford treaty.

The States General now required again the opinions of the several Chambers of the West India Company upon the proposed "Provisional Order." To gain more influence at the Hague, the Amsterdam directors, in the mean time, had addressed a memorial to the burgomasters of that city, detailing their views respecting the "disorders" in New Netherland. The municipal authorities, siding with the Chamber, instructed their deputies at the Hague to support the directors, and defend their privileges against infringement. 16 Feb. 13 Feb. 15 Feb.

Emboldened by the support of the burgomasters of their city, the Amsterdam directors replied to the States General. They had already given an opinion adverse to the Provisional Order; they were surprised that that plan should now be revived; and they had hoped that their High Mightinesses would have disregarded the groundless complaints of "the pretended and disaffected delegates of a few evil-disposed persons in New Netherland." The Zealand Chamber at Middelburgh was opposed to the monopoly which the Amsterdam Chamber enjoyed. If the 23 Feb. Continued opposition to the Provisional Order. 1 March.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 73; vi., 8; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 133, 134.

CH. XVI. 1652.

existing arrangement should be changed, it would assist in introducing reforms into New Netherland; but at present it did not feel disposed to interfere. The Chamber at Dordrecht, which had already approved the Provisional Order, also thought that the trade to New Netherland should be shared by the several Chambers of the company; should be open to private enterprise; and that fifty thousand guilders should be advanced to promote emigration. In any settlement of boundaries, Long Island, "lying right in front of the coast," should continue a part of New Netherland. The Groningen Chamber, and the Chamber at Delft, expressed similar opinions.* The "Provisional Order" was popular every where but at Amsterdam.

2 March.

6 March.

8 March.

It was now evident to the directors of the "Presiding Chamber" that they must make concessions, or else lose all control over New Netherland. The "commonalty at Manhattan" was therefore informed that, to show their "good intentions," the Amsterdam directors had determined to take the export duty off tobacco; to reduce the price of passage to the province; and to allow the colonists to procure negroes from Africa. At the same time, they communicated to Stuyvesant their assent to the establishment of a "burgher government" in Manhattan; which the Nine Men had demanded on behalf of the commonalty in 1649, and which the Provisional Order of 1650 had contemplated. The citizens were to be allowed to elect a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, "as much as possible according to the custom of" the metropolis of the Fatherland. These officers were to form a municipal court of justice, subject to the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the province. In the election of these magistrates, "every attention must be paid," added the directors, "to honest and respectable individuals, who, we hope, can be found among the burghers; and especially do we wish that those promoted thereto be, as much as possible, persons of this nation, who, we suppose, will give the most satisfaction to the burghers and inhabitants."

4 April. Concessions to the colonists.

4 April. Burgher government to be established at Manhattan.

Burgomasters and schepens.

* Hol. Doc., vi., 1–86, 88–112; Alb. Rec., viii., 8–13.

The instructions for the schout or sheriff declared that he should, "as the director-general and council's guardian of the law in the district of the city of New Amsterdam, preserve, protect, and maintain, to the best of his knowledge and ability, the pre-eminences and immunities of the privileged West India Company, in as far as these have been delegated by previous instruction to the board of Burgomasters and Schepens." He was to convoke and preside at the meetings of the city government. He was to prosecute all offenders against the laws of the city; and take care that all judgments of the burgomasters and schepens, not appealed from, be executed "according to the style and custom of the Fatherland, and especially the city of Amsterdam." He was also to communicate, once every year, to the director general and council, all the proceedings of the city fathers; and to refer all cases within his knowledge, but not subject to his jurisdiction, to the schout-fiscal of the province.*

Instructions for the city schout of New Amsterdam.

Manhattan had now won the concession, to a great extent, of the burgher government, for which her people had so long prayed. But there were other grievances in the province at large which required redress; and the States General ordered Stuyvesant to come immediately to Holland, and render an account of his administration, as well as of his negotiations with the United Colonies of New England. Van der Donck being about to return home, with a special privilege of making a testamentary disposition of his estate at Colendonck, the mandate of their High Mightinesses was intrusted to him; and Stuyvesant was at the same time commanded to offer no molestation to Van Schelluyne in the practice of his profession as notary.†

27 April. The States General recall Stuyvesant.

The recall of their director amazed the Amsterdam Chamber, who wrote at once to Stuyvesant that this sudden step of the States General was a violation of their charter, and that he should not "be in too much haste to commence his voyage, but delay it until the receipt of further orders."

27 April. Action of the Amsterdam Chamber.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 68–75; viii., 16–19, 29–44, 139–142; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 599–602; O'Call., ii., 187–192; Bancroft, ii., 305. † Hol. Doc., vi., 117–128; *ante*, p. 421.

CH. XVI. 1652. Their secretary was also sent to the Hague to procure the revocation of the order; and the deputies from Amsterdam and several other members of the provincial states protested that the subject "ought to have been first proposed to the states of Holland." The States General, now on the eve of open hostilities with England, yielding to the force of circumstances, revoked their recall, and ordered Van der Donck to deliver up their letter. The general government had shown itself fully disposed to listen to the complaints of the people of New Netherland; and, had not the presence of an experienced soldier been necessary to protect their American province, Stuyvesant would scarcely have escaped his threatened humiliation. The Amsterdam Chamber gratefully thanked the States General for their concession, and offered to give such full explanations as would render unnecessary the return of their director to Holland.*

16 May. Stuyvesant's recall revoked.

27 May.

1650. 16 Nov. The premature death of William II., prince of Orange, had left vacant the office of stadtholder, and the dignity remained in abeyance during the minority of William III. This event, weakening the ascendency of the Orange party in the Netherlands, led to the recognition of the English commonwealth by the Dutch Republic; and Saint John and Strickland were dispatched to the Hague, to negotiate a league of amity and confederation between the two nations. Some of the visionary enthusiasts in Parliament even entertained designs of making the "two sovereign states one," to be governed by a council sitting at London, composed of Dutchmen and Englishmen. To effect this object, the embassy was instructed to use the most adroit diplomacy. The ambassadors, however, demanding, as a preliminary, that the English fugitives should be expelled from Holland, the Dutch government determined not to interfere in any way between Cromwell and the Royalist party; and the English negotiators were openly insulted by the populace, whose attachment to the house of Orange would not tolerate the presence of the

1651. 28 January.

Proposed union between England and the Netherlands.

* Hol. Doc., vi., 130–140, 153, 156; Alb. Rec., iv., 63–68; viii., 45–49; O'Call., ii., 194.

"executioners" of the unhappy grandfather of William III.*

1651.

2 July. English jealousy of the Dutch.

On his return to England, Saint John gratified his revenge by devising a measure whereby he hoped the commercial ascendency of the Dutch might be destroyed. Grotius, one of the most glorious of the sons of Holland, had been the first to proclaim the doctrine that "free ships make free goods," and had boldly appealed to the judgment of the world against the maritime restrictions "which humanity denounced as contrary to the principles of social intercourse; which justice derided as infringing the clearest natural rights; which enterprise rejected as a monstrous usurpation of the ocean and the winds." The country of Grotius, though her colonial policy was apparently paradoxical, had herself become great by practicing the doctrines which Grotius had so eloquently announced. The commerce of Holland covered every sea over which the navy of Holland rode in triumph. In Asia, in Africa, in America, the tricolor of the United Provinces floated over the Dutch colonial outposts. England saw and felt her inferiority; already her ships began to lie idle at her quays, and her mariners to seek employment in the vessels of the Dutch. The celebrated "Act of Navigation" was, therefore, carried through Parliament; and the sergeant-at-arms was ordered to proclaim it at the old London Exchange, "with sound of trumpet and beat of drum." This act decreed that no productions of Asia, Africa, or America should be brought to England, except in English vessels manned by English crews; and that no productions of Europe should be brought to England, unless in English vessels, or in those of the country in which the imported cargoes were produced. This step was accompanied by the issue of letters of reprisal to such persons as considered themselves aggrieved by the Dutch.†

9 October. English "Act of Navigation."

The States General dispatched ambassadors to London

20 Dec.

* Aitzema, iii., 638–663; Thurloe's State Papers, i., 174, 179, 182, 183, 187–195; Verbael van Beverning, 61, 62; *ante*, p. 499.

† Commons' Journal, vii., 27; Anderson, ii., 415, 416; Lingard, xi., 127, 128; Bancroft, i., 215, 216; Davies, ii., 707–710.

CH. XVI. to protest against these hostile measures, and at the same time gave orders for the equipment of a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships of war. The ambassadors were also instructed to propose a treaty, which, among other things, should provide for a free trade to the West Indies and Virginia, and for the settlement of the boundaries between the Dutch and English colonies in America. Schaep, one of the ambassadors, who had been sent to London the year before as the special agent of the province of Holland, had been then empowered to propose the arrangement of a boundary between New Netherland and New England.

1651. Protest of the Dutch.

1652. The proposition was now made by the ambassadors in form; and the eleventh and twelfth articles in the draft of the treaty which they submitted to the English Council of State, provided that Dutch and English subjects, notwithstanding any recent prohibitions, might freely sail and trade to the Carribee Islands and to Virginia as they had before done; and that "to maintain good friendship, peace, and neighborhood between both of the aforesaid nations on the continent of North America, a just, certain, and immovable boundary line there shall be settled and determined as soon as possible."*

21 Feb. Treaty proposed

Neither of these propositions was acceptable to the Council of State. They replied that the English had always been forbidden to trade with any of the Dutch colonies, and that they should now acquiesce in that policy; and, on the other hand, as the Dutch were excluded from trading to any of the English plantations by the recent Navigation Act, from that measure the council did not "deem it fitting to recede." In regard to the colonial boundary question, the English had been the "first planters" of North America, from Virginia to Newfoundland; and not knowing any plantations of the Dutch there, "save a small number up in Hudson's River," they did not think it necessary "at present to settle the limits, which may be done hereafter in a convenient time." In the correspondence that followed, the English defended their restrictive colo-

25 March. Failure of negotiations.

5 May.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 35; Hol. Doc., v., 419; vi., 184; Aitzema, iii., 694–699.

nial policy on the ground of retaliation; but suggested that, if the Dutch would propose to establish a mutual freedom of trade, their proposition would be respectfully considered. Unfortunately, the States General were not now in a position to incorporate a principle so congenial to the national sentiment of the United Provinces into the policy of the world. They had unwisely hampered themselves with two enormous commercial monopolies, to which they had intrusted the government of their colonies; and the influence of these two companies was fatal to any proposition for the emancipation of colonial commerce. The Dutch ambassadors were not instructed to offer to the English a reciprocal free trade to New Netherland, for New Netherland was in the hands of the West India Company. It was not surprising, therefore, that the negotiations at London were fruitless. The ambassadors soon received instructions from Holland to defer the consideration of a boundary line in America until a more fitting time.* The States General had not yet ratified Stuyvesant's treaty at Hartford; and they did not, in fact, ratify it until several years afterward.†

13 May.

Naval war between the Dutch and English.

A naval war, which had been brewing so long, at last broke out between England and the United Provinces. Holland ships were arrested, without warning, in English ports, and their crews impressed. The Dutch fleet had been intrusted to the command of Martin Harpertsen Tromp,‡ with instructions from the Admiralty to protect Dutch vessels from visitation or search by foreign cruisers; and not to strike his flag to English ships of war. In a few days Tromp encountered the British fleet, under Blake, in the Straits of Dover, and a bloody but indecisive battle followed. All hopes of peace were now at an end. Parliament was resolved on war, and the Dutch ambassadors soon afterward left England. A series of brilliant naval

29 May.

17 July.

* Aitzema, iii., 701–710; Hol. Doc., vi., 136, 138.

† Hol. Doc., viii., 124; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., p. 301; *ante*, p. 520; *post*, p. 621.

‡ It is strange that so many English and American writers insist upon prefixing a superfluous "Van" to Tromp's name. Bancroft and Davies are among the few who avoid the vulgar error. The name of the Dutch admiral was no more *Van Tromp* than that of the English admiral was *Van Blake*.

CH. XVI. 1652. 10 Dec.

engagements followed, in which Tromp and De Ruyter, and Blake and Ayscue, all gained immortal laurels. The first year of hostilities closed with a victory which forced Blake to take refuge in the Thames; and Tromp placed a broom at his mast-head, in token that he had swept the channel free of all English ships.*

Precautions of the States General. 17 July.

The States General did not neglect the precautions which a state of war demanded. The Admiralty was directed to send a swift-sailing frigate to New Netherland and the West Indies, with instructions to the provincial governors. Stuyvesant was also instructed to keep a careful watch, in the present condition of affairs with England, and to employ no person in the public service of whose loyalty and devotion to the Fatherland he was not assured. The views of the West India Company were also desired respecting the best mode of protecting their American possessions. The company recommended that five or six frigates should be sent to New Netherland, to harass British commerce on the coast and in the West Indies; but that, as the English colonists on the continent were very strong, it would be impolitic to attempt any thing against them.†

22 July.

30 July.

Letter of the Amsterdam Chamber to Stuyvesant. 6 August.

The directors, at the same time, wrote to Stuyvesant, "Although we do not doubt but that you have agreed with those of New England about limits, in conformity with our intentions, or have entered into a more close union and harmonious compact with them as once before, so that we have nothing to fear from New England; nevertheless, we consider it an imperious duty to recommend you to arm and discipline all freemen, soldiers, and sailors; to appoint officers and places of rendezvous; to supply them with ammunition; and to inspect the fortifications at New Amsterdam, Fort Orange, and Fort Casimir. To this end, we send you, for your protection, a fresh supply of ammunition." * * * "We warn you," they added, "not to place an unbounded confidence in our English inhabitants, but to keep a watchful eye on them, so that you may not

* Aitzema, iii., 711, 713, 764, 781; Thurloe, i., 205–212; Basnage, i., 251–261; Davies, ii., 713; Hume; Lingard, xi., 128–134; Bancroft, i., 217.

† Hol. Doc., vi., 163, 165, 166, 169, 170–178.

be deceived, through their sinister machinations, by a show of service, as we have been before deceived. If it should happen, which we will not yet suppose, that those New Englanders incline to take a part in these broils, and injure our good inhabitants, then we should advise your honor to engage the Indians in your cause, who, we are informed, are not partial to the English. You will further employ all such means of defense as prudence may require for your security, taking care that the merchants and inhabitants convey their valuable property within the forts. Treat them kindly, so that they may be encouraged to remain there, and to give up the thought of returning to Holland, which would cause the depopulation of the country. It is advisable, therefore, to inclose the villages, at least the principal and most opulent, with breast-works and pallisades, to prevent surprise."*

Engagement of Indians advised.

The "fast-sailing galliot" by which this letter and the promised supplies were dispatched was captured by the English. The States General again admonished the West India Company to put their province in a proper state of defense. Another vessel was, therefore, fitted out, and a duplicate of the intercepted dispatch was forwarded. The directors, at the same time, wrote to Stuyvesant to be carefully on his guard against the "artful wiles" of his territorial neighbors, and to avoid, if possible, any broils with the people of New England. All honest means were to be used to cultivate friendship with them, and also to promote commerce, chiefly with the Virginians, by which means "must the Manhattans prosper," her population increase, and her trade and navigation flourish. "For when these once become permanently established—when the ships of New Netherland ride on every part of the ocean—then numbers, now looking to that coast with eager eyes, will be allured to embark for your island." Such was the prophecy which the merchants of Amsterdam addressed to the merchants of Manhattan two centuries ago.†

3 Sept. Further instructions.

13 Dec.

Maritime superiority of Manhattan predicted.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 83, 84.

† Hol. Doc., vi., 190, 192; Alb. Rec., iv., 87, 91; O'Call., ii., 205, 206; Bancroft, ii., 294

CH. XVI.

1652. Actual condition of Manhattan.

When that prophecy was uttered, New Amsterdam was yet a small village, with a population of seven or eight hundred souls. Belonging, in fee, to the West India Company, its municipal affairs had always been administered by the director and council of the province. That administration, however, had never been advantageous, either to the company or to the colonists; and from the beginning of Stuyvesant's government, scarcely one new bouwery had been planted on the island.*

Organization of the first municipal government of New Amsterdam.

The time had now come when its inhabitants were to be invested with the civic powers which the Amsterdam Chamber had so unwillingly conceded to their earnest prayers. Its municipal government was to resemble "as much as possible" that of Old Amsterdam; nevertheless, the franchises which the citizens of New Amsterdam actually obtained were far less extensive than those which the burghers of the parent city enjoyed. The director general retained in his own hands the appointment of burgomasters and schepens, and insisted upon the right of the provincial government "to make ordinances or publish particular interdicts even for New Amsterdam." The citizens were not allowed to elect their own schout; the city government did not choose its own clerk. The ungraceful concessions of the grudging Chamber were hampered by the most illiberal interpretation which their provincial representative could devise.

1653. 2 Feb. Burgomasters and schepens.

Stuyvesant accordingly issued a proclamation on the feast of Candlemas, appointing Arendt van Hattem and Martin Kregier, burgomasters, and Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist, Maximilian van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Willem Beeckman, and Pieter Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, schepens of the city of New Amsterdam. Cornelis van Tienhoven, the company's fiscal, was made schout of the city, and Jacob Kip was appointed secretary to the municipal government. A few days afterward, the burgomasters and schepens met together, and gave notice that they would hold their ordinary meetings every Monday

Schout and clerk.

6 Feb.

* Hol. Doc., vi., 227; xi., 213.

morning at nine o'clock, "in the building hitherto called the City Tavern, and now named the Stadt Huys or City Hall." Stuyvesant, whose attention had been so much given to the municipal affairs of the capital, often attended these meetings in person. Record books were then commenced; and a solemn form of prayer was adopted, with which the proceedings of the court were to be opened. The island of Manhattan had at last formally become the city of New Amsterdam.*

1653. First meeting of the municipal government.

The organization of the municipal government of New Amsterdam took place at the most important crisis which the Dutch province had yet seen. Holland and England were now at open war. The Puritan colonies, sympathizing with Parliament, longed to make New Netherland a trophy of the strife, and to extend the English power from Stamford to the Chesapeake. Stuyvesant, foreseeing his danger, wrote to the several governments of Virginia and New England, expressing the friendly feelings both of the West India Company and of the authorities of New Netherland, and proposing that the commercial intercourse between the Dutch and English colonies should continue on its former peaceful footing, notwithstanding the hostilities between their mother countries. At the same time, he did not neglect proper military precautions at home. He communicated to a joint meeting of the provincial council, and of the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, the dispatches from the West India Company; and also informed them of the military preparations which were now in progress in New England. The meeting promptly resolved that "the whole body of citizens" should mount guard every night; that Fort Amsterdam should be repaired; and as it was not large enough to contain all the inhabitants, that the city should be enclosed, from the East to the North River, by a ditch and palisades with a breastwork. Schipper Visscher was directed to keep his sails

Critical condition of New Netherland.

26 Feb. Letters to New England and Virginia.

13 March. Preparations for the defense of the city.

Ditch and palisades

* Alb. Rec., vi., 54, 60; New Amsterdam Records, i., 105–107, 109; O'Call., ii., 213; Valentine's Manual for 1850, 538, where the form of prayer is inserted at length. The Records of the city of New York, commencing with this date, are still preserved in good condition. See note Q, Appendix.

CH. XVI.

1653.

always ready, and "his gun loaded day and night." To defray all these expenses, the city government proposed to raise about six thousand guilders, by a loan from the principal citizens, to be repaid by a tax upon the commonalty. In two days, upward of five thousand guilders were subscribed. A contract was made with Thomas Baxter to provide palisades twelve feet high and eighteen inches in girth; and the inhabitants, "without one exception," were required to work at the fortifications, under penalty of fine, loss of citizenship, and banishment. Nor did the people forget, in the time of their trouble, to call upon the Almighty for aid; and the ninth of April was ordered to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer throughout the province. The inhabitants at Beverwyck and Fort Orange were likewise directed to assist those of Rensselaerswyck in putting the redoubt and other defenses in good repair.*

First public debt of the city.

15 March.

17 March.

Fast day.

28 May. Fort Orange and Beverwyck.

State of feeling in New England.

These precautions were by no means untimely. Uncas, the Mohegan ally of the English, had spread a report that Stuyvesant had been plotting to excite the Narragansetts against the New England colonies; and nine sachems, who lived "about the Manhatoes," sent messengers to Stamford toward the end of March, affirming that, about a month before, the Dutch governor "did earnestly solicit the Indians in those parts to kill all the English, but they all refused to be hired by him, for that the English had done them no harm."

28 March.

29 April. Meeting of the New England commissioners.

An extraordinary meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies was accordingly held at Boston in the end of April. Previously to the meeting, two messengers had been sent by the council of Massachusetts to interrogate Ninigret, Pessacus, and Mixam, three of the Narragansett chiefs, as to Stuyvesant's conduct. But the sachems' answers disproved the alleged plot. "I found no such entertainment from the Dutch governor when I was there," said Ninigret, "to stir me up to such a league against the English, my friends. It was winter time, and I stood a

* Alb. Rec., vi., 58–78; ix., 57; New Amst. Rec., i., 150–153, 164, 182; O'Call., ii., 215; Valentine's Manual for 1850, 450.

great part of a winter's day knocking at the governor's door; and he would neither open it, nor suffer others to open it, to let me in; I was not wont to find such carriage from the English, my friends." Said Mixam: "I know of no such plot that is intended or plotted by the Dutch governor against the English, my friends." And Pessacus replied, "that for the governor of the Dutch, we are loth to invent any falsehood of him, though we be far off from him, to please the English, or any other that bring these reports." CH. XVI. 1653.

The commissioners were still suspicious and unsatisfied. A long "declaration" was therefore drawn up, reviewing the complaints which the New England colonies had reiterated for thirteen years, and embodying the new charges against the Dutch which rested upon the testimony of "the Indians, who know not God, but worship and walk after the prince of the power of the air, serving their lusts, hateful, and hating one another." Upon the reading of this, the commissioners, "being exercised with different apprehensions," called upon the Massachusetts council, "with the neighboring elders," for advice. Their advice was, that it best became those "professing to walk in the Gospel of peace, having to do with a people pretending to the same profession," to give the Dutch governor an opportunity to answer for himself. Charges against the Dutch.

Stuyvesant, however, did not wait for the action of the commissioners. Hearing of the charges against him, he wrote at once to the governors of New Haven and Massachusetts, denying the plot, and offering to come or send to Boston to clear himself, or desiring that delegates might be sent to Manhattan "to consider and examine what may be charged, and his answers." The commissioners accordingly appointed Francis Newman, a magistrate of New Haven, and Captain John Leverett, and Lieutenant William Davis, of Boston, to visit New Netherland. The agents were instructed specifically as to their duties in procuring testimony, and intelligence from Europe or Virginia, and were also furnished with letters which Underhill had writ- Stuyvesant's conduct. 22 April. Agents to visit New Netherland.

CH. XVI. 1653.

ten to the commissioners, according to the tenor of which they conceived that "himself and the English at Hempstede will produce such evidence as the case requires." A letter to Stuyvesant, at the same time, embodied their long "declaration" of complaints, and demanded "speedy and just satisfaction for all former grievances, and due security for the future." The commissioners likewise made preparations, in case "God call the colonies to make war against the Dutch." Five hundred men, "for the first expedition," were to be proportionally raised out of the four jurisdictions; and Captain Leverett was judiciously chosen commander-in-chief, "with respect to the opportunity he now hath to view and observe the situation and fortification at the Manhatoes."

12 May.

Preparations for war.

22 May. Conduct of the English agents at New Amsterdam.

The New England agents, on reaching New Amsterdam, were lodged at "the Basse's house in Manhatoes." They at once proposed to choose "some convenient place, within the United Colonies of New England," for Stuyvesant to produce evidence to clear himself from the charges against him. This proposition the director declined. The agents then asked that the place might be at Flushing or Heemstede; that they should have full power to call such to testify as they might think meet; that the magistrates there should be obliged to administer oaths to the witnesses; and that no person should be molested for the testimony he might give. To these exactions Stuyvesant and his council, "together with those that represent the particular courts of justice in the colonies of New Netherland," avowing themselves "guiltless of any plot, either offensive or defensive, against the English nation," readily assented, upon condition that the proposed examinations should be held in the presence of three persons, to be associated with the New England commission, namely, La Montagne, the first counselor in New Netherland, David Provoost, and Govert Loockermans, "which all jointly in some measure understand the Dutch, English, and Indian speeches." If any person should be found "that would stand to the accusation," he might be examined, and might also, "accord-

23 May.

Answer of the Dutch to their demands.

ing to the custom of our laws of New Netherland," be "touched and heard," in the presence of the New England agents, before the director and council at New Amsterdam and the representatives of the particular colonies and courts of the province. And all inferior magistrates and officers should be commanded to bring before the joint commission "all such as they shall require, whether they be Dutch or English."*

These liberal conditions did not suit the Puritan agents. With lawyer-like precision they "excepted" to the number and the character of the signers, the mode in which they stated the question, and the examination of witnesses according to the laws of New Netherland; and, in the name of the United Colonies, demanded "due and full satisfaction" for all the particulars in their letter. They seemed to have visited the Dutch province as inquisitors, to collect evidence criminating the Dutch, and to collect no other evidence; and, with peculiar assurance, they saw no impropriety in requiring the authorities of New Netherland, in their own capital, to suspend their established rules of law in favor of those of New England.

24 May. The agents reject the offer of the Dutch.

The director's temperate reply, rebuking their pertinacity, submitted a series of general propositions. I. Neighborly friendship, without regard to the hostilities in Europe; II. Continuance of trade and commerce, as before; III. Mutual justice against fraudulent debtors; IV. A defensive and offensive alliance against the enemies of both the Dutch and English provinces; and, V. In case the agents had not full powers to negotiate on these points, that the Dutch government would be pleased to send plenipotentiaries to the commissioners of the United Colonies.

24 May. Stuyvesant's reply.

But the New England agents repelled Stuyvesant's friendly overtures; and "concluded their negotiation" by declaring, in the name of the commissioners, that "if so be you shall offer any injury to any of the English in these parts, whether by yourselves or by the Indians, either upon

25 May. The negotiation ended.

* Hazard, ii., 234, 235. Besides Stuyvesant himself, this letter was signed by Werckhoven, Newton, Kregier, J. B. van Rensselaer, Van der Grist, Van Carloe, Willem Beeckman, Pieter Wolfertsen, Allard Anthony, and Rutger Jacobsen.

CH. XVI. 1653.

the national quarrel, or by reason of any differences depending between the United English Colonies and yourselves of the province of New Netherland, that, as the commissioners of the United Colonies will do no wrong, so they may not suffer their countrymen to be oppressed upon any such account." This paper was delivered to Stuyvesant about six o'clock on Sunday afternoon. About nine o'clock the same evening, the New England agents, without waiting for Stuyvesant's reply, took their leave, and "cloaking their sudden departure under pretence of the day of election, to be held this week at Boston," they declined a friendly invitation to remain, and abruptly left New Amsterdam.

26 May. Stuyvesant's answer to the "declaration" of the commissioners.

The next day Stuyvesant dispatched Augustine Heerman to Boston with a full reply to the letter of the commissioners, and an abstract of "passages" between New Netherland and New England. Touching the reiterated charge of conspiracy with the natives, there would "never any appearance of truth be found in it." If the New England messengers had made inquiry, "according to due course and manner of law," the case would have been "truly discovered and found out." Ninigret had come to New Amsterdam in the month of January, with a pass from the younger Winthrop, "to be cured and healed." What he had done on Long Island "remains to us unknown; only this we know," added Stuyvesant, "that what your worships lay unto our charge are false reports and feigned informations. Your honored messengers might, if they had pleased, have informed themselves of the truth of this at Nayack and Gravesande, and might also have obtained more friendly satisfaction and security concerning our real intentions, if they had been pleased to have staid a day or two or three with us, to have heard and considered further of these articles."

On their way homeward, the New England agents stopped at Flushing, Stamford, and New Haven, and, "without any help or concurrence from the Manhatoes," took all the testimony they could procure to sustain their

charges against the New Netherland authorities. The hearsay stories of several Indians were eagerly recorded. A conversation at Underhill's house, in Flushing, with the wife of Van der Donck, who said that "the Maquaas are ready to assist the Dutch if the English fall upon them," and with Doughty, her father, who "said that he knew more than he durst speak," was carefully noted. Several depositions of disaffected Englishmen at Heemstede and Middelburgh were secured. The only point really ascertained upon which to found the charge of a plot was that Stuyvesant had told Robert Coe, one of the Middelburgh magistrates, that "if the English came against him, he had spoken to Indians to help him against the English." William Alford also swore that Stuyvesant had told him "he had no hand in any such plot; but confessed that in case any English should come against him, then he would strengthen himself with the Indians as much as he could." This was all that the agents succeeded in proving. These declarations were made by Stuyvesant without any mystery or purpose of concealment. They were merely the announcement of his intention to obey the instructions of the Amsterdam directors, who had, as we have seen, written to him the previous August, that, in case the New Englanders inclined "to take a part in these broils, and injure our good inhabitants, then we should advise your honor to engage the Indians in your cause." The Puritan colonists had themselves set the example of employing Indian allies in the Pequod war; and the policy which New England originated continued, until the end of the American Revolution, a repulsive feature in the British colonial administration.*

26 May.

Testimony obtained on Long Island.

Meanwhile, Underhill had been agitating a revolt on Long Island. His unstable nature longed for change; and the moment seemed propitious to betray the friends who had sheltered and honored him when humiliated by the ecclesiastical discipline of Massachusetts. At the instigation of Eaton and the agents of New England, he had

Underhill's faithlessness.

* Hazard, ii., 203–267; Alb. Rec., iv., 83; North Am. Rev., viii., 96–105; *ante*, p. 547.

CH. XVI. busied himself in collecting the testimony which he had promised the commissioners, and had openly charged the fiscal, Van Tienhoven, with plotting against the English. He was, therefore, arrested at Flushing, and conveyed to New Amsterdam under guard. After a short detention, he was dismissed without trial. Returning to Long Island, he committed open treason against his adopted country by hoisting "the Parliaments' colors" at Heemstede and Flushing, and crowned his treachery by issuing a seditious address to the commonalty of New Amsterdam, setting forth the reasons which had impelled the insurgents "to abjure the iniquitous government of Peter Stuyvesant over the inhabitants living and residing on Long Island, in America." After enumerating the specific wrongs, which he declared were "too grievous for any brave Englishman and good Christian to tolerate any longer," he exhorted "all honest hearts, that seek the glory of God and their own peace and prosperity, to throw off this tyrannical yoke." "Accept and submit ye then to the Parliament of England," concluded this bold address, "and beware ye of becoming traitors to one another, for the sake of your own quiet and welfare."*

1653.

Underhill arrested.

20 May. Seditious proceedings at Heemstede and Flushing.

But Underhill's mutinous appeal fell upon unwilling ears. The loyalty of the Dutch to their Fatherland was proof against all treasonable placards; and though they had themselves felt the pressure of Stuyvesant's arbitrary rule, they could not think of abjuring their allegiance to the States General, to become subjects of the Parliament of England. Upon the departure of the New England agents, Underhill was ordered to quit the province. Flying to Rhode Island, he addressed a letter to the commissioners at Boston, offering his services and loyalty, as he was, like Jephthah, "forced to lay his life in his hands," to save English blood from destruction. To this end he had "requested our neighbors of Rhode Island to afford some small assistance." This "assistance" was granted

Underhill banished. 27 May.

2 June.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 121; Hol. Doc., ix., 227; Hazard, ii., 223; Hartford Rec. Towns and Lands, i., 81; Col. Rec. Conn., 275; O'Call., ii., 225–227; Trumbull, i., 205.

the next day, in the form of a commission "under the seal of the colony of Providence Plantations," giving "full power and authority to Mr. William Dyer and Captain John Underhill to take all Dutch ships and vessels as shall come into their power, and to defend themselves from the Dutch and all enemies of the commonwealth of England."*

3 June. Commissioned by Rhode Island.

The New England agents, on reaching Boston, reported their proceedings in New Netherland, with the testimony they had collected; and also submitted to the commissioners some propositions for protection and assistance which had been presented to them on behalf of the disaffected English at Heemstede and Middelburgh. Upon a statement of the case, the General Court of Massachusetts desired a consultation with the commissioners, and appointed a committee to prepare a joint report of the facts respecting the difference with the Dutch. The joint committee, however, could not agree; and two separate statements were drawn up, one on the part of the commissioners, by Governor Eaton, and another on the part of Massachusetts, by Major General Denison. A conference was then held before the General Court of Massachusetts "and divers neighboring elders," to whom the testimony was submitted for their opinion "what the Lord calleth to do." The elders found enough to "induce them to believe" in the reality of "that late execrable plot, tending to the destruction of so many dear saints of God, which is imputed to the Dutch governor and fiscal." Yet, upon serious examination, they could not find the proofs "so fully conclusive as to clear up present proceedings to war." The next day, the General Court of Massachusetts voted that they were not "called to make a present war with the Dutch." This, however, was not the general sentiment out of Boston. The "teacher of the church at Salem" wrote to the commissioners, urging immediate hostilities, the postponement of which had already "caused many a pensive heart." Six out of the eight commissioners were

31 May. The commissioners and Massachusetts at variance.

3 June.

4 June.

7 June.

8 June.

13 May.

* Hazard, ii., 249; Hartford Rec. Towns and Lands, i., 76; O'Call., ii., 232, 233; Trumbull, i., 205.

CH. XVI. 1653

for instant war. The General Court of Massachusetts, however, again interposed. In an able exposition of the Articles of Confederation, they declared that it was not competent "for six commissioners of the other colonies to put forth any act of power in a vindictive war, whereby they shall command the colonies dissenting to assist them in the same." Thus Massachusetts, affirming the doctrine of "state rights," prevented New England from commencing an "offensive war" against New Netherland. The commissioners, foiled in their hostile designs, sent a peevish reply to Stuyvesant, reiterating that the English were right and the Dutch were wrong on every point in controversy, and telling him, with insulting pertinacity, that his "confident denials of the barbarous plot charged, will weigh little in the balance against such evidence, so that we must still require and seek due satisfaction and security."*

12 June. Massachusetts prevents a war with New Netherland. 13 June.

But if open war was averted, covetousness was not repressed. Underhill, finding his offer of service neglected, availed himself of his Rhode Island commission to better his private estate at the expense of his recent friends. Going to the unoccupied Dutch Fort Good Hope, he posted upon it a notice, declaring that, "with permission from the General Court of Hartford," he did "seize upon this house and lands thereunto belonging, as Dutch goods claimed by the West India Company in Amsterdam, enemies of the commonwealth of England, and thus to remain seized till further determined by the said court."†

27 June. 7 July. Fort Good Hope seized by Underhill.

A special meeting of the General Court of Connecticut was now held at Hartford, and a representation was ordered to be made to "the Bay," humbly craving that "the design may go on according to the consult of the commissioners," and that Connecticut might have liberty to

25 June. 5 July.

* Col. Rec. Conn., 244; Hazard, ii., 233, 248, 250–256, 268–273; Trumbull, i., 206–208; Hutchinson, i., 167, 168.

† Hartford Rec. Towns and Lands, i., 77, 81, 86–88; O'Call., ii., 234, 570. Within four months, Underhill twice sold the Dutch fort and lands, as his private prize, to citizens of Rhode Island and Hartford. But though he alleged that he had permission from the General Court to make the seizure, there is nothing in the records of Connecticut to justify his assertion; on the contrary, Hartford the next year sequestered the property for herself.—Col. Rec. Conn., 254, 16th April, 1654.

"gather up volunteers" in Massachusetts; and Haynes and Ludlow were appointed to confer with the government of New Haven on the subject. Eaton and the New Haven court fully coincided with their brethren at Hartford; and messengers were sent to Massachusetts to urge that "by war, if no other means will serve, the Dutch, at and about the Manhatoes, who have been and still are like to prove injurious and dangerous neighbors, may be removed." But Massachusetts again refused to act "in so weighty a concernment as to send forth men to shed blood," unless satisfied "that God calls for it; and then it must be clear and not doubtful, necessary and expedient."*

1653. 27 June. 7 July. Connecticut and New Haven urge war. 8 July. 24 July. Massachusetts again refuses.

In the mean time, Stuyvesant had not neglected measures for the security of New Netherland. A new danger seemed to threaten the province from Virginia, where Berkeley, the royal governor, had been obliged to capitulate to a parliamentary expedition, and had been succeeded by Richard Bennett, one of the Roundhead commissioners. Maryland, too, was reduced to subjection, and Lord Baltimore's authority was abrogated. In this situation of affairs, Stuyvesant, in obedience to his instructions to arrange, if possible, a treaty with Virginia, sent Van Tienhoven, the fiscal, and Van Hattem, one of the burgomasters of New Amsterdam, to negotiate with Bennett. But the Puritan governor did not feel at liberty to conclude a treaty without instructions from Westminster. He, nevertheless, agreed to submit Stuyvesant's propositions to the home government; and with this promise the Dutch agents returned to New Amsterdam.

1652. 22 March. 30 April. June. 1653. 5 May. Embassy to Virginia.

It was also thought necessary to send Allard Anthony, one of the schepens, as a special agent to represent the situation of affairs to the Amsterdam Chamber. The voluntary loan raised by the inhabitants in the spring had enabled the municipal authorities to inclose a part of the city with palisades. Fort Amsterdam, however, was not yet entirely repaired; and Stuyvesant called upon the city

5 June. Agent to Holland. 28 July.

* Col. Rec. Conn., 244; New Haven Rec., 3, 8, 11, 12, 27; O'Call., ii., 231; Trumbull, i., 208, 209.

CH. XVI. government for assistance. The corporation replied that the citizens had done all they had undertaken to do, and should not be further burdened, as they were "altogether in the background." A few days afterward, Stuyvesant's demand was submitted to a meeting of the principal burghers at the City Hall. The meeting, considering that the repair and maintenance of the fort was a proper charge upon the provincial revenue alone, unanimously resolved "not to contribute any thing until the director general give up the whole excise on wines and beers." With this resolution, the burgomasters waited upon Stuyvesant, who peremptorily refused to yield; and the meeting promptly resolved not to contribute any thing "unless the director general acceded to their terms."*

1653.
29 July.
2 August. Disagreement between the director and the city government.

Van der Donck now prepared to return to New Netherland, from which he had been absent nearly four years. He had taken the degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Leyden, and had been admitted to practice as an advocate in the Supreme Court of Holland. During his leisure hours, he had occupied himself in writing a "Description of New Netherland," which he submitted to the West India Company for their approval. The directors, pleased with the book, recommended it to the States General; and a copyright was granted to the author. The work, however, as it had been prepared, was chiefly a topographical description of New Netherland—an amplification of parts of the "Vertoogh." Wishing to give it a more historical character and value, Van der Donck deferred its publication, and applied to the company for permission to examine the records in the office of the provincial secretary. He also asked to be allowed "to follow his profession as advocate in New Netherland." The directors referred Van der Donck's application to examine their records to Stuyvesant, with an intimation that the permission, if given, should not be so used that "the company's own weapons should be turned against itself, and

Return of Van der Donck from Holland.

14 May.
24 May.
"Description of New Netherland."
24 July.

* Hazard, i., 560–563; Alb. Rec., iv., 117, 122, 165; viii., 96, 97; ix., 57; xviii., 163; New Amst. Rec., i., 199, 219–221; O'Call., ii., 216, 235, 254; Valentine's Manual, 1850, 450.

new troubles raised to its annoyance." As to his other demand, they resolved to permit him "to give his advice to all who may desire to obtain it;" but as regards his pleading before the courts, they could not see "that it can be admitted yet, with any advantage to the director and council in New Netherland." "Besides that," wrote they to Stuyvesant, "we are ignorant if there be any of that stamp in your city (who, nevertheless, before they can be admitted, must apply to your honor, or directly to our department) who can act and plead against said Van der Donck in behalf of the other side." Returning to New Amsterdam, he was "suspected so vehemently" by Stuyvesant, that he was obliged to petition the municipal authorities of the city, whose interests he had so ably represented in the Fatherland, for protection "as a citizen or burgher."*

1 Dec.

24 July. De Sille counselor.

To strengthen the council of New Netherland "with another expert and able statesman," the Amsterdam Chamber at the same time commissioned Nicasius de Sille, "a man well versed in the law, and not unacquainted with military affairs," as first counselor to the director, to reside at Fort Amsterdam. Cornelis van Ruyven was likewise appointed provincial secretary, and Van Brugge, whom Stuyvesant had provisionally named to that office, was ordered to be employed in the custom-house, where he served before. Upon the arrival of these new officers, the director again endeavored to arrange a commercial treaty with Virginia. Domine Drisius, whose knowledge of the English recommended him for the position, was selected as the envoy of New Netherland, and sent with specific

Van Ruyven provincial secretary.

Domine Drisius sent to Virginia. 16 Dec.

* Hol. Doc., vii., 40–47; Alb. Rec., iv., 111, 112, 135; viii., 75; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 128–130, 378, 379; ii., 258, 259; New Amst. Rec., i., 321. Van der Donck appears never to have gained Stuyvesant's good will, or even a permission to examine the provincial records; and we have thus lost what would no doubt have been an interesting history of the early days of New Netherland and of Minuit's and Van Twiller's directorships. He published his book as he wrote it in Holland, under the title of "Beschryvinge van Nieuw Nederlandt," &c. The first edition was printed at Amsterdam in 1655, in which year the author himself died, leaving to his widow his estate at Colendonck. In 1656, the second edition was published. It contained a map reduced from the larger one of Visscher, which had just appeared, and was embellished by a view of New Amsterdam, drawn by Augustine Heermans. Both editions are in the library of the N. Y. Historical Society, and a translation of the second in ii., Coll., i., 129. See *post*, p. 674, note.

CH. XVI. 1653. proposals to Bennett for the regulation and encouragement of trade between the two provinces. The Domine's success in this negotiation prepared the way for a more formal treaty several years afterward.*

1652. In the mean time, Stuyvesant's high-handed proceedings at Beverwyck had been brought under review in Holland. The proprietors of Rensselaerswyck complained to the Amsterdam Chamber that he had extended the jurisdiction of Fort Orange; demanded the production of the colonial records; imprisoned Van Slechtenhorst; absolved Gerrit Swart, the newly-appointed schout, from his oath of office, and obliged him to swear allegiance to the company; levied taxes and excises, for the company's benefit, on the colonists; and encouraged a contraband traffic with the savages. The company answered unsatisfactorily; and the proprietors of the colony addressed a memorial to the States General. The directors soon sent their reply to the Hague. They were not aware that the patroon's flag had been hauled down, or his colonists released from their oaths, or his lots taken away, or that a court of justice had been established in Fort Orange. As to the jurisdiction of that post, it had been determined "before the colonie of Rensselaerswyck was granted." The schout, Gerrit Swart, had not been absolved from his oath to the patroon, but had only been obliged to swear allegiance to the company, "remaining subject to both masters." The charter authorized Stuyvesant to demand the production of the colonial rolls and papers, and to levy taxes and excises within the colonie. Van Slechtenhorst had been arrested, in order to curb his "insufferable insolence, effrontery, and abuse of power." In regard to the sale of arms and ammunition to the savages, "it was deemed prudent that it should be now and then permitted." The company then charged the proprietors of the colonie with having unlawfully attempted to engross additional territory on the North River; monopolize trade; assert an unfounded claim to a

16 Dec. Complaints of the proprietors of Rensselaerswyck.

20 Dec. 1653. 15 January. Reply of the company.

Counter charges.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 100, 107, 111, 117; vii., 328; ix., 57–59; O'Call., ii., 236, 237; *post*, p. 683.

"staple right;" stop the vessels of private traders; gain possession of Fort Orange; grant licenses to private persons to sail to the coast of Florida; and with having forbidden their colonists to remove within the company's jurisdiction, furnish wood for Fort Orange, pay the debts they owed the people at that post, or appeal from the judgments of the colonial court, as the "Exemptions" had provided. They had refused to allow extracts from their records, or the publication of the directors' proclamations; had neglected to make the required annual reports; and had incited their colonists and officers not to obey the legal process of the provincial government. Moreover, the oath which their colonists were compelled to take recognized neither the States General nor the company, and was therefore "seditious and mutinous." A rejoinder was soon presented on behalf of the proprietors; but some of the copartners beginning to quarrel among themselves, no definite action upon the points in dispute with the company seems to have been taken by the States General. In writing to Stuyvesant, the Amsterdam Chamber now suggested whether, for protection against the Mohawks and to facilitate the fur trade with the Canadian Indians, it would not be expedient to build a trading-house, eighteen or twenty miles above Fort Orange.*

1653.

20 Feb.

19 June.

6 June. Proposed trading-house above Fort Orange.

Hostilities had, meanwhile, been renewed between the Iroquois and the French. The Mohawks, supplied with fire-arms by the Dutch, invaded the Huron country soon after the death of Father Jogues, and attacked the Jesuit missions. The village of Saint Joseph was destroyed, and Father Daniel, murmuring the name of Jesus, perished in the midst of his converts. Brebœuf and Lallemant were captured at Saint Louis, and burned at the stake with horrid torture. Garnier was beheaded near Saint John's, and Chabanel was lost in the forest. The Huron missions were broken up, and the desolated country became a hunting-ground of the Iroquois. War parties of the Mohawks

The Mohawks and the French.

1648.

4 July.

1649.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 98; viii., 59–63, 215–221; Hol. Doc., vi., 303–306; vii., 1–27, 48–51; O'Call., ii., 206–210.

CH. XVI. hovered along the Saint Lawrence, and scornfully passed before the walls of Quebec. In vain did the governor of

1651. 20 June. Canada call on New England for aid. The Puritan felt unable to help the Papist; and the commissioners of the United Colonies, alleging that the Mohawks were "neither

16 Sept. in subjection to, nor in any confederation with" themselves, turned a deaf ear to the appeal.

1653. 20 August. Father Poncet. The Onondagas declared for peace, but the Mohawks continued warlike. Father Joseph Poncet was seized at Three Rivers, and hurried off through the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain to the Mohawk castles. The

8 Sept. prisoner was doomed to torture; but his life was saved by adoption into the family of an old member of the tribe. A few days afterward, word came that peace was about being concluded with De Lauzon, the governor of Canada, who had required the restoration of "the black gown" as

20 Sept. a preliminary condition; and Poncet was conveyed to Fort Orange, to be clothed and healed. Notwithstanding De Lauzon's letters of recommendation, he was coldly received by Dyckman, the commissary. But "a worthy old Walloon" colonist invited the father to his house; and a surgeon, employed by a Scotch matron "who was always kind to the French," dressed his wounds. After administering the rites of religion to two Roman Catholic residents,

3 October. the missionary took leave of his generous friends at Be-

15 October. verwyck, and returned to the Mohawk country, whence he set out for Canada. Travelling by way of the Oswego and Lake Ontario, he descended the Saint Lawrence to Quebec. Of Europeans, Poncet appears to have been the next after Champlain to visit the borders of Onondaga.*

11 Sept. Temper of the New England governments. At the annual meeting of the commissioners, Massachusetts maintained her proud position with a firmness which almost perilled the stability of the confederation. A bitter altercation between the representatives of the other colonies and the General Court was terminated by an am-

20 Sept. biguous concession, which, nevertheless, averted hostilities.

* Tanner, 531–543; Relation, 1648–9, 1652–3, 46–77; Creuxius, 672–682; Charlevoix, i., 283–316; Hazard, ii., 183; Bancroft, iii., 138–142; O'Call., ii., 300–302; Hildreth, ii., 87, 88; Macerata Relation, 1653; *ante*, p. 423.

The Connecticut governments seemed animated by the most vindictive feelings; and their own recent historian laments the refusal of the Massachusetts authorities to bear part in an offensive war against New Netherland, as an "indelible stain upon their honor as men and upon their morals as Christians."*

The commissioners, however, had the power to cause some annoyance to the Dutch; and they used their power. Thomas Baxter, a former resident of New Amsterdam, inflamed with zeal in the parliamentary cause, turned pirate, and committed various outrages on Long Island and the neighborhood. Under an alleged commission from Rhode Island, he seized in Heemstede harbor a vessel belonging to New Plymouth, and also captured a Dutch boat near Manhattan. Stuyvesant promptly dispatched two vessels with a hundred men to blockade Baxter in Fairfield Roads. But the commissioners declared it "necessary" that every jurisdiction should prohibit all Dutch vessels from coming into any harbor belonging to any of the confederate colonies, without express license; and made it lawful for each colonie to "surprise and seize" any such offenders. The New Netherland blockading force was, therefore, obliged to retire; and Baxter continued his depredations against both Dutch and English property, until he was eventually ordered to be arrested by the authorities of New Haven and Hartford.†

Thomas Baxter's piracies.

27 Sept. Dutch vessels excluded from New England harbors.

2 Dec.

The hostile feelings of Connecticut could scarcely be repressed. It was thought that Hartford and New Haven were strong enough to subdue the Dutch without any aid from Massachusetts; and Stamford and Fairfield, undertaking to raise volunteers on their own account, appointed Ludlow their leader. These irregular proceedings were suppressed with some difficulty by the government of New Haven, and the ringleaders were punished. An address

* Hazard, ii., 274–283; Trumbull, i., 212; North American Review, viii., 96–105.

† Hazard, ii., 285–288, 294; Alb. Rec., ix., 117, 129, 155; New Haven Rec., 31, 34; Col. Rec. Conn., 252, 253; O'Call., ii., 235; R. I. Hist. Coll., v., 95. Baxter was afterward surrendered on Stuyvesant's requisition; but escaping from jail, his vessel and house at New Amsterdam were sold.

CH. XVI. 1653. October. Letters to the English government.

was sent to Cromwell, urging that "the Dutch be either removed, or so far, at least, subjected that the colonies may be free from injurious affronts, and secured against the dangers and mischievous effects which daily grow upon them by their plotting with the Indians and furnishing them with arms against the English." And Hooke wrote

13 Nov.

from New Haven to the Lord General, that those of "the Bay" had broken "the brotherly covenant" in declining to draw the sword; and that, if the Dutch be not removed, "we and our posterity (now almost prepared to swarm forth plenteously) are confined and straitened." Two or three frigates should, therefore, be sent "for the clearing of the coast from a nation with which the English can not either mingle, nor easily sit under their government, nor so much as live by, without danger of our lives and all our comforts in this world."*

Libellous pamphlet published at London.

That nothing might be left undone to excite animosity in England, a rancorous pamphlet was published in London, entitled "The second part of the Amboyna Tragedy; or a faithful account of a bloody, treacherous, and cruel plot of the Dutch in America, purporting the total ruin and murder of all the English colonists in New England; extracted from the various letters lately written from New England to different merchants in London." In this extraordinary publication the "devilish project" to stir up the savages to assault the New England colonists "on a Sunday, when they would be altogether in their meeting-houses, and murder and burn all which they could effect," was roundly charged against the Dutch, and amplified without scruple, to move popular hostility. The Amster-

4 Nov.

dam directors immediately ordered the translation of what they termed this "most infamous lying libel," a copy of which they sent to Stuyvesant and his council, "that your honors may see what stratagems that nation employs, not only to irritate the populace, but the whole world, if possible, and to stir it up against us."†

* Col. Rec. Conn., 248; New Haven Rec., 27; Thurloe's State Papers, i., 564, 565; Trumbull, i., 212, 214, 215.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 121; viii., 147–150; O'Call., ii., 571. The original appears to be rare.

1653.

The company, now seriously alarmed at the danger which threatened their American province on the side of New England, presented to the States General a long memorial, accompanied by various explanatory papers, asking for an immediate confirmation of Stuyvesant's provisional agreement at Hartford, and that the boundary question might be included in the instructions to the ambassadors in England. The importance of the trade to Barbadoes was also urged; and the directors warmly represented that the Dutch interests in America and the West Indies were as worthy of the favor of the Fatherland as were those in the East Indies. The subject was seriously considered in the meeting of the States General. But the ambassadors at London were now engaged in discussing, with the English Council of State, the details of a general treaty of peace, under the auspices of the new Pensionary of Holland, John de Witt; and, perhaps to avoid embarrassing the more important negotiation, the question of New Netherland was postponed.*

6 Nov. The company apply to the States General to arrange their boundary.

8 Nov. Negotiation for peace with England.

In this critical situation of provincial affairs, with a bankrupt treasury and a mouldering fort, Stuyvesant was at length obliged to yield to the demands of the burghers of New Amsterdam. The principal citizens were called together, and informed that the director had consented to give up a part of the excise; and the meeting unanimously resolved to submit to such ordinances as should be made for the defense of the city. On the same day, a petition of the inhabitants was presented to the municipal authorities, praying that a burgher schout might be chosen, and that the company's fiscal should no longer act as a city officer. Stuyvesant, however, yielded what he had with great reluctance, and with the condition that the city government should support the two clergymen, the schoolmasters, and the secretary. But the burgomasters and schepens, finding it "incompatible to continue thus," unanimously agreed to ask their dismission from office, unless the whole city revenue should be surrendered to them.

11 Nov. Municipal affairs of New Amsterdam.

19 Nov.

* Hol. Doc., vii., 63–103; Verbael van Beverninck, 603–611; Davies, ii., 722, 724.

CH. XVI. 1653. The director, however, replied that he could neither accept their resignations, nor give up the whole of the excise. The demand was renewed; and Stuyvesant at last agreed to surrender to the city the excises upon liquors consumed within New Amsterdam, upon condition that the burgomasters and schepens should furnish subsidies for the maintenance of the city works, and for the support of civil and ecclesiastical officers, and that the excise should be publicly farmed out to the highest bidder, "after the manner of Fatherland."*

25 Nov. Excise surrendered to the city.

Disaffection of the English on Long Island.

A spirit of disaffection had, meanwhile, been spreading among the English on Long Island. Notwithstanding its sycophantic letter to the Amsterdam Chamber in 1651, Gravesend, under the influence of Ensign George Baxter and Sergeant James Hubbard, was now foremost in opposing the provincial government. Contrary to its charter, that town, instead of openly nominating for magistrates three of its ablest "approved honest men," had determined to choose "one leading man," who should select a second, and they two a third, and so on until six were chosen. Three of these were to be magistrates, and the other three assistants. The object of this change was to exclude, if possible, the Dutch from any influence in the town magistracy. Baxter had at first opposed the innovation, and had called on Stuyvesant not to approve the nominations. And the director did not, in fact, approve them until the nominees had sworn allegiance to the States General, the West India Company, and the provincial government of New Netherland. This oath, however, sat very lightly on the consciences of the Gravesend magistrates when news of the war in Europe reached America. Nevertheless, the feeling of disaffection was chiefly against Stuyvesant himself and his council. During the summer of 1653, the numerous losses which the Long Island colonists had suffered from the savages and from pirates induced them to take some measures for their security. Deputations from Gravesend, Middelburgh, and Heemstede accordingly as-

Gravesend.

* New Amsterdam Rec., i., 300–310; O'Call., ii., 255.

1653.

sembled at Flushing, and opened a communication with the municipal government of New Amsterdam.*

26 Nov. Meeting of delegates at New Amsterdam.

This led to a meeting of delegates at the City Hall, to consider what could be best done "for the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, and to determine on some wise and salutary measures to arrest these robberies." La Montagne and Werckhoven attended on the part of the provincial council; Kregier and Van der Grist represented New Amsterdam; Baxter and Hubbard came from Gravesend; Hicks and Feake from Flushing; and Coe and Hazard from Middelburgh or Newtown. An order from Stuyvesant was read, directing the delegates severally to communicate, in writing, their opinions respecting the best means of protecting the country from robbers. But the English delegates, headed by Baxter, first required to know by what right Werckhoven, whose purchase at New Utrecht encroached upon Gravesend, sat in the convention. They would not recognize him as a delegate from the council, and refused to allow any representative of the provincial government to preside in their meeting. At the same time, they desired to continue in allegiance to the States General and the company, and to "enter into a firm union with the burgomasters and schepens." The New Amsterdam delegates, however, would not consent to such an alliance until they had consulted with the provincial government and the several villages. "If the burgomasters and schepens will not unite with us," replied the English delegates, "we shall enter into a firm union among ourselves on Long Island, for the director general affords us no protection." Stuyvesant did not object to the New Amsterdam delegates co-operating with those from the English villages; but as the Dutch would be outvoted now, he announced his intention to incorporate Amersfoort, Breuckelen, and Midwout, "so as to possess with Fort Orange, on all future occasions, an equal number of votes."

27 Nov.

Proposed incorporation of the Dutch villages.

29 Nov.

The New Amsterdam delegates at length recommended a remonstrance to the West India Company; and with a

* Alb. Rec., viii., 53; Gravesend Rec., 9th Jan., 1651; 19th March, 1652; *ante*, p. 412.

CH. XVI. 1653.

view of learning the opinions of the colonists on Long Island and Staten Island, proposed an adjournment. It was, therefore, agreed to meet again on the tenth of December. A parting collation was given, to which Stuyvesant was invited, and he was informed in blunt terms "that they should meet again on the tenth of the next month; he might then do as he pleased, and prevent it if he could."

A convention demanded.

The city government also formally notified the director of the intention of the delegates to address the West India Company, and asked that he would summon the villages to send representatives to the proposed convention, to assist in the preparation of a remonstrance.

3 Dec. Stuyvesant assents.

Stuyvesant very reluctantly sanctioned the meeting, which he could not prevent. The conduct of the English delegates "smelt of rebellion, of contempt of his high authority and commission." He had done all he could to protect them from marauders; but the colonists had, contrary to orders, scattered their dwellings, so that hundreds of soldiers could scarcely guard them from the robbers, "who often come as friends and neighbors, and are provided with lodgings by the English." He had doubts whether the convention would be beneficial; for the administration of his predecessor, as well as his own, had already witnessed the evils of popular assemblies. Nevertheless, as he had nothing more at heart than the prosperity of New Netherland and the union of her people, "without any distinction of origin," he assented to the proposed meeting. It was, "under the direction of two of the council," to agree upon an address truly representing the condition of the country to the Fatherland; but to do nothing to prejudice the action of the government in disapproving the conduct of the former delegates. Writs to this effect were soon afterward sent to the several neighboring villages, for the election of representatives to meet in a "Landtdag," or Diet, at New Amsterdam. The season was too far advanced to communicate readily with the colonists at Fort Orange and on the South River.*

8 Dec. "Landtdag" or convention called.

* Alb. Rec., ix., 2, 5, 15–24, 35, 47; New Amst. Rec., i., 276, 315, 324, 335.

1653.

The most important popular convention that had ever assembled in New Netherland accordingly met at New Amsterdam. The metropolis was represented by Van Hattem, Kregier, and Van der Grist; Breuckelen by Lubbertsen, Van der Beeck, and Beeckman; Flushing by Hicks and Feake; Middelburgh, or Newtown, by Coe and Hazard; Heemstede by Washburn and Somers; Amersfoort, or Flatlands, by Wolfertsen, Strycker, and Swartwout; Midwout, or Flatbush, by Elbertsen and Spicer; and Gravesend by Baxter and Hubbard. Of the towns represented, four were Dutch and four English; of the delegates, ten were of Dutch and nine of English nativity. But as Baxter had probably most experience in preparing State Papers, the duty of drawing up the Remonstrance of the Diet was intrusted to him.

10 Dec. Meeting of the convention.

The next day, the delegates unanimously adopted and signed the document in which Baxter had ably embodied their views. The authority of the States General and the West India Company was distinctly recognized; and the rights of the colonists were claimed to harmonize "in every respect with those of Netherland, being a member dependent on that state, and in no wise a people conquered or subjugated." "Composed of various nations from different parts of the world, leaving at our own expense our country and countrymen, we voluntarily came under the protection of our sovereign High and Mighty Lords the States General, whom we acknowledge as our lieges; and being made members of one body, subjected ourselves, as in duty bound, to the general laws of the United Provinces, and all other new orders and ordinances, which by virtue of the aforesaid authority may be published, agreeably to the customs, freedoms, grants, and privileges of the Netherlands." With this loyal preface, the convention proceeded to declare its view of the evils which afflicted New Netherland, and to demand redress. I. The fear of the establishment of an arbitrary government. New laws had been enacted by the director and council, without the knowledge or consent of the people. This was

11 Dec. Remonstrance of the convention.

CH. XVI. 1653.

"contrary to the granted privileges of the Netherland government, and odious to every free-born man, and especially so to those whom God has placed under a free state, in newly-settled lands, who are entitled to claim laws, not transcending, but resembling as near as possible those of the Netherlands." It was, therefore, contrary to the privileges of the people of New Netherland to enact laws without their consent. II. As the provincial government does not protect the people against the savages, the people must look to their own defense. III. Officers and magistrates, without the consent or nomination of the people, "are appointed to many places, contrary to the laws of the Netherlands." IV. Old orders and proclamations of the director and council, made without the knowledge or consent of the people, remain obligatory, and subject them to loss and punishment, through ignorance. V. Promised patents, on the faith of which large improvements had been made at Middelburgh and Midwout, and elsewhere, had been wrongfully and suspiciously delayed. VI. Large tracts of land had been granted to favored individuals, to the great injury of the province. "As we have, for easier reference, reduced all our grievances to six heads," concluded the delegates, "we renew our allegiance, in the hope that satisfaction will be granted to the country according to established justice, and all dissensions be settled and allayed."*

Statement of grievances.

12 Dec. Character of the Remonstrance.

A copy of this paper was delivered to Stuyvesant, and a "categorical answer" to each of its heads was demanded. Though drawn up by Baxter, it was approved and signed by every delegate; and it expressed the unanimous opinion of the convention. Its tone was as affectionately loyal to the Fatherland of the Dutch as was the memorial which Van der Donck had prepared in 1649. In the midst of the war between Holland and England; with natural leanings toward the side of their countrymen; with hearts full of bitterness against Stuyvesant and his administration, yet with an honest admiration of the government of

* Alb. Rec., ix., 28–33; Hol. Doc., xv., 168–175; Thompson's L. I., i., 111, 112; ii., 306–308; O'Call., ii., 238–246, 263, 264; Bancroft, ii., 306.

the Republican Provinces, the representatives of the English villages desired not to ingraft on New Netherland the Puritan polity of Massachusetts and Connecticut, from the severity of which some of them had themselves fled, but they demanded laws "resembling, as near as possible, those of the Netherlands." The Dutch colonists had been taught, by the example of their forefathers, to rely on themselves. The convention itself was a "Landtdag," or Diet, known in the Fatherland long before the first settlement in New England, suggested by the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, and called by the arbitrary director whose government it censured.

Not of Puritan origin.

This remonstrance was the severest blow which Stuyvesant had yet received. To weaken its effect, he declared that Breuckelen, Midwout, and Amersfoort had "no right to jurisdiction," and could not send delegates to a popular convention. The other members were "a few unqualified delegates, who assume, without authority, the name and title of commonalty." In that name they had no right to address the director or "any body else." "The most ancient colonie of Manhattan, particularly reserved on behalf of the company, the colonies of Rensselaerswyck and Staten Island, and the settlements at Beverwyck and on the South River, are too prudent to subscribe to all that has been projected by an Englishman; as if among the Netherlands' nation there is no one sagacious and expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the director and council." "It is very doubtful, indeed, if George Baxter, the author, himself understood what he meant." If the rights of the people of New Netherland were, as represented, the same as those of the people in the Fatherland, they might then claim to send delegates to the assembly of their High Mightinesses. As to the demand for an extension of franchises, "it must be observed that these Englishmen, the actors, instigators, and leaders of these novelties, actually enjoy greater privileges than the New Netherland Exemptions allow to any Dutchman." The English, especially at Gravesend, not only nominate their

12 Dec. Stuyvesant's answer.

CH. XVI. 1653.

own officers, but absolutely "usurp their election, and actually appoint whatever magistrates they please, paying no regard to the religion these profess." At New Amsterdam, the magistrates are appointed by the director and council; and this policy would be continued until other orders from Holland. If the opposite rule "was to become a cynosure—if the nomination and election of magistrates were to be left to the populace, who were the most interested, then each would vote for one of his own stamp; the thief for a thief; the rogue, the tippler, and the smuggler for his brother in iniquity, so that he may enjoy more latitude in vice and fraud." The question which the convention had been called to consider—the protection of the province against pirates—had been passed by, and the English delegates had declared their unwillingness to act against their countrymen. The large grants of land which had been complained of were made by order of the directors in Holland, who are not responsible to their subjects for what they do. If the English colonists would look at themselves, they would find that a large part of the territory claimed by Heemstede, Flushing, and Gravesend was neither settled nor improved; but because the time for the payment of their debts was approaching, they wish to repudiate them, and establish "a new form of government," on the ground that "the company can not or will not protect them." And Stuyvesant concluded his earnest defense of arbitrary power by reprimanding the city government of New Amsterdam for seizing "this dangerous opportunity to conspire with a nation so much suspected by them; in whom they lately said no confidence could be placed; who were ever hatching mischief, but never performing their promises; and who might to-morrow ally themselves with the North."

Stuyvesant's answer.

But the delegates were not to be thus silenced. In their rejoinder they appealed to the "Law of Nature," which permits all men to assemble for the protection of their liberties and their property; and declared that, in case the director refused to consider the several points of

13 Dec. Rejoinder of the convention.

their remonstrance, they would protest to their common superiors, the States General and the West India Company.

Stuyvesant had already exhausted argument. All that remained was to exercise his prerogative. The members of the convention were ordered to disperse, "on pain of our highest displeasure," in a farewell message which arrogantly declared that "we derive our authority from God and the company, not from a few ignorant subjects; and we alone can call the inhabitants together." And letters were sent to Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout, ordering them to prohibit their delegates from appearing, for the present, in any meeting at New Amsterdam.*

14 Dec. The convention dissolved.

16 Dec.

The popular voice, however, was not stifled. The burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam addressed a letter to the West India Company, declaring that Stuyvesant's instructions of the 2d of February were "too narrow," and asking for municipal powers as nearly as possible according to the form of government of the "beloved city of Amsterdam," from which "we have received our name." The city schout should be chosen by and from the burghers, and should not be the company's own fiscal. The whole of the excise, "without any limitation," should go into the city treasury; and as that was insufficient to pay salaries and keep the public works in repair, the municipal government should have power to levy new taxes, and to farm out the ferry between New Amsterdam and Breuckelen. The city should be empowered to ascertain its debts; be enabled to convey lands; have a seal separate from that of the province; be granted a Stadt Huys, or City Hall; and sufficient munitions of war should be provided for defense against the "unfriendly English."†

24 Dec. Letter of burgomasters and schepens to the West India Company.

More powers asked.

The Gravesend magistrates also sent a letter protesting their allegiance to the States General and the company, "under whose protection they had placed themselves, without any intention to revolt." Van Werckhoven's grant, however, encroached on their patent, and was a sore griev-

27 Dec. Letter from Gravesend.

* Alb. Rec., ix., 34–56; O'Call., ii., 247–252; Bancroft, ii., 307; Thompson, i., 113.

† New Amst. Rec., i., 345–350; Alb. Rec., viii., 96–98.

CH. XVI. ance. Such grants to private persons, under the pretense of promoting colonization, could not contribute to the prosperity of the province. "As long as you see through the eyes of two or three persons, who perhaps have their own profit only in view, and are prompted by ambition, without regard to the interests of the commonalty or that of the company, so long you can not obtain a true account of the real condition of this province, nor of your own private concerns." "We appreciate the high value of a lawful liberty which we claim, and for which, if granted, and if it please God, in his mercy, to reconcile the differences between the two commonwealths, we shall not only feel gratified, but thankful." "For, if your honors should lose this country, though we sincerely wish to be long favored with your protection, it will be through the means of those who are intrusted with the chief command."

1653.
Letter from Gravesend.

A letter of a similar tone, signed by Kregier, Baxter, and others, was also addressed to the burgomasters and schepens of the city of Amsterdam. All these papers were intrusted to François le Bleeuw, an advocate, who was dispatched as agent to Holland at the expense of the city, with instructions to use every legitimate means to procure the reforms which the people demanded.*

30 Dec.

Agent sent to Holland.

Though the building of Fort Casimir had seriously embarrassed the Provincial Exchequer, it embarrassed the Swedes on the South River still more. Printz, finding his situation becoming every day more unpleasant, applied to his government for permission to return home. The Swedish colonists themselves seemed inclined to submit to the Dutch jurisdiction, and even made overtures to Stuyvesant, who, however, declined to act until he had learned the views of the Amsterdam Chamber. His superiors, willing to protect all who were obedient to their laws, wrote to the director, "The population of the country, that bulwark of every state, ought to be promoted by all means, so that the settling of freemen may not be shackled."

South River.

6 October.

4 Nov.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 136; viii., 53–58; Hol. Doc., ix., 256–260; xv., 165; O'Call., ii., 238–256, 269.

Without waiting for his leave to return, Printz executed his design; and leaving his son-in-law, John Pappegoya, in temporary charge of affairs, he embarked for Holland, bearing a private letter from Stuyvesant to the West India Company "in favor of the late Swedish governor."* Lawrence Charles Lokenius, a Lutheran clergyman who had succeeded Campanius, remained with the people at Tinnicum and Christina.

CH. XVI. 1653.

Departure of Printz. 7 Nov.

Lokenius.

The government of Sweden had meanwhile placed the management of their interests on the South River in the hands of the "General College of Commerce." Preparations were made to dispatch a ship with two hundred persons to assist the colony, where there were now only sixteen men to garrison the three Swedish forts; and John Rising, formerly secretary of the College of Commerce, was commissioned as deputy governor under Printz. He was to endeavor to extend the Swedish jurisdiction on both sides of the river, "but without a breach of friendship with the English and Dutch, or exposing to risk what we already possess." With respect to Fort Casimir, which the Dutch had just built, if he could not induce them, by remonstrances, to abandon it, he was to avoid resorting to hostilities, and rather to "suffer the Dutch to occupy the said fortress, than that it should fall into the hands of the English, who are the more powerful, and, of course, the most dangerous in that country." Another Swedish fort should be constructed lower down the river; but the mildest measures should be pursued, as, "by a rupture with the Dutch, the English may seize the opportunity to take possession of the aforesaid fortress, and become, in consequence, very dangerous neighbors to our possessions." With these instructions, Rising, accompanied by another clergyman, Peter Lindstrom an engineer, and a large military force, set sail for New Sweden.†

11 October.

12 Dec. Rising appointed deputy governor.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 121, 138; Hol. Doc., viii., 32, 84; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 139, 140, 147, 148; Plymouth Rec., ii., 87; *ante*, p. 484.

† Thurloe's State Papers, i., 524; Reg. Penn., iv., 374, 399; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 141–146; Acrelius, 414.

CHAPTER XVII.

1654–1655.

CH. XVII. 1654. NEW AMSTERDAM had now enjoyed for a year its limited municipal government. But its burghers pined for the larger franchises of the cities of their Fatherland; and the burgomasters and schepens, whose term of service was about to expire, petitioned Stuyvesant for liberty to present a double set of names, from among which the magistrates for the next year should be chosen. They also asked that the magistracy should receive salaries. The director, however, "for pregnant reasons," declined a compliance "respecting the nomination," but, "for the sake of peace and harmony," continued the old magistrates in office, and appointed Jochem Pietersen Kuyter and Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt to fill two vacancies in the board of Schepens. The application for salaries was, however, granted. Each burgomaster was allowed three hundred and fifty guilders a year, and each schepen two hundred and fifty, as they were, "for the most part, such persons as must maintain their houses and families by trade, farming, or mechanical labor."*

27 January. New Amsterdam affairs.

28 January.

Salaries allowed.

Critical situation of the province.

The situation of the province at the beginning of this year was extremely critical. Taking advantage of the continued hostilities between Holland and England, pirates and robbers infested the shores of the East River, and committed unrepressed excesses on Long Island and around New Amsterdam. The English residents began to mutter threats of mutiny, and many of them were suspected of communicating with the freebooters, who were

* New Amst. Rec., i., 359, 373–375; Alb. Rec., vii., 279, 288; ix., 70, 71. On the 12th of January, the burgomasters and schepens allowed their secretary, Jacob Kip, a salary of two hundred guilders, as receiver of the city revenue.

chiefly their own countrymen. Gravesend was notoriously disaffected. Sir Henry Moody himself did not scruple to join in a certificate declaring that Captain John Manning, who had been playing the spy while he was carrying on an unlawful trade between New Haven and Manhattan, "had tendered himself and vessel to serve the commonwealth of England."*

Disaffection at Gravesend.

But New Amsterdam nobly maintained her loyalty. The city government recommended that a vessel be stationed at "Minnewit's Island," and likewise proposed to Stuyvesant to raise a militia force of some forty men among the several villages and settlements, according to a ratable proportion.† John Scott, of Long Island, and others, were arrested and examined as suspected persons, at the instance of the fiscal. Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout were specially invited by the metropolis "to lend their aid at this critical conjuncture, to further whatever may advance the public defense." The Dutch villages heartily agreed "to assist with all their might." Every third man was detailed to act as a minute-man, whenever required; and their whole population was pledged to be ready to defend their firesides in case of invasion.

10 Feb.

Militia force apportioned.

16 March.

23 March.

28 March.

7 April.

The provincial government immediately commissioned several yachts to act against the pirates. A proclamation was issued prohibiting all persons, under the penalty of banishment and the confiscation of goods, from harboring the outlaws, for each of whom a reward of one hundred thalers was offered; and all strangers without passports were directed to be detained until they gave satisfactory accounts of themselves. To prevent any misunderstanding with the neighboring governments, Burgomaster Kregier and Fiscal Van Tienhoven were sent to New Haven, to explain that the only object of the Dutch proceedings

8 April.

Measures against pirates.

14 April.

* New Haven Rec., 46–49; O'Call., ii., 264; Trumbull, i., 213. Manning was arrested and tried at New Haven in April, 1654, and his vessel condemned and sold, "by inch of candle," as a lawful prize. See also *post*, p. 743.

† This proportion was, Manhattan, eight; Heemstede, four; Vlissengen, three; Gravesend, three; Middelburgh and Mespath Kill, three; Breuckelen, the Ferry, and the Walloon quarter, four; Midwout, two; Amersfoort, two; Staten Island, two; Paulus' Hook, one; Beverwyck, four; colonie of Rensselaerswyck, four.—New Amst. Rec., i., 378.

CH. XVII. 1654.

was the protection of their commerce and the punishment of robbery.*

The prompt loyalty of Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout now received its reward; and Stuyvesant executed the purpose he had announced the autumn before, of giving them such municipal privileges as would counterbalance the political influence of the English villages. Breuckelen had already two schepens; two more were now added, and David Provoost, the former commissary of Fort Hope, was made her first separate schout. Midwout was granted the right to nominate three schepens. Amersfoort obtained two. The powers of these local magistrates were somewhat similar to those of the municipality of New Amsterdam. A superior "district court" was also organized, composed of delegates from each town court, together with the schout. This district court had general authority to regulate roads, build churches, establish schools, and make local laws for the government of the district, subject to the approval of the provincial government. This arrangement continued until 1661.†

April. Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout obtain municipal governments.

Up to this time, the Dutch on Long Island had been without a church or a minister; and to attend public worship they had been obliged to cross the East River to New Amsterdam. The metropolitan clergymen occasionally preached at private houses in the Dutch villages; but the want of a settled minister at length became so serious an embarrassment, that Domine Megapolensis and a committee of the provincial council were sent over to Midwout to assist the people in organizing a church. On their part, the West India Company did what they could to remedy the evil. Six hundred guilders were appropriated for a salary; and the Classis of Amsterdam was requested to select a qualified preacher "to watch over the public re-

9 Feb. Church at Midwout or Flatbush.

23 Feb.

* New Amst. Rec., i., 376–427; Alb. Rec., vii., 264–266; ix., 80, 81, 107–120; O'Call., ii., 258; Thompson's L. I., i., 113.

† Alb. Rec., ix., 16, 35, 47, 118, 226; x., 16, 36, 47, 79, 115, 240, 302, 345; xi., 187; xix., 91, 444; O'Call., ii., 271, 272, 429; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 633–655; Flatbush Rec.; *ante*, p. 422, 569. New Utrecht and Boswyck, or Bushwick, were joined to Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout in 1661, when the district was called the "Five Dutch Towns." Provoost remained schout of Breuckelen until 1656, when he was succeeded by Peter Tonneman, who held the office until 1660. Adriaen Hegeman was then appointed.

1654.

ligion there." But before a proper clergyman was found willing to emigrate from Holland, Domine Johannes Theodorus Polhemus, who had been for some time stationed at Itamarca, in Brazil, arrived in New Netherland, and accepted the call of the people of Midwout. The magistrates of Midwout and Amersfoort petitioned the council for assistance in their enterprise; and permission was accordingly given them to employ Domine Polhemus, "until an answer be received from Holland," and to raise funds for his support by a general collection. A small wooden church in the form of a cross, about sixty feet long and twenty-eight wide, was ordered to be constructed at Midwout; and Megapolensis, with two of the magistrates of the village, were appointed "to promote the work to the best advantage of the public." Upward of three thousand guilders were contributed by the Dutch inhabitants of New Amsterdam, Fort Orange, and Long Island; and Stuyvesant added four hundred more out of the provincial treasury. The West India directors approved of the arrangement; but intimated that the people of Midwout must pay the salary of their clergyman without recourse to the company. In this first Reformed Dutch church on Long Island, Domine Polhemus preached every Sunday morning, and in the afternoon at Breuckelen and Amersfoort alternately. Thus affairs remained until 1660, when Domine Henry Selyns arrived from Holland, and became the pastor of the people at Breuckelen.*

Domine Polhemus called.

13 October.

17 Dec. Church at Flatbush.

The Lutherans had now become so numerous at New Amsterdam, that they proposed to call a clergyman of their own denomination. To this end they asked formal permission of Stuyvesant to worship publicly in a church by themselves. The director, however, who was a zealous Calvinist, declined, for the reason that he was bound by his oath to tolerate openly no other religion than the Reformed. The Lutherans then addressed themselves directly to the West India Company and to the states of

Lutherans at New Amsterdam.

* Cor. Classis Amst.; Letters of 26th February, and 11th November, 1654; Megapolensis to Classis, 18th March, 1655; New Amst. Rec.; Alb. Rec., iv., 179; ix., 102, 238, 302; x., 332; xiv., 80, 81; O'Call., ii., 272; Thompson's L. I., ii., 202–204.

CH. XVII. Holland. But the Dutch clergymen at Manhattan, and the Classis of Amsterdam represented that such a compliance would produce bad consequences; for the Anabaptists and English Independents, of whom there were many in the province, would then demand the same liberty. The directors, therefore, resolved that they would encourage no other doctrine in New Netherland than "the true Reformed;" and Stuyvesant was instructed to use "all moderate exertions" to allure the Lutherans to the Dutch churches, "and to matriculate them in the public Reformed religion." In communicating this resolution to Megapolensis and Drisius, the Classis expressed their hope that the Reformed religion would now "be preserved and maintained, without hindrance from the Lutheran and other errors." This departure from the policy of the Batavian Republic was a triumph of bigotry over statesmanship; and one of the crowning glories of the Fatherland was, for a season, denied to New Netherland.*

1654. Illiberal treatment of the Lutherans.

12 March.

26 Feb.

1653. The representations which Connecticut and New Haven had addressed to Cromwell strongly influenced the ambitious soldier, who had just assumed the office of Protector. Though negotiations for peace were in progress, England was still at open war with the United Provinces; and a favorable opportunity of engaging the support of the friends of New England, by seizing New Netherland, was now offered to Oliver. He, therefore, advised the governors of the New England colonies that the number and strength of the ships destined for those parts had been increased, and called upon them to give their "utmost assistance for gaining the Manhattoes, or other places under the power of the Dutch." At the same time, Major Robert Sedgwick and Captain John Leverett were instructed to proceed, with four ships of war, to some good port in New England, and ascertain whether the colonial governments would join in "vindicating the English right and extirpating the Dutch." "Being come to the Manhat-

$\frac{16}{26}$ Dec. Cromwell Protector.

1654. February.

$\frac{17}{27}$ Feb. Expedition against New Netherland.

* Cor. Cl. Amsterdam; Letter of Megapolensis and Drisius, 6th October, 1653; Letter of Classis, 26th February, 1654; Alb. Rec., iv., 130; *ante*, p. 312, 432.

toes," wrote Secretary Thurloe, "you shall, by way of surprise, open force, or otherwise, * * * endeavor to take in that place for the use of his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and you have power to promise and give them fair quarter, in case it be rendered upon summons, without hostile opposition. The like, also, you shall do to the Fort of Auranea, or any other place upon Hudson's River." "If the Lord give his blessing to your undertaking, that the forts and places be gained, you shall not use cruelty to the inhabitants, but encourage those that are willing to remain under the English government, and give liberty to others to transport themselves for Europe." With these instructions, Sedgwick and Leverett promptly set sail for New England. But the squadron running southwardly to Fayal, the Protector's commissioners did not reach Boston until the beginning of the next summer.* Ch. XVII. 1654. Instructions. $\frac{5}{15}$ June.

In the mean time, the cupidity of Connecticut had been partially gratified by the formal sequestration of the Dutch fort at Hartford. Disregarding Underhill's volunteer seizure, and referring to an order from the parliamentary Council of State to act against the Dutch "as against those that have declared themselves enemies to the commonwealth of England," the General Court directed that "the Dutch house, the Hope, with the lands, buildings, and fences thereunto belonging, be hereby sequestered and reserved, all particular claims or pretended right thereunto notwithstanding;" and with hasty thrift it claimed the disposal of all "rent for any part of the premises."† Sequestration of Fort Good Hope by Connecticut. $\frac{6}{16}$ April.

One of the vessels which had been dispatched from England arriving at Boston early in May, brought intelligence of the projected expedition against New Netherland. Informed of his danger by Isaac Allerton, Stuyvesant instantly summoned a meeting of the council at Fort Amsterdam, to consider the state of the province. The director was full of apprehension. He did not expect that "the May. News of the English expedition. 29 May. 30 May.

* Thurloe, i., 721, 722; ii., 418, 419, 425. The English usually spelled "Fort Orange" as the Dutch pronounced it—"Fort Auranea."

† Col. Rec. Conn., 254; Trumbull, i., 217; O'Call., ii., 260; *ante*, p. 558.

CH. XVII. 1654. people residing in the country—not even the Dutch"—would assist him in case of an unexpected attack. "The English, although they have sworn allegiance, would take up arms against us and join the enemy." "To invite them to aid us would be bringing the Trojan horse within our walls." Shall we abandon Fort Casimir, and recall all Dutch subjects from the South River? Shall we allow the King Solomon to sail? If we do, the people will clamor, "for we have no gunners, no musketeers, no sailors, and scarcely sixteen hundred pounds of powder."

As a last resource, Stuyvesant proposed that a loan should be raised, to repair and garrison Fort Amsterdam. The burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, and the magistrates of Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout, 2 June. therefore, met with the director and council at the fort. The joint meeting resolved to enlist a force of sixty or seventy men, "in silence, and without beat of drum," and to borrow money to pay them, and provide supplies for the 13 June. New Amsterdam put in a state of defense. city, in case of a siege. It was also resolved "not to abandon Fort Casimir for the present, neither to call its garrison from there to re-enforce that of this city; and as to the ship King Solomon, she is to remain, to gratify the inhabitants." The patriotism of the people was aroused. The fund which the representatives of the commonalty had sanctioned was quickly raised. The Dutch inhabitants, spade in hand, worked heartily at the fortifications; and, though treason yet lurked within her walls, New Amsterdam was soon put in a state of defense.

In truth, Stuyvesant's government, which had weaned from him the affections of the Dutch, had entirely alienated the English. Many of the adopted citizens of New Amsterdam were now observed "stirring to mutiny the otherwise well disposed," sending off their effects, communicating with privateers, and in active correspondence with 7 July. New England. All persons, "of whatever rank," found removing their property were, therefore, declared subject to banishment and the confiscation of goods, and the authors and propagators of false reports to severe punishment.

On Long Island, it was rumored that the Dutch had hired Frenchmen and savages to massacre the inhabitants of the English villages; and the magistrates of Gravesend, Heemstede, and Middelburgh were summoned to give an account. Loyalty to Holland was renounced as soon as news of the proposed expedition from New England arrived. Middelburgh proposed to "open the ball." Gravesend wrote to Boston, offering to seize the ship King Solomon, lying at New Amsterdam, and carry her off to Virginia. The right of the director and council to pass upon nominations was disowned; and twelve men were appointed to manage the affairs of the town, and to choose magistrates and local officers.*

Middelburgh and Gravesend.

The Protector's letters roused New England to action. New Haven sent delegates to Boston, and eagerly pledged herself to the most zealous efforts. Connecticut promised two hundred men, and even five hundred, "rather than the design should fall." The "council of war" at Plymouth ordered fifty men to be pressed into the service; and, averring that they only concurred in hostile measures against their ancient Dutch neighbors at Manhattan "in reference unto the national quarrel," intrusted the command of these forces to Captain Miles Standish and Captain Thomas Willett, the latter of whom Stuyvesant had so unwisely made one of his negotiators at Hartford, in 1650. Massachusetts, however, showed less zeal. The General Court, declaring their readiness to attend the Protector's pleasure, as far as they could "with safety to the liberty of their consciences and the public peace and welfare," simply consented that Sedgwick and Leverett might raise five hundred volunteers against the Dutch within their jurisdiction.†

$\frac{9}{19}$ June.

$\frac{13}{23}$ June.

$\frac{20}{30}$ June.

Warlike preparations in New England.

$\frac{9}{19}$ June.

In the mean time, the negotiations for peace between Holland and England had been vigorously prosecuted. Upon assuming the Protectorate, Oliver, receding from the

* New Amst. Rec., i., 465–494; Alb. Rec., ix., 132–171; x., 71; xi., 12; O'Call., ii., 261–265; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 151.

† Hazard, i., 587–589, 595, 596; Col. Rec. Conn., 259, 260; Hutchinson, i., 168; Trumbull, i., 219.

CH. XVII. 1654.

parliamentary proposition for a coalition between the commonwealth and the republic, which the States General had unanimously rejected, proposed more acceptable terms to the Dutch ambassadors. New obstacles arose; but at length the treaty, by which England quietly abandoned most of her pretensions, was definitely signed. The Protector, however, insisted upon the exclusion of the Prince of Orange from the office of stadtholder as the condition of his ratification of the treaty. The States General would have rejected this condition; but the adroitness of the grand pensionary, John de Witt, prevailed with the states of Holland. An act of the desired tenor was passed in that body, and sent to the ambassadors in England. Upon its delivery, Oliver ratified the treaty, and issued a proclamation restraining all English subjects from committing any further acts of hostility against the Dutch. And orders were promptly dispatched to Sedgwick and Leverett countermanding their previous instructions to surprise the Dutch possessions, and requiring them "to desist from that design."*

$\frac{5}{15}$ April. Treaty of peace between England and Holland.

28 April. 8 May.

$\frac{1}{10}$ May. Orders countermanded.

These important documents reached Boston a few days after the arrival of the Protector's commissioners. The delegates of Connecticut and New Haven, assembled at Charlestown, apprehending that "a satisfying account could not be given of any further acting in this design against the Dutch," reluctantly agreed to dismiss their session. The forces intended to act against New Netherland were sent to dislodge the French from the coast of Maine; and for ten years longer the coveted province, the possession of which the English government had now virtually resigned to the Dutch, continued under the sway of Holland.†

$\frac{20}{30}$ June. Effect in New England.

The joyful intelligence of peace between the Fatherland and England reaching New Amsterdam a few days after-

* Basnage, i., 319, 333–339; Aitzema, iii., 858, 859, 930; Verbael van Beverninck, 357–422; Thurloe, ii., 219, 238, 253, 259; Lingard, xi., 187–191; Davies, ii., 727–730. The State Papers collected by Secretary Thurloe show that the English government had constantly the best intelligence of what was going on in Holland. Even the dispatches to and from the Dutch ambassadors appear to have been opened and copied.

† Thurloe, ii., 420; Hutchinson, i., 169; Hazard, i., 589, 590; Bancroft, i., 445.

ward, was published from the City Hall "with ringing of bell." The twelfth of August was appointed as a day of general thanksgiving; and Stuyvesant piously called on all the inhabitants to praise the Lord, who had secured their gates, and blessed their possessions with peace, "even here, where the threatened torch of war was lighted, where the waves reached our lips, and subsided only through the power of the Almighty."*

18 July. Thanksgiving in New Netherland.

With the news of peace came also the determination of the West India Company upon the various demands of reform which the agent, Le Bleeuw, had carried to Holland. His errand not being "suited to the taste" of the directors, he was forbidden to return to New Netherland. "We are unable," wrote they to Stuyvesant, "to discover in the whole remonstrance one single point to justify complaint." "You ought to have acted with more vigor against the ringleaders of the gang, and not have condescended to answer protests with protests, and then to have passed all by without further notice." "It is, therefore, our express command that you punish what has occurred as it deserves, so that others may be deterred in future from following such examples." As to "the seditious" of Gravesend, they were to be punished "in an exemplary manner."

18 May. Letter of the company to Stuyvesant.

To the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam the directors wrote recommending and charging "that you conduct yourselves quietly and peaceably, submit yourselves to the government placed over you, and in no wise allow yourselves to hold particular convention with the English or others in matters of form and deliberation on affairs of state, which do not appertain to you, and what is yet worse, attempt an alteration in the state and its government."

18 May. Letter to the city authorities of New Amsterdam.

The directors at the same time consented that the office of city schout should be separated from that of the provincial fiscal, but they would not give the burgomasters and schepens the power of appointment. A commission was accordingly inclosed for Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, who

Kuyter appointed city schout.

* Alb. Rec., viii., 121; ix., 180; New Amst. Rec., i., 495.

CH. XVII. 1654.

had formerly suffered so much from Stuyvesant's vindictiveness, and to whom it was perhaps now felt that some amends should be made. The city authorities were also required to pay the public salaries out of the wine and beer excise; and, if permitted by the provincial government, they might impose other taxes "with the consent of the commonalty." They were empowered to mortgage and convey real estate within the limits of the city, and were granted the use of the City Hall. "We have decreed that a seal for the city of New Amsterdam shall be prepared and forwarded," added the directors; but as for arms and ammunition, they must be obtained from the provincial government. The city authorities, gratefully acknowledging the "benefits" which the Amsterdam Chamber had bestowed, at the same time earnestly justified their own conduct, and repudiated the charge of disaffection. "We have never thought of any thing," wrote they, "but of discharging our duties to the utmost;" and of exhibiting, "to the best of our ability, the situation and necessity of this country."

City Hall and seal.

27 July.

Reply of the city authorities.

Kuyter, however, did not live to receive the tardy atonement by which the company proposed to wipe out the memory of Stuyvesant's early tyranny. Not long after his appointment as a schepen of New Amsterdam, he had been murdered by the Indians. The office of city schout was therefore offered by Stuyvesant to Jacques Cortelyou, a tutor in Van Werckhoven's family. But Cortelyou, owing to scruples respecting his instructions, declined the appointment. The burgomasters and schepens, finding that no other steps were taken, urged that the schout might be appointed "in conformity with the orders" of the Chamber at Amsterdam. Yet, notwithstanding all the efforts of the municipal authorities, Stuyvesant obstinately persisted in continuing the two offices of city schout and provincial fiscal in the hands of Van Tienhoven.*

Kuyter murdered.

21 July.

Van Tienhoven continued as schout.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 135–143; viii., 96–99; ix., 174; New Amsterdam Rec., i., 497–506; O'Call., ii., 265–268, 429; Doct. Hist. N. Y., iii., 397; Valentine's Manual, 1847, 373; 1848, 378. Not long afterward Cortelyou began the settlement of New Utrecht, on Long Island; *post*, p. 693.

1654.

Up to this time there had been such "daily confusion" among the ferrymen on Manhattan Island, that the inhabitants often waited "whole days before they could obtain a passage, and then not without danger, and at an exorbitant price." The director and council, therefore, ordained that "no person shall ferry from one side of the river to the other without a license from the magistrates;" that "the ferryman shall always keep proper servants and boats, and a lodge on both sides of the river, to protect passengers from the weather;" that he should not "be compelled to ferry any thing over before he is paid," nor "be obliged to ferry during a tempest or when he can not sail;" and it was expressly provided that "the director and members of the council, the court messenger, and other persons invested with authority, or dispatched by the executive, are to be exempt from toll."*

1 July. Ferry at Manhattan regulated.

In a few days a new difficulty arose. Stuyvesant, complaining that the burgomasters and schepens had been "prodigal of fine promises, without any succeeding action, during the last year," required them to make provision for the maintenance both of the political and ecclesiastical ministers, and of the troops which the company had sent over in the last ships, as well as those which were soon expected; and to give an account of the income and disbursement of the excise which the city had received. The account was promptly rendered, and the city magistrates informed the director that, having estimated the last and present year's expenditure for "outside and inside works" at sixteen thousand guilders, they would make up their quota along with "the other courts of justice;" and they agreed to contribute three thousand guilders as their proportion, provided they should be authorized to lay a tax on all real estate under their jurisdiction. But Stuyvesant was dissatisfied. The municipal authorities had not paid the salaries of the clergymen, and besides, they had

2 August. Fresh difficulties with the municipal government of New Amsterdam.

10 August.

* Alb. Rec., vii., 267; ix., 163; Val. Man. for 1848, 385, 386. The rates of toll were as follows: for a wagon and horses, 2 guilders 10 stuyvers, or one dollar; a one-horse wagon, 2 guilders, or 80 cents; a horse or horned beast, one guilder 10 stuyvers, or 50 cents; "a savage male or female," 6 stuyvers; "each other person," 3 stuyvers.

CH. XVII. credited their account with the expenses of the agent, Le Bleeuw, whom they had sent to Holland. The provincial government, therefore, determined to resume the control of the surrendered excise, and farm it out for the benefit of the company. A special war tax of twenty stuyvers on every morgen of arable land, the hundredth penny on each house and lot in New Amsterdam and Beverwyck, one guilder on every horned beast, and ten per cent. on all merchandise exported during the season, was soon afterward decreed by the provincial government, to meet the loan which had been contracted in the spring. Under these circumstances, the burgomasters and schepens again addressed the director and council. They formally offered to support, at the expense of the city, one of the ministers, a "foresinger," to act also as schoolmaster, and a dog-whipper or sexton, of the ecclesiastical officers; and of the civil department, the schout, both the burgomasters, the five schepens, the secretary, and the court messenger. With respect to the support of the soldiers, the burghers were not able to contribute, and should be excused; they had already "continually engaged in the general works, submitting to watchings and other heavy burdens," and had already proved their bravery and willingness in times of calamity. But the provincial government was still dissatisfied. The city authorities had expended the moneys borrowed in defenses for the city, and not in repairs to Fort Amsterdam; they had not fixed their quota of three thousand guilders high enough; and they had failed in their undertakings respecting subsidies and salaries. The director and council, therefore, insisted upon resuming the excise. It was farmed out to the highest bidder; the salaries of the clergymen were paid up; and the city government again appealed to the Amsterdam Chamber.*

1654.
13 August. The provincial government, therefore, determined to resume the control of the surrendered excise, and farm it out for the benefit of
24 August. War tax laid. the company. A special war tax of twenty stuyvers on
31 August. addressed the director and council. They formally offered
16 Sept. The excise resumed by Stuyvesant. director and council, therefore, insisted upon resuming the excise. It was farmed out to the highest bidder; the
22 Sept. salaries of the clergymen were paid up; and the city government again appealed to the Amsterdam Chamber.*

16 April. Affairs at Fort Orange. Stuyvesant had, meanwhile, revisited Fort Orange, and, to put an end to the unsettled question of jurisdiction, had formally demanded of the patroon's officers to fix the point

* Alb. Rec., ix., 182, 189, 204–224; New Amsterdam Rec., i., 507, 517; ii., 16–18; O'Call., ii., 269, 270; Valentine's Manual, 1847, 375; 1848, 378.

of departure for the boundaries of the colonie according to the charter of Freedoms. These boundaries, however, were not to include "the limits of Fort Orange." But the colonial officers, being uninstructed by their superiors in Holland, asked delay. The next month fresh difficulties occurred. Commissary Dyckman was ordered to levy an excise upon all liquors retailed "within a circuit of one thousand rods from the fort;" and the right to collect tithes within that district was also asserted on behalf of the West India Company. But the colonial officers issued orders to refuse the payment of the excise, alleging that the provincial government did not contribute any thing toward their local expenses. And as to the claim of tithes, neither the colonists nor the inhabitants of Beverwyck "could be induced, either by monitions or persuasions, to pay them."*

13 May.

Taxes at Beverwyck.

The peace with the French, which the Mohawks had confirmed in the autumn of 1653 by the restoration of Father Poncet, was more the result of policy than of a desire to be at rest. They were anxious to attract the Hurons from the north to supply the places of the warriors whom they had lost. In this sentiment some of the other Iroquois tribes participated, especially the Onondagas, who began to feel unfriendly toward the Mohawks for treating them ill when they passed through that country to the Dutch at Fort Orange. The Onondagas, therefore, sought the friendship of the French, and sent an embassy to the governor of Canada, asking that a Jesuit mission might be established in their country.† Father Simon le Moyne, who had already had eighteen years experience as a missionary among the Hurons, accordingly set out from Quebec for Onondaga, in the hope "of winning the whole West and North to Christendom." Ascending the Saint Lawrence, and coasting along Ontario, or "the Lake of the Iroquois," he landed on the southern shore, and visited the

The Iroquois and the French.

5 Feb. The Onondagas.

2 July.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 213; ix., 121–129; O'Call., ii., 304; New Amst. Rec., i., 419.

† "The word Onnonta, which in the Iroquois tongue signifies a mountain, has given the name to the village called Onnontaé, or, as others call it, Onnontagué, because it is on a mountain, and the people who inhabit it consequently style themselves Onnontaéronnons, or Onnontaguéronnons."—Relation, 1657–8, 30; i., Doc. Hist. N. Y., 44; *ante*, p. 83, 564.

CH. XVII. principal village of the Onondagas, where he was treated "as a brother." Deputies from three of the neighboring

1654. tribes soon met in council. A chief, speaking for "five

10 August. Father Le Moyne at Onondaga. entire nations," invited the French to establish a settlement on the banks of the lake, and to fix themselves "in

12 August. the heart of the country." With pious joy, the Jesuit Father now recovered the New Testament once belonging to Brebœuf, and a book of devotion used by Garnier. Just before his return to Canada, Le Moyne immortalized his name by discovering what was afterward to form one of

16 August. Discovery of the Salt Springs. the largest sources of the wealth of New York. Coming to the entrance of a small lake, full of salmon-trout and other fish, he tasted the water of a spring which his Indian guides did not dare to drink, "saying that there was a demon within which renders it offensive." The Jesuit, however, found it to be "a fountain of salt water," from which he actually made salt "as natural as that of the sea." Taking with him "a sample," Le Moyne descended the Oneida, and, retracing his way along Lake Ontario

11 Sept. and the Saint Lawrence, arrived safely at Quebec with the news of his great discovery.*

The Mohawks, in the mean time, had sent a deputation

4 July. Jealousy of the Mohawks. to Canada. Finding that they had been anticipated by the Onondagas, they openly expressed their vexation. "We of the five nations," said their orator, "have but one cabin, we make but one fire, and we have always dwelt under the same roof." "You do not enter by the door, which is on the first floor. We Mohawks are that door. You enter by the roof and chimney, for you begin with the Onondagas." The irritation of the Mohawks was promptly appeased; and the embassy returned with the assurance that Father Le Moyne would visit their valley.†

May. A crisis had now occurred on the South River. On reaching New Sweden, Rising, in violation of his instruc-

* Relation, 1653–4, p. 13, 14, 51–97; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 33–44. In Clark's Onondaga, i, 130–138, Le Moyne's visit is erroneously dated in 1653; and the reference, in vol. ii., p. 8, to the Relation of 1645–6, should be to that of 1655–6, as quoted in vol. i., p. 150.

† Relation, 1653–4, p. 54; Creuxius, 705–716; Charlevoix, i., 271, 316–320; Bancroft, iii., 142; O'Call., ii., 303; Hildreth, ii., 88; *ante*, p. 82.

tions, determined at all hazards to possess himself of Fort Casimir. Gerrit Bikker, the commandant of the Dutch fort, perceiving a strange sail in the offing, sent Adriaen van Tienhoven with a small party "to investigate." The next day the messengers returned with news "that it was a Swedish ship full of people, with a new governor, and that they wanted to have possession of this place and the fort, as they said it was lying on the Swedish government's land." The Dutch residents called on Bikker to defend the fort; but the commander only replied, "What can I do?—there is no powder." An hour afterward, a boat from the Swedish ship landed twenty or thirty soldiers, headed by Swen Schute. Bikker received them civilly on the beach, and "bade them welcome as friends." But the Swedes, finding the gate open, hurried into the fort, and made themselves masters of the place. Van Tienhoven and another commissioner were, however, allowed to go on board the Swedish ship to obtain an explanation. Rising informed them that he was obeying the orders of his government, whose representative at the Hague had been told that neither the States General nor the West India Company had authorized the erection of this Dutch fort on the territory of the Swedish crown. Two shotted guns were then fired over the fort as a signal, and the ten or twelve Dutch soldiers in garrison were immediately disarmed. Seven or eight of these, with Van Tienhoven, were sent to Manhattan; the others, with Bikker, remained, and took an oath of allegiance to Sweden. The capture of Fort Casimir happening on Trinity Sunday, the name of the post was changed to "Trefalldigheet," or Trinity. It was soon rebuilt under the superintendence of Lindstrom the engineer, who also constructed a large map, including both sides of the river as far as Sankikan, or the Falls at Trenton. Swen Schute was installed as commander of Fort Trinity; and Rising, after announcing to Stuyvesant his arrival and the capture of the Dutch fort, relieved Pappegoya of his temporary authority, and assumed the government of New Sweden. A meet-

Rising at the South River. 31 May. 1 June.

Capture of Fort Casimir.

Named Fort Trinity by the Swedes.

27 May. 6 June.

CH. XVII. ing was soon held with the Indian sachems at Tinnicum, and a treaty of friendship was arranged with the natives.

1654. The next month, Rising informed his government that, from seventy persons whom he found in New Sweden, the population there had now risen to three hundred and sixty-eight, "including the Hollanders and others." "I hope," he added, "we may be able to preserve them in order and in duty, and to constrain them, if necessary. I will do in this respect all that depends upon me. We will also endeavor to shut up the river."*

June. The news of the surprise of Fort Casimir reached Stuyvesant in the midst of his preparations to defend New Netherland from the expected attack of the English. It was out of the question to attempt the recovery of that distant post, in the threatening aspect of public affairs at New Amsterdam; but the mortified director took care to communicate to his superiors in Holland all the details of Bikker's pusillanimous conduct in "this dishonorable surrender of the fort."†

27 July. Stuyvesant's report.

22 Sept. Swedish ship seized at Manhattan.

Not long afterward, an opportunity of retaliating was afforded to Stuyvesant. A Swedish ship, the Golden Shark, in charge of Hendrick van Elswyck, bound to the South River, entered Sandy Hook Bay by mistake, and anchored behind Staten Island. Discovering his error, the captain sent a boat up to Manhattan for a pilot. The director instantly ordered the boat's crew to the guard-

25 Sept. house; and sent soldiers down to seize the ship, and bring the factor a prisoner up to Fort Amsterdam.

1 October. Stuyvesant now invited the Swedish governor to visit New Amsterdam, "to arrange and settle some unexpected differences;" and promised him "a cordial reception, with comfortable lodgings, and a courteous treatment." But Rising, preferring his lodgings at Tinnicum, declined the Dutch director's proffered hospitality. The Shark was therefore detained, and her cargo removed to the compa-

* Hol. Doc., viii., 45, 46, 85–90, 106, 107; Alb. Rec., ix., 242; Acrelius, 414; Campanius, 76–78, 82; O'Call., ii., 274, 275; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 148–155, 158. Bozman, ii., 489, 490, misled by Chalmers' absurd account, 632, falls into a series of very curious blunders.

† Hol. Doc., viii., 88; Alb. Rec., ix., 271.

ny's magazine, "until a reciprocal restitution shall have been made." The Swedish factor sent a long protest to Stuyvesant, complaining of his conduct, and defending that of Rising; and the Dutch authorities, in reply, commented severely upon the proceedings of the Swedish governor, who had surprised Fort Casimir "at a moment when we and our nation were in great distress, and utterly incapable to resist at the same time two such powerful neighbors in their attacks from two opposite quarters."* CH. XVII. 1654. 27 October.

In the mean time, news had reached Fort Amsterdam that some Englishmen from the New Haven colony had begun a settlement near "Vredeland," in West Chester, where Anne Hutchinson had formerly lived. The leader of these persons was Thomas Pell, of Norfolk, an adherent to the royal cause, who, on emigrating to New Haven, had refused to swear allegiance to the colonial authorities, and had been twice fined for contempt. Fiscal van Tienhoven was, therefore, sent to forbid the English intruders from settling themselves on the lands "long before bought and paid for, near Vredeland." But Pell, disregarding Stuyvesant's mandate, soon afterward purchased from the sachem, "Ann Hook," and five others of his tribe, a large tract, including the present town of Pelham, in West Chester, and began to build.† Settlement of English at West Chester. 5 Nov. $\frac{14}{24}$ Nov.

A tract of land on Oyster Bay, which from the time of the Hartford treaty New England seems to have considered a debatable territory, having been purchased, in 1653, from the Sachem of Mattinnecock, by Wright, Mayo, Leveridge, and several other Englishmen from Sandwich, the purchasers applied to New Haven to be received under that jurisdiction. But Stuyvesant, viewing the settlement as an encroachment upon the Dutch boundary, complained to the New England authorities. No notice, however, was taken of the complaint, and the English intruders remained quietly in their new settlement. Oyster Bay.

* Alb. Rec., ix., 236, 241–246, 263–272; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 155–166; New Amst. Rec., ii.

† Alb. Rec., ix., 275; Bolton's West Chester, i., 515–522; ii., 156; O'Call., ii., 283; *ante*, p. 366.

CH. XVII.

1654.

23 Nov. Stuyvesant at Gravesend.

The seditious proceedings at Gravesend, which the West India Company had directed to be punished "in an exemplary manner," had meanwhile been chastised by the removal from the magistracy of the arch traitors Baxter and Hubbard. To allay any popular discontent, Stuyvesant now visited that settlement in person, and became the guest of Lady Moody. The people were called together, and told that they might, if they pleased, nominate new magistrates, or might remain until the time for the next election under the existing board, consisting of William Wilkins, commissary, John Maurice, sheriff, and John Tilton, town clerk. Or, a fourth member might be immediately added to the court, if it should be desired. But the people preferred that things should remain as they were for the present; and Stuyvesant, recommending to them "to unite with their fear of God the honor of their magistrates, and to pay obedience to both," returned to New Amsterdam, in the vain hope that sedition had been quelled, and covetousness repressed, and the Dutch territory effectually secured against the plotting of its English inhabitants.*

The internal condition of New Netherland was now such, in the director's judgment, as to warrant him in leaving the province and undertaking a voyage to the West Indies for the purpose of establishing a trade with those islands. In taking this step, however, he acted entirely upon his own responsibility, and "without the knowledge or approbation" of the Chamber at Amsterdam. A "gay repast" was given to him at the City Hall, where he delivered to the presiding burgomaster, Martin Kregier, the painted coat of arms, the seal, and the silver signet of New Amsterdam, which had just been received from the directors in Holland. The city government again endeavored to obtain from him the right to nominate proper persons from among whom the new magistrates for the next year should be chosen. Stuyvesant, however, declined;

8 Dec. Seal and coat of arms of New Amsterdam.

* Alb. Rec., ix., 75, 106, 166, 230, 256, 287; New Haven Rec., i., 63, 96; O'Call., ii., 267, 281, 282; Thompson's L. I., i., 485; ii., 173.

and the old board was continued, with Allard Anthony as a new burgomaster, and Johannes Nevius as schepen. Leaving the government of the province in the hands of De Sille and his colleagues, the director set sail for the West Indies on Christmas eve.*

1654. 24 Dec. Stuyvesant sails for the West Indies.

The burgomasters and schepens, finding that a better police was necessary, now appointed the notary, Dirck van Schelluyne, to be the high constable of New Amsterdam, and furnished him with detailed instructions for the execution of his duties. The City Hall, which had hitherto been encumbered by the storage of a quantity of salt, and by various "lodgers," was ordered to be repaired and "lined with boards;" and its former tenants were notified to depart, "so that the Stadt Huys be not wholly ruined by the salt, nor occupied by others."†

1655. 6 Feb. Van Schelluyne high constable of New Amsterdam.

1 March. City Hall repaired.

Serious embarrassments annoyed the provincial council from the moment the administration fell into its hands. Baxter, who, on being superseded in his magistracy at Gravesend, had gone to New England, returned to Long Island early the next year, and spread reports that the Protector had ordered the governors of the New England colonies to take the whole of that island from the Dutch, and by force if necessary. Fiscal Van Tienhoven was therefore sent, with Burgomaster Anthony, to the English villages to quell the threatened disturbances. The commissioners reached Gravesend just as Baxter, Hubbard, and Grover were hoisting the British flag, and reading a seditious paper declaring that "we, as free-born British subjects, claim and assume to ourselves the laws of our nation and Republic of England over this place, as to our persons and property, in love and harmony, according to the general peace between the two states in Europe and this country." The chief traitors, Baxter and Hubbard,

January. Disturbances at Gravesend.

9 March. Baxter, Hubbard, and Grover.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 136, 151, 180; viii., 98; ix., 297, 298, 306; x., 26, 70; New Amst. Rec., ii., 59, 60; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 397; Val. Man., 1851, 420. The city seal consisted of the arms of Old Amsterdam—three crosses *saltier*—with a beaver for a crest. On the mantle above were the initial letters G. W. C., for "Chartered West India Company," to which the island of Manhattan especially belonged. Underneath was the legend "SIGILLUM AMSTELLODAMENSIS IN NOVO BELGIO," and around the border was a wreath of laurel.

† New Amst. Rec., ii., 76, 77–81, 92; Val. Man., 1848, 384.

CH. XVII. were instantly arrested, and sent to the keep at Fort Amsterdam, where they remained imprisoned until the next year. The time for the election of new magistrates, which had been postponed the previous autumn, was near at hand. But the "loyal inhabitants," thinking that the public mind was too much excited, just then petitioned that it might be further deferred "until it shall please God Almighty to bless our governor the director general with a safe return."

1655.

Baxter and Hubbard imprisoned.

23 March.

Oyster Bay.

The English who had settled themselves at Oyster Bay, notwithstanding Stuyvesant's complaint, had continued during the winter in possession of their purchase. To assert the jurisdiction of the Dutch, a protest was, therefore, served upon Leveridge and his companions, threatening them with legal proceedings if they persisted in their unlawful occupation.

23 March.

In spite of the director's warning in the previous autumn, Pell's colonists at West Chester had also continued to occupy their settlement. The council, therefore, sent their marshal, Claes Van Elsland, with a protest. The English arms, carved on a board, were found hanging on a tree; and armed men appeared at the creek to prevent the landing of the Dutch messenger. "I am cold, let me go ashore," said Van Elsland, as he sprung on the beach, followed by "Albert the Trumpeter." The English commander came up with a pistol in his hand, and accompanied by eight or nine armed men, to whom Van Elsland read his protest. "I can not understand Dutch," replied the Englishman; "when the fiscal sends English, I will answer. We expect the determination on the boundaries by the next vessel. Time will tell whether we shall be under the Dutch government or the Parliament. Until then we remain here, under the state of England."*

19 April.

22 April. The English settlers at West Chester.

Fort Orange.

Early this year, Commissary Dyckman, whose violent conduct at Fort Orange had already given occasion of suspicion, became insane; and the local magistrates were

* Alb. Rec., x., 8–10, 29–32; Hol. Doc., ix., 165, 232, 261–267; O'Call., ii., 280–283, 342; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 157.

obliged to inform the provincial government of his condition. Johannes de Decker, a young man of high character, who had formerly been a public notary at Schiedam, had just arrived from Holland, with a letter from the directors recommending him for the first vacant "honorable office." The provincial authorities at New Amsterdam, therefore, appointed De Decker to succeed Dyckman as vice-director, "to preside in Fort Orange and the village of Beverwyck, in the Court of Justice of the commissaries aforesaid, to administer all the affairs of police and justice as circumstances may require, in conformity to the instructions given by the director general and council, and to promote these for the best service of the country and the prosperity of the inhabitants."*

April.

21 June. De Decker appointed commissary at Fort Orange.

Gravesend had now become so tranquil, that the provincial government felt safe in directing the schout and Lady Moody, "as the oldest and first patentee," together with the other inhabitants, to nominate their magistrates. The nomination was made, and sent to Fort Amsterdam for approval. But the Dutch settlers protested against a confirmation. They had not been duly notified of the election; traitors, and those who had fled the country "tortured by their consciences," had voted; no hired Dutchman had been permitted to vote in the absence of his master; persons had declared that if any Dutchmen were elected they would leave the country; and obedience to magistrates who had been exiled or imprisoned for their misconduct was required, which the Dutch inhabitants would not promise to yield, unless compatible with the welfare of the state. The council, however, considering the magistrates to have been nominated by "a majority of the inhabitants," from motives of public policy confirmed the election. The West India Company, upon receiving intelligence of Baxter's unexpected treachery, express-

18 June. Affairs at Gravesend.

8 July.

9 July.

Election confirmed.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 171, 207; x., 68; O'Call., ii., 305. De Decker revisited Holland in the winter of 1656, and in May, 1657, returned to New Netherland as receiver general and member of the council. He was one of the Dutch commissioners who signed the capitulation to the English in 1664; and many of his descendants are still living in New Jersey, where his name survives in that of the settlement of "Deckerville." See *post*, 625.

CH. XVII. ed their astonishment, and ordered Stuyvesant to keep him and his accomplices in confinement. And strict instructions were added "to avoid bestowing any office of trust upon foreigners who are not interested in the country, and who but seldom can deserve our confidence."*

1655. 26 May. Instructions of the West India Company.

The peace with England now induced the hope that the open question of the boundary between New Netherland and New England might be arranged; and the College of the XIX., being desired to send to the Hague a condensed statement of the Dutch title, immediately submitted to the States General a memorial, accompanied by a map of New Netherland. These documents, together with copies of the papers which the company had communicated the previous November, were transmitted to the ambassadors at London, with instructions to arrange the boundary question upon the basis which they proposed.†

1654. 17 Sept. The boundary question.

29 Sept.

9 October.

But the ambassadors found themselves surrounded with difficulties. The West India Company's papers were discovered to be defective; they did not even contain a copy of the provisional treaty at Hartford in 1650. In the former discussion, the English had declined to consider the boundary question; and it was now clear that nothing would be done by the government at Whitehall without the consent of New England. Under these circumstances, the ambassadors recommended a convention, referring the whole question to the arbitration of the Dutch and English colonial authorities in North America; and this suggestion was communicated to the West India Company. The directors, however, had not yet received a copy of the Hartford treaty; but they sent to the States General a compilation from various papers in their archives, showing the priority of the Dutch discovery and possession of New Netherland, explaining the "unjust and violent" usurpations of the English within their territories, and intimating that although they thought the question could be best

27 Nov.

9 Dec.

30 Dec.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 189; x., 67–76; xi., 6–21; O'Call., ii., 281; Thompson's L. I., ii., 173.

† Hol. Doc., vii., 104–107; Verbael van Beverninck, 602; Lambrechtsen, 106. I endeavored to procure the map sent to the ambassadors at London on this occasion, but without success.

settled in England, upon the basis of "uti possidetis ita possideatis," they were willing to refer it back to the respective colonial governments. These documents were all sent to the Dutch ambassador at London. By the next ships, the Amsterdam Chamber wrote to Stuyvesant to be upon his guard against the English on Long Island, and ordered a fort to be constructed "at the east, on the most eligible spot." The director was also censured for not having sent over to Holland any of the official documents respecting the Hartford treaty. The States General again calling to their ambassador's attention the boundary question, Nieuport had an interview with Thurloe. But the secretary replied, that the New England authorities "had sent him as yet no information at all;" and that, upon the sole allegations of one side, the Lord Protector, having no knowledge of the affair, could not be expected to come to a positive decision.*

CH. XVII.

1655.

2 January. 26 April. Instructions to Stuyvesant. 26 May. 31 May. 4 June. Negotiation with the English government.

Upon receiving intelligence of the "infamous surrender" of their Fort Casimir, the Amsterdam directors immediately ordered Stuyvesant to "exert every nerve to avenge that injury, not only by restoring affairs to their former situation, but by driving the Swedes from every side of the river." Two armed ships, the King Solomon and the Great Christopher, were put into commission; the drum was "beaten daily" in the streets of Amsterdam for volunteers; and orders were given for the instant arrest of Bikker, who had "acted in his office very unfaithfully, yea, treacherously." The next week the directors again wrote that they hardly knew whether they were "more astonished at the audacious enterprise of the Swedes in taking our fort on the South River, or at the cowardly surrender of it by our commander, which is nearly insufferable;" and Stuyvesant was directed to send over authenticated copies of all documents relating to that occurrence, and to the Dutch title to the territory.

1654.

16 Nov. Orders for the recovery of Fort Casimir. 23 Nov.

The proceedings of the municipal authorities of New

* Hol. Doc., vii., 108–174; Alb. Rec., iv., 177, 187; Thurloe, ii., 638; iii., 477; Beverninck, 612, 688, 693; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 172.

CH. XVII. Amsterdam respecting the excise were at the same time severely criticised. Stuyvesant was reproved for not having "made use of his authority," and was instructed to enforce the collection of taxes for the benefit of the company even against the will of the people, "so that these men shall no longer indulge themselves in the visionary dream that contributions can not be levied without their consent."

1654. 23 Nov. Taxation at New Amsterdam to be enforced.

1655. 26 April. The next spring, the directors commended Stuyvesant's "prudence" in arresting Elswyck's vessel and cargo, but expressed their "small contentment" that he had undertaken his voyage to the West Indies without their "knowledge or approbation." A large vessel of thirty-six guns, "the Vigilance," was also chartered from the burgomasters of Amsterdam, and added to the squadron already sent to New Netherland. Besides dispatching this force, the directors renewed their instructions to the provincial government to engage vessels at Manhattan, compelling, if necessary, the owners and schippers to submission, as "no excuse nor private interests can be admitted." At the same time, the orders of November were somewhat modified, and Stuyvesant was directed to allow the Swedes "to hold the land on which Fort Christina is built, with a garden to cultivate the tobacco, because it appears that they made this purchase with the previous consent of the company, provided said Swedes will conduct themselves as good subjects of our government."*

26 May. Expedition against the Swedes.

26 May. Letter to the burgomasters of New Amsterdam.

A special dispatch was also addressed to the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, enjoining submission, and announcing that as they had applied a part of the excises which had been granted them in paying an agent to Holland, and in other private affairs, "to the injury and discontent of the company," that revenue should now be restored to the provincial treasury.†

The purpose of Stuyvesant's voyage to the West Indies had, meanwhile, been entirely defeated through Cromwell's jealous policy. A few days before the director sailed

* Alb. Rec., iv., 157–159, 163, 168, 180, 186, 191, 193; O'Call., ii., 284; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 168–170, 178, 179. † New Amst. Rec., ii., 172–174; Alb. Rec., viii., 125.

from Manhattan, commissioners were appointed, "under the broad seal of England," for the management of British affairs in the West Indies. These commissioners, on their arrival, laid an embargo upon all the shipping they found; and eight Dutch vessels, including the three which Stuyvesant had brought from New Netherland, were seized at Barbadoes, notwithstanding "the islanders" there did "much desire commerce with strangers." Stuyvesant attempted "to plead the cause of his countrymen;" but the English, who were more in fear that he should discover their weakness "than all the world besides," continued the embargo, and "spoiled the sport" of a "fair trade." After several months delay, finding the English inexorable, the disappointed director succeeded in leaving Barbadoes, and returned to New Amsterdam about the middle of the summer.*

17 Feb. Stuyvesant in the West Indies.

16 March.

11 July.

Stuyvesant lost no time in executing the orders of his superiors to reduce the Swedes. As both he and Counselor La Montagne were unwell, Vice-director De Sille and Fiscal Van Tienhoven were appointed to superintend the preparations, in conjunction with "the valiant Frederick De Koninck," captain of the flag-ship "The Balance." The twenty-fifth day of August was solemnly set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, "to implore the only bountiful God that it may please him to bless the projected enterprise, undertaken only for the greater security, extension, and consolidation of this province, and to render it prosperous and successful, to the glory of his name." An invitation was given "to any individuals loving the increase, welfare, and security of this now flourishing province of New Netherland," to enlist in the expedition at reasonable wages, with a promise that all the wounded should receive "due compensation." Proper pilots were engaged; each ship in harbor was required to furnish two men, and supplies of ammunition and provisions; and three North River yachts were chartered. A French privateer, L'Esperance, which had just arrived at New Amsterdam, was

16 August. Preparations against the Swedes.

19 August. Enlistments.

24 August.

31 August.

* Thurloe, iii., 16, 142, 251; iv., 634; O'Call., ii., 285.

CH. XVII. 1655. Jews taxed.

also engaged for the expedition. The question whether the Jewish residents should be enlisted was decided by declaring them exempt, and by levying instead a tax of sixty-five stuyvers a month upon all between sixteen and sixty years of age.*

5 Sept. Sailing of the expedition.

On the first Sunday in September, "after the sermon," the squadron of seven vessels, with a force on board of between six and seven hundred men, set sail for the South River. Stuyvesant commanded the expedition in person, and was accompanied by Vice-director De Sille and Domine Megapolensis. The next afternoon they anchored before Fort Elsingburg, which was in ruins and deserted. Here the squadron was reviewed, and divided into five

10 Sept.

sections. Wind and tide being propitious, on Friday morning the Dutch sailed up just beyond Fort Casimir, and landed their forces. Stuyvesant instantly dispatched Ensign Smit, with a drummer, toward the fort, "to claim the direct restitution of our own property." Swen Schute, the Swedish commandant, though re-enforced from Fort Christina, now asked permission to communicate with Rising. This was refused; the passes between Fort Casimir and Fort Christina were occupied by fifty Dutch soldiers; and the Swedes were twice summoned to surrender. A delay till early the next morning was "humbly supplicated," and granted by the director, because his batteries

11 Sept. Surrender of Fort Casimir.

were not quite ready. When morning came, Schute, seeing the folly of further resistance, went on board the Balance, and signed a capitulation with Stuyvesant. The Swedes were allowed to remove all the artillery belonging to the crown; twelve men, with their full arms and accoutrements, were to march out of the fort with the commandant, as his life-guard, and the rest with their side arms only; and the officers were to retain their personal property. About noon the Dutch troops, "with flying colors," marched into the fort. Some thirty of the Swedes immediately submitted themselves to the government of New Netherland, and asked to be sent to Manhattan. The

* Alb. Rec., xi., 28–42; New Amst. Rec., ii., 177; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 179–182.

next day being Sunday, Domine Megapolensis preached a sermon to the troops; and Stuyvesant dispatched an account of his success to the council at Fort Amsterdam, with directions for the appointment of a day of thanksgiving. 12 Sept.

Finding that he was also to be attacked, Rising endeavored to strengthen his position at Fort Christina. In a few days, the Dutch forces established a battery on the opposite bank of the Christina Creek; and taking possession of the "Third Hook," they invested the Swedish fort on all sides. The ships were anchored at the mouth of the Brandywine; and Stuyvesant demanded of Rising "either to evacuate the country, or to remain there under Dutch protection." The Swedes, however, determined to hold out; and the Dutch forces pillaged the people outside of the fort. At length, the garrison beginning to show signs of mutiny, a parley was held. The next day the Dutch guns were brought into battery, and a drummer summoned the Swedish fort to surrender within twenty-four hours. The following morning, articles of capitulation were signed "on the paved place," between the Swedish fort and the Dutch camp, by Stuyvesant and Rising; the Swedes marched out "with their arms, colors flying, matches lighted, drums beating, and fifes playing; and the Dutch took possession of the fort, hauled down the Swedish flag, and hoisted their own." 15 Sept. Fort Christina invested. 23 Sept. 24 Sept. 25 Sept. Surrender of Fort Christina.

According to the terms of the surrender, private property was to be respected, and such of the Swedes as wished to leave the country might do so. Those that remained were to enjoy religious freedom, and a minister to instruct them in the Augsburg doctrine, upon condition of swearing allegiance to the Dutch authorities. It was also stipulated that Rising and Elswyck should be landed either in England or France, and that three hundred pounds Flemish should be advanced to Rising, upon the security of the goods and effects at Fort Christina. In obedience to the instructions of the West India Company, Stuyvesant, immediately after the surrender, offered to restore Fort Christina to the Swedes, "on honorable and reason- Terms of capitulation.

CH. XVII. 1655.

ble terms." But this offer was declined by Rising, who preferred to adhere to the capitulation.

Thus fell the Swedish power on the South River. The bloodless campaign was achieved by the largest army and the most powerful squadron that had ever gone into action in North America. Resistance would have been absurd. After a distinct existence of a little more than seventeen years, New Sweden reverted to New Netherland. A proclamation was immediately issued, granting permission to all who were disposed to remain, upon condition of their taking an oath of allegiance; and some twenty Swedes availed themselves of the offer. Two of the Lutheran clergymen on the river were sent back to Sweden; but Lokenius was retained to instruct the Swedes and Finns, two hundred of whom were living a few miles up the river, above Fort Christina. One of the motives for what Megapolensis thought "too easy" terms in the capitulation was, that the Dutch had no Reformed preacher who understood the language of the Swedes to establish there. Another was the intelligence that trouble had broken out at Manhattan with the Indians, "and men required quick dispatch" to repair matters there. Leaving Ensign Dirck Smit as temporary commandant on the South River, Stuyvesant hastened back to Fort Amsterdam.*

25 Sept. Establishment of the Dutch power on the South River.

Ten years had passed away since Kieft's treaty at Fort Amsterdam, during which interval the relations between the Dutch and the savages had generally been friendly. A new provocation now roused the red man to vengeance. Van Dyck, the superseded schout-fiscal, having killed a squaw whom he had detected in stealing some peaches from his garden, her tribe burned to avenge her death. The neighboring savages shared in the sentiment; and aware of the absence of the Dutch forces, they resolved to attack their defenseless settlements. A party of Mahicans, Pachamis, Esopus Indians, Hackinsacks, and Tap-

* Alb. Rec., x., 134; xiii., 348–361; Hol. Doc., viii., 49, 108–116; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 109, 418, 443–448; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 105; Acrelius; Lambrechtsen, 69; Ferris, 87–105; Bancroft, ii., 297; O'Call., ii., 286–289; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 183–197; Lond Doc., iv., 171; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 343.

1655.

pans, with some others from Stamford and Onkeway, supposed to number nineteen hundred, of whom from five to eighteen hundred were armed, suddenly appeared before New Amsterdam in sixty-four canoes. Landing before the break of day, they scattered themselves through the streets, while most of the inhabitants were yet asleep; and, under the pretense of searching for "Indians from the north," broke into several houses. The council, the city magistrates, and some of the principal inhabitants, assembling in Fort Amsterdam, called the chief sachems before them, and made them promise to leave Manhattan at sunset, and pass over to Nutten Island. But when evening came the savages broke their word. Van Dyck was shot with an arrow in the breast, and Van der Grist was struck down with an axe. The town was instantly aroused; and the soldiers and the burgher guard, sallying from Fort Amsterdam, attacked the Indians and drove them to their canoes. Passing over to the Jersey shore, the savages laid waste Hoboken and Pavonia, and killed or captured most of the inhabitants. Staten Island, where ninety colonists were cultivating eleven flourishing bouweries, was desolated. In three days one hundred of the Dutch inhabitants were killed, one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and three hundred more ruined in estate. Twenty-eight bouweries, besides several plantations, were destroyed; and the colonists computed their damages at two hundred thousand guilders.

15 Sept. Indian invasion of New Amsterdam.

Hoboken, Pavonia, and State Island laid waste.

Again terror seized the land. Most of the farmers fled to Manhattan as to a city of refuge. The English villages on Long Island sent word that the savages had threatened to kill the Dutch who lived there. Lady Moody's house at Gravesend was again attacked. The few families who had settled themselves at Esopus abandoned their farms in alarm. Even Manhattan itself was not secure. Prowling bands of savages wandered over the island, destroying all that came in their way. "As the citizens were reluctant to go a great distance from the fort," ten Frenchmen were enrolled to guard the house and family of the absent

Long Island.

Esopus deserted.

Manhattan.

CH. XVII. director; and an express was sent to the South River to call Stuyvesant immediately home to New Amsterdam.

1655.

12 October. Stuyvesant's return.

The return of the energetic director revived the spirits of the colonists. Soldiers were sent to the neighboring settlements; the ships in port were detained; and such of their passengers as could bear arms were forbidden to leave the province "until it should please God to change the aspect of affairs." Those who protested were fined, and bid to "possess their souls in patience." All persons were forbidden to go into the country without special permission, nor unless in sufficient numbers to secure their safety. To prevent the savages from scaling the wall, a plank "curtain" was built, and upward of six thousand guilders were assessed upon and contributed by "the merchants, traders, schippers, factors, passengers, and citizens generally," to pay the expense.

Prompt measures for defense.

The savages finding the captives a burden, now sent back Pos, the superintendent at Staten Island, with proposals for their ransom; and a few days afterward, the chief of the Hackinsacks liberated fourteen of his prisoners, asking for some powder and ball in return. Stuyvesant immediately sent the chief a present of ammunition and two Indians in exchange. Twenty-eight more "Christians" were brought back, and a message that others would be restored for a proper ransom. It was not, however, the red man's practice to exchange prisoners; and no Europeans would be given up for Indians. Several more captives were soon ransomed by a stipulated payment in powder and lead. The commissioners of the United Colonies in session at New Haven, hearing that the savages had taken many Dutch prisoners, agreed to send "two or three meet messengers to endeavor their redemption." But news coming that "the worst was passed," and that the Dutch were in treaty with the Indians, the commissioners "ceased any further prosecution."*

17 October.

21 October. Prisoners ransomed.

26 October.

25 Sept. Sympathy of the N. E. commissioners.

Rising now coming to New Amsterdam, on his return

* Alb. Rec., iv., 218; viii., 158; x., 133–165; New Amst. Rec., ii., 216–225; Relation, 1655–6, 11; Hazard, ii., 336; O'Call., ii., 290–294; Thompson's L. I., ii., 173; *ante*, p. 525.

to Europe, charged Stuyvesant with a breach of the capitulation on the South River. The director vindicated himself with dignity and effect. A few days afterward, the late governor of New Sweden embarked with his suite in two vessels of the West India Company; and, landing at Plymouth, he communicated the recent occurrences to the Swedish minister at London. CH. XVII. 1655. 24 October. Return of Rising. 3 Nov. 26 Dec.

A subordinate government was immediately organized on the South River. John Paul Jacquet, who had been in the company's service at Brazil, was commissioned as vice-director; Andries Hudde was made secretary and surveyor; and Elmerhuysen Klein was adjoined as counselor. These three officers, with two of the "most expert freemen," were to form the Court of Civil Justice. Fort Casimir, now regaining its original name, was to be the seat of government, above which no trading vessels were to go. The Swedes were to be closely watched, and if any should be found disaffected, they were to be sent away "with all imaginable civility," and, if possible, be induced to come to Manhattan. The vice-director was also required to "maintain and protect the Reformed religion, as it is learned and taught in this country, in conformity to the word of God and the Synod of Dordrecht, and to promote it as far as his power may extend." 29 Nov. Government organized on the South River. 3 Dec.

On reaching the South River, Jacquet found that the whole population consisted of only about a dozen families. Police regulations were immediately adopted; and Fort Casimir, on a survey, was found to be in very "disrupted and tottering condition." A deputation of the neighboring sachems soon visited the new vice-director, and a liberal commercial treaty was arranged, with the assistance of the inhabitants. In the absence of a Dutch clergyman, Lokenius, the Lutheran minister at Christina, occasionally came down to Fort Casimir to conduct divine service.* 18 Dec. Jacquet vice-director. 25 Dec. 29 Dec.

The vessels which conveyed Rising, carried out, also, a "simple and true narrative" of the recent Indian troubles, October.

* Alb. Rec., x., 135–146, 173, 186–191, 399, 403–407; xi., 127–133; xiii., 345–367; Hol. Doc., viii., I, 16; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 197–208.

CH. XVII. 1655.

in the form of a petition to the States General, the West India Company, and the city government of Amsterdam. The defenseless condition of the country was explained, and assistance was earnestly implored. In the mean time, the popular mind was ill at ease; and Stuyvesant took the opinions of his council respecting the propriety of a war with the Indians, the best means to recover the Dutch who still remained prisoners among the Weckquaesgeeks and the Highland tribes, and the replenishment of the treasury, which had been exhausted by the South River expedition and the ransom of the Christian captives. The only counselor in favor of war was Van Tienhoven. Stuyvesant himself, attributing the recent outbreak to the rashness of a few "hot-headed individuals," thought a war inexpedient. The people should rather reform themselves, abate all irregularities, and promote the settlement of villages with proper defenses. A block-house should be built at Hackinsack, and another at Weckquaesgeek, and all armed Indians should be excluded from the settlements of the Europeans. To raise a fund for the redemption of the remaining captives, he proposed an increase of the taxes on lands, houses, and liquors; as, in his judgment, the luxurious habits, and high wages common in the province did not argue an inability to contribute for the public service, but "rather a malevolent unwillingness, arising from an imaginary liberty in a new, and, as some pretend, a free country." But the council, in view of the condition of the province, resisted any addition to the direct taxes. The excise, however, was increased; that of New Amsterdam was farmed out, for a year, at five thousand and thirty guilders, and that of Beverwyck, including Rensselaerswyck, Katskill, and Esopus, at two thousand and thirteen. A delegation from the Long Island Indians now visited Manhattan, declaring that, since the general peace of 1645, they had done the Dutch no harm, "not even to the value of a dog." They had been twelve years at war with the enemies of the Hollanders; and they now sent a bundle of wampum as a token of the

Assistance asked from Holland.

10 Nov.

Precautionary measures proposed.

Excises farmed out.

27 Nov. Long Island Indians peaceful.

friendship of the Eastern chiefs. The River Indians, nevertheless, continuing sullen, kept the captive Christians as pledges to secure them from the vengeance of the Dutch.* CH. XVII. 1655.

The close of this year was marked by a new display of Stuyvesant's imperious character. Through all their social and political trials, the Dutch colonists had preserved their hereditary elasticity of spirit; and bringing with them the cheerful habits of their nation, they naturally desired to enjoy in New Netherland the pastimes in which they had joined at "Pinckster" and other holidays in Holland. But the severe director would not tolerate within his government those frivolities which, in the Fatherland, were "looked at through the fingers." An ordinance was accordingly published, declaring that "from this time forth, within this province of New Netherland, on New Year, or May-days, there shall be no firing, nor planting of May-poles, nor any beating of drums, nor treating," under penalty of twelve guilders for the first offense, double for the second, and "arbitrary correction" for the third.† 31 Dec. New Year and May-day sports prohibited.

On his way from Quebec to the Mohawk country, the Jesuit Father Le Moyne visited Beverwyck, where he was hospitably received by the Dutch colonists and by De Decker, the new vice-director. The Mohawks welcomed the Canadian missionary to their castles; and the gentle spirit of Christianity seemed at last to have won that warlike nation to peace with the French. September. Father Le Moyne at Beverwyck. Visits the Mohawks.

News of the outbreak of the Indians around Manhattan soon reached Fort Orange; and the authorities, alarmed lest the Iroquois might make common cause with their red brethren at the South, prudently renewed the ancient alliance between the Dutch and the Mohawks. The next month, a hundred warriors of that tribe visited Fort Orange, to announce that they were about to attack the Hurons, and to ask the Dutch to remain neutral. At the same time, they complained that they were not treated as hospitably at Fort Orange as the Hollanders were at the Mo- October. New alliance between the Dutch and the Mohawks. 18 Nov.

* Alb. Rec., x., 139–142; 150–173; Heemstede Rec., i., 25; O'Call., ii., 296–298.
† New Amsterdam Rec., i., 36, 407; ii., 299.

CH. XVII. hawk castles; and that for the most trifling repairs to their guns they were obliged to pay in wampum. This was not treating them as brethren. The Dutch authorities promised neutrality, and explained that their people visited the Mohawk country only in small numbers; if their red brethren would observe a similar rule, they would be handsomely entertained at Beverwyck. The Hollanders earned their own bread; and, as they were accustomed to receive the rewards of labor, their Mohawk brothers should not complain at being treated as the Christians treated each other. These explanations were satisfactory; and the red men, laying their wampum belts at the feet of the Dutch, received presents of powder and lead, "with their customary barbarous applaudings," and departed in great joy.

1655. The Dutch and the Mohawks.

19 Sept. 29 October. Chaumonot and Dablon.

Light now gleamed over the regions west of the Mohawks. Two Jesuit missionaries, Joseph Chaumonot and Claude Dablon, setting out from Quebec, passed up the Saint Lawrence, and landed at Oswego. In a few days the Fathers were hospitably welcomed at the principal village of the Onondagas; and a site for a permanent settlement was chosen at "Lake Genentaha," near the Salt Springs which Le Moyne had visited the year before. With fervid eloquence, Chaumonot preached the word; and the excited crowd sang the chorus, led by their chief, "Glad tidings! glad tidings! it is well that we have spoken together." The zeal of the natives built a temporary chapel of bark in a single day; the solemn service of the Roman Church was chanted in the silent forest; and the emblem of Christianity and the banner of France were simultaneously raised in Onondaga.*

5 Nov.

9 Nov. Lake Genentaha.

18 Nov. Jesuit chapel at Onondaga.

* Relation, 1655–6, 7–23; 1657–8, 30; Journal de Dablon; Creuxius, 739–775; Charlevoix, i., 320–322; Bancroft, iii., 142–144; Renss. MSS.; Fort Orange Rec.; O'Call., ii., 292, 306; Clark's Onondaga, i., 139–151, 171, 172; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 44; *ante*, p. 592.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1656–1658.

THE Indian ravages of 1655 repeated to the people of New Netherland the lesson which they had first learned in 1643. Their losses were mainly owing to the isolated situation of the farmers. To prevent future calamity, Stuyvesant issued a proclamation, ordering all who lived in secluded places in the country to collect themselves together by the next spring, and to form villages "after the fashion of our New England neighbors."

18 Jan. Proclamation to form villages.

The burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam now renewed the demand to be allowed the right to name their successors. Almost all the villages in New Netherland possessed this privilege. Why should it be denied to the capital of the province? The director explained that the privilege had been conferred on those places on account of their distance from the seat of government. He would now make the same concession to New Amsterdam, provided the magistrates actually in office should always be understood as nominated for approval; that only persons well qualified, and not unfriendly to the provincial authorities, should be named; and that a member of the council should have the right to assist, when the nominations were made. The city authorities accepted these conditions, and proposed their candidates. But Stuyvesant objecting to some of them, "on account of former disputes," refused to sanction the nomination. The question was earnestly discussed in the council; but the director maintained his ground. Eventually, five of the old officers were continued for another year; and Willem Beeckman and Hendrick Kip were appointed new schepens, to fill two vacancies.*

17 Jan.

18 Jan. Stuyvesant yields to the burgomasters and schepens.

31 Jan. Retracts his promise.

2 Feb.

* Alb. Rec., x., 220, 260; xii., 169; New Amst. Rec., i., 37; ii., 323–342.

CH. XVIII. 1656. Religious affairs.

New Netherland was now to witness within her own borders a gross violation of the rights of conscience. Until 1654, the ecclesiastical policy of her government had not, practically, departed from that of the Fatherland, where, notwithstanding the establishment of a national Reformed Church, we have seen that all other sects were tolerated, and allowed the use of their several forms of worship. The West India Company recognized the authority of the Established Church of Holland over their colonial possessions; and the specific care of the Transatlantic churches was early intrusted by the Synod of North Holland to the Classis of Amsterdam. By that body all the colonial clergy were approved and commissioned. With its committee, "ad res exteras," they maintained a constant correspondence. The Classis of Amsterdam was, in fact, the Metropolitan of New Netherland. For more than a century its ecclesiastical supremacy was affectionately acknowledged; and long after the capitulation of the province to England, the power of ordination to the ministry, in the American branch of the Reformed Dutch Church, remained in the governing Classis in Holland, or was exercised only by its special permission.*

Authority of the Classis of Amsterdam.

Colonial clergy.

The clergymen commissioned by the Classis of Amsterdam were, of course, Calvinists. They were generally men of high scholarship and thorough theological training; for the people, who at Leyden preferred a university to a fair, insisted upon an educated ministry. The colonial clergy had much work to do, and peculiar difficulties to encounter. A lax morality, produced by the system of government and the circumstances of the province, undoubtedly prevailed among many of the New Netherland colonists. It was difficult to minister the offices of religion to scattered farmers and isolated traders. It was still more difficult to teach the word to the savages. Yet, Megapolen-

* Dr. Gunn's Memoirs of Dr. Livingston, 78–92; Dr. De Witt, N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, 68–76. While in Holland, in 1841, I had an interview, in behalf of the General Synod, with the Classis of Amsterdam, and obtained from its archives extracts of its proceedings, and much valuable correspondence with the clergy and churches in New Netherland and New York, from 1641 to 1775, of which I have availed myself in this work.

sis, contemporaneously with Jogues, had attempted to instruct the Mohawks several years before Eliot began his missionary labors near Watertown and Dorchester. At Manhattan, too, the work was tried, but with very indifferent success. The Dutch colonists themselves gladly listened to the Gospel which they had heard in the Fatherland; and churches were built, partly by voluntary contributions of the commonalties, at Manhattan, Beverwyck, and Midwout. To these churches the country people made toilsome journeys, to bring their children to baptism, to hear the words of the preacher, and to join in that simple but majestic music which they had first sung far across the sea, where the loud chorus overpowers the diapasons of Haerlem and Amsterdam.

Feelings of the people.

In the beginning of the year 1656, there were four Reformed Dutch clergymen in New Netherland. Megapolensis and Drisius were colleagues at New Amsterdam; Schaats ministered at Beverwyck; and Polhemus had the joint charge of Breuckelen, Midwout, and Amersfoort. Besides his regular services at New Amsterdam, Drisius occasionally visited Staten Island, where a number of Vaudois or Waldenses soon settled themselves; and his knowledge of the French language enabled him to preach satisfactorily to these faithful men, who fled to Holland and to America from the tyranny of their despotic sovereign. Flushing, which had obliged Doughty to quit the place and go to Virginia, had been for more than a year without a minister. At Heemstede, where there were many Dutch and English Calvinists, Richard Denton, a Presbyterian clergyman, and "an honest, pious, and learned man," had preached since 1644. He had "in all things conformed" to the Established Church of the province. The Puritan Independents of the place "listened attentively" to his preaching; but when he began to baptize the children of such parents as were not communicants, "they sometimes burst out of the church." At Middelburgh, or Newtown, where the Independents outnumbered the Presbyterians, John Moore, who did not administer sacraments,

Clergymen and churches at New Amsterdam, Beverwyck, and Long Island.

Flushing.

Heemstede.

Middelburgh.

CH. XVIII. 1656.

preached with acceptance. The people of Gravesend were understood to be "Mennonists," or Anabaptists. They rejected infant baptism, the Sabbath, the office of preacher, and the teachers of God's word, "saying that through these have come all sorts of contention into the world." Whenever they met together, one or other "read something for them." The English settlers at West Chester were Puritan Independents. They had no preacher, but held Sunday meetings, "reading a sermon from an English book, and making a prayer." At Esopus, or "Atkarkarton," the few Dutch inhabitants, having no clergyman, had conducted divine service themselves on Sunday, one of them reading "something out for a postille," or commentary. On the South River, Lokenius, the Lutheran clergyman, continued his ministrations to the Swedes and Finns near Fort Christina. He was represented to lead "a godless and scandalous life," and to be "more inclined to look into the wine kan than to pore over the Bible." At Fort Casimir, the Dutch residents, being without a minister, appointed a layman, "who should read every Sunday." In the Far West, Jesuit missionaries preached to the Onondagas. So stood New Netherland with regard to religion. As to popular education, excepting at Manhattan, Beverwyck, and Fort Casimir, there was no schoolmaster. Though the people at large were anxious that their children should be instructed, they found great difficulty, because many of them, coming "naked and poor from Holland," had not sufficient means, and because there were few qualified persons, except those already employed, who could or would teach.*

Gravesend.

West Chester.

Esopus.

South River.

Onondaga.

Schools.

In their correspondence with the Classis of Amsterdam, the Dutch clergymen at Manhattan had frequently referred to the increase of Mennonists and Lutherans in the province. At New Amsterdam, the Lutherans, as we have seen, had been refused permission to worship publicly in a church of their own. Nevertheless, the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber did not sanction in their province

Jealousy of the metropolitan clergy.

* Letters to Classis, 5th Aug. and 22d Oct., 1657; Doct. Hist. N. Y., iii., 103–108, 189, 190; Dr. De Witt, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, 69, 70; Thomps. L. I., ii., 20; *ante*, p. 375.

a sectarian persecution unknown in the liberal Father-land. CH. XVIII. 1656.

The immediate cause of the first exhibition of religious intolerance in New Netherland was ecclesiastical jealousy, and a too rigid constuction of official duty. Early in the year 1656, the metropolitan clergymen, Megapolensis and Drisius, complained to the director general that unqualified persons were preaching and holding conventicles at Middelburgh, "from which nothing could be expected but discord, confusion, and disorder in Church and State." Stuyvesant was himself a zealous son of the Church. He was an over-strict constructionist, and loved the display of arbitrary power. A proclamation, assuming "to promote the glory of God, the increase of the Reformed religion, and the peace and harmony of the country," soon appeared, forbidding preachers, "not having been called thereto by ecclesiastical or temporal authority," from holding conventicles not in harmony with the established religion as set forth by the Synod of Dort, "and here in this land, and in the Fatherland, and in other Reformed churches observed and followed." Every unlicensed preacher who should violate this ordinance was subjected to a penalty of one hundred Flemish pounds; and every person who should attend such prohibited meetings became liable to a penalty of twenty-five pounds. The ordinance, however, expressly disclaimed "any prejudice to any patent heretofore given, any lording over the conscience, or any prohibition of the reading of God's holy word, and the domestic praying and worship of each one in his family." A similar proclamation was immediately published by De Decker, the vice-director at Fort Orange.

1 Feb. Proclamation against unauthorized conventicles.

10 March.

The invidious law was enforced. Recusants were fined and imprisoned. Complaints to Holland followed; and the West India Company promptly rebuked their director for his bigoted zeal. "We would fain not have seen," wrote they to Stuyvesant, "your worship's hand set to the placard against the Lutherans, nor have heard that you oppressed them with the imprisonments of which they have

14 June. Instructions of the West India Company.

CH. XVIII. 1656. complained to us, because it has always been our intention to let them enjoy all calmness and tranquillity. Wherefore, you will not hereafter publish any similar placards without our previous consent, but allow to all the free exercise of their religion within their own houses."*

Information had meanwhile reached the provincial government that the English intruders at West Chester not only sheltered and encouraged fugitives from justice, but had kept up a constant correspondence with the Indians during the late "dismal engagements with the savages." To defend the rights of the West India Company, Captain De Koninck, Captain Newton, and Van Tienhoven, the schout-fiscal, were now sent thither with a sufficient force, and ordered to apprehend the leaders and compel the other settlers to remove thence with their property. The expedition was met with a show of resistance by Lieutenant Wheeler and an armed force; but the English were promptly disarmed, and twenty-three of them were conveyed as prisoners to New Amsterdam, and secured on board the ship Balance. The runaways from the Dutch were sent to prison; those from New England and elsewhere were put under civil arrest. Wheeler and his party soon offered to submit themselves to the Dutch government, upon condition of being allowed to elect their magistrates, make laws not contrary to those of the province, divide the lands among the townsfolk, and have their arms restored. Stuyvesant replied that they should have the same privileges "as the freemen of the villages of Middelburgh, Breuckelen, Midwout, and Amersfoort were enjoying." The prisoners were then released; and a few of the English who had taken up arms were "commanded to depart the limits of New Netherland, unless some of the inhabitants of Vredeland adopt them and become bail for their good behavior." A few days afterward, a double nomination of magistrates was sent to Stuyvesant, with a petition that the settlers might have certain local privileges, that they might be

6 March. Expedition sent to West Chester.

14 March.

16 March.

25 March.

* Cor. Classis Amsterdam; Letters of 6th October, 1653; 25th July, 1654; 18th March, 1655; Alb. Rec., iv., 130, 212; vii., 355–357; New Amst. Rec., i., 41, 42; ii., 350; Fort Orange Rec.; O'Call., ii., 317, 320; Bancroft, ii., 300; *ante*, p. 101, 102, 582.

furnished with a copy of the laws of the province "drawn out in English," and that the writings passed between them and the provincial authorities might be in English, so that they might "fully and perfectly understand them." Stuyvesant promptly selected Thomas Wheeler, Thomas Newman, and John Lord, from the nominees, as the first magistrates of West Chester, which now obtained the name of "Oost-dorp," or East Village. A decision upon the petition was, however, postponed for further consultation.*

28 March. First magistrates of Oost-dorp, or West Chester.

Another village was now incorporated on Long Island. Upon the petition of several of the inhabitants of Heemstede for permission to begin a plantation about midway between that village and Amersfoort, Stuyvesant readily granted them free leave to establish a town with such privileges "as the inhabitants of New Netherland generally do possess in their lands, and likewise in the choice of their magistrates as in the other villages or towns." The new settlement was named by the Dutch "Rust-dorp," or "Quiet Village." The settlers themselves wished to call it "Jemeco," after the Indian name of the beaver pond in its neighborhood. The village is now known as Jamaica. At the first regular town meeting, in the spring of the next year, Daniel Denton, the oldest son of the Presbyterian clergyman at Heemstede, was appointed clerk, "to write and enter all acts and orders of public concernment to the town." A few years afterward, he published the first original English "Description of New York, formerly called New Netherland."†

21 March.

Rust-dorp, or Jamaica.

Daniel Denton town clerk.

Baxter and Hubbard had now been nearly a year in the keep of Fort Amsterdam. At the intercession of Sir Henry Moody and the Gravesend magistrates, Stuyvesant released Hubbard, and transferred Baxter, upon bail, to the debtor's room at the court-house until the Amsterdam Chamber should decide upon his case. A few weeks aft-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 187; x., 38, 250, 315-346; xi., 283-321; xvi., 303; O'Call., ii., 312-314; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 157-161; *ante*, p. 601.

† Alb. Rec., x., 339; xiv., 12; Jamaica Rec.; Thompson's L. I., ii., 20, 96, 97; O'Call., ii., 323. Denton's work was printed at London in 1670, and a handsome edition, with notes by Mr. Furman, was republished here in 1845.

CH. XVIII. erward, the faithless Englishman forfeited his bail and escaped to Gravesend, where he again began to plot against his former patrons. Several of the inhabitants were induced by him to sign a memorial praying Cromwell to take them under the protection of England, and emancipate them from the dominion of the Dutch. The memorial was carried to London by James Grover, who, with Baxter and Hubbard, had hoisted the English colors at Gravesend the year before. To public treason Baxter now added private dishonesty. Besides other debts, he owed two hundred guilders to the poor fund; and his cattle were under seizure. These he secretly removed at night. His defrauded creditors became clamorous; his farm and other effects were seized in execution; and the bankrupt traitor fled to New England to work all the mischief he could against New Netherland.*

1656. Baxter at Gravesend.

Escapes to New England.

On the South River the Swedes remained generally loyal; though some of them, found plotting with the savages, were ordered to be sent to Fort Amsterdam, and such as would not take the oath of allegiance to be transported. Early in the spring, the Mercury, a ship which had been dispatched from Sweden, with one hundred and thirty emigrants, before news of the surrender had been received, arrived at Fort Casimir; and Stuyvesant, on learning the circumstances, directed Jacquet to prevent the landing of the Swedes, but to allow the Mercury to come to Manhattan for a supply of provisions. Huygh, the Swedish captain, then proceeded overland to New Amsterdam, and laid his case before the director. But Stuyvesant would allow no foreigners to settle themselves on the South River; and a messenger was dispatched thither with directions to send the Swedish ship to Fort Amsterdam. Meanwhile, several Swedes and Indians, headed by Pappegoya, had boarded the Mercury and conveyed her up the river as far as Mantes Hook. The rumor soon reaching New Amsterdam, Ensign Dirck Smit was sent with a re-enforcement

Swedish ship at the South River.

29 March.

11 April.

12 April.

27 April.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 265; v., 367; x., 180, 234, 299; xi., 119, 182, 266; xii., 321; Hol. Doc., ix., 165; O'Call., ii., 342; *ante*, p. 597.

of twelve or fifteen soldiers across the country to the South River; and a few days afterward, the ship Balance was dispatched, with two members of the council and the Swedish captain, to secure the vessel, and "soothe the animosities between the Christians and the savages." The Mercury was soon recovered and anchored before Fort Amsterdam, whence, after her cargo had been sold, she returned to Sweden.* CH. XVIII. 1656. Brought to Fort Amsterdam. 11 July.

The States General, hearing of the arrival in England of the Swedish soldiers whom Stuyvesant had sent home, ordered the Amsterdam directors to inform them fully of the circumstances. A few days afterward, the company submitted a long "deduction," with voluminous appendices, explaining all the proceedings on the South River from the year 1638; and soliciting help to secure them in possession of their recovered territory. These documents were referred to a committee of their High Mightinesses, in secret session.† 6 Jan. 24 Jan. 28 Jan.

Having at last received a copy of the Hartford treaty, the Amsterdam Chamber applied to the States General to ratify it on their part, and thus promote the settlement of the long-delayed boundary question. A formal act was therefore passed, under the seal of their High Mightinesses, approving and ratifying the arrangement; and the West India Company was at the same time directed "to take care that the like act of ratification of the said articles be obtained of the Lord Protector of England." But this injunction seems never to have been fulfilled; and the affair remained thus in suspense until the restoration of Charles II.‡ 22 Feb. Ratification of the Hartford treaty.

Intelligence of the conquest of New Sweden now reaching Stockholm, the king directed his resident at the Hague to bring the subject before the Dutch government. Ap-

* Alb. Rec., x., 351–384, 411–421; xi., 326–374, 433; xiii., 1–7, 374; Lond. Doc., iv., 172; N. Y. Col. Rec., iii., 343; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 211–219; Acrelius, 419.

† Hol. Doc., viii., 1–117. Appended to these papers, as they exist in the archives at the Hague, is a copy of an engraved map of New Netherland, published just before at Amsterdam, entitled "*Novi Belgii, Novæ que Angliæ, nec non partis Virginiæ Tabula, multis in locis emendata, à Nicolao Joannis Visschero.*"

‡ Alb. Rec., iv., 207; Hol. Doc., viii., 119–129; ix., 98, 99; x., 15; Thurloe, iv., 526; Letters of De Witt, iii., 192; Hazard, ii., 549; Groot Placaatbook, ii., 1278; Lambrechtsen, 106; *ante*, p. 520, 545; *post* p. 685.

CH. XVIII. 1656.

pelboom accordingly presented a memorial setting forth the right of the Swedes on the South River, "optimo titulo juris," and praying that the injuries which they had suffered from the West India Company might be redressed. Sweden, however, was now at war with Poland; Oxenstierna was no more; and the throne of the victorious Gustavus was filled by the less fortunate Charles the Tenth. The complaints of Sweden, though renewed during eight years, never moved the government at the Hague. But the Swedish colonists remained on the shores of the Delaware; at Stockholm they were remembered with affectionate regard; and in the New World where they had chosen their home, a part of their descendants "still preserve their altar and their dwellings round the graves of their fathers."*

22 March. Memorial of the Swedish resident at the Hague.

13 May. Fort ordered to be built at Oyster Bay.

The West India Company now sent directions, to Stuyvesant to build a fort at Oyster Bay, and maintain by force of arms, if necessary, the integrity of the Dutch province, the boundaries of which had just been formally confirmed by the States General. "We do not hesitate," they added, "to approve of your expedition on the South River, and its happy termination, while it agrees in substance with our orders. We should not have been displeased, however, if such a formal capitulation for the surrender of the forts had not taken place, but that the whole business had been transacted in a manner similar to that of which the Swedes set us an example when they made themselves masters of Fort Casimir."†

13 May. Van Tienhoven dismissed.

At the same time, the company, yielding to the "reiterated complaints" of the people of New Netherland, gave orders to Stuyvesant no longer to employ either Cornelis van Tienhoven or his brother Adriaen in the public service. The schout-fiscal was declared to be "the prominent cause of that doleful massacre" the previous autumn, and his brother was detected in fraud as receiver general. Nicasius de Sille was appointed schout-fiscal of the province, and De Decker confirmed as commissary at Fort Orange.

De Sille appointed in his place.

* Hol. Doc., viii., 130–135; x., 22–41; Letters of De Witt, i., 276; iii., 201, 202; Thurloe, iv., 599, 612; Aitzema, iii., 1260; v., 247; Hol. Mer., 1656, p. 30; O'Call., ii., 327, 573; Bancroft, ii., 297, 298. † Alb. Rec., iv., 204–207; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 209.

1656.

Hearing of Van Tienhoven's disgrace, the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam petitioned Stuyvesant to appoint "an intelligent and expert" person from among the citizens as schout of the city. The director, however, referring to the company's instructions, declined; and De Sille, the new provincial fiscal, was commissioned as city schout. In the following autumn, the municipal government again applied to the Amsterdam Chamber for further privileges. Stuyvesant himself, however, now saw the necessity of some change, and the burgomasters and schepens were allowed an enlarged criminal jurisdiction, in cases of "minor degree." New police regulations were adopted; and, for fear of the savages, a patrol was established during divine service. The number of children at the public school having greatly increased, further accommodation was allowed to Harman van Hoboken the schoolmaster. A survey of the city, made by Captain De Koninck at the request of the authorities, showed that there were, at this time, one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand souls in New Amsterdam.*

30 May. New Amsterdam affairs.

26 June.

7 Nov.

21 Dec.

Public school.

Survey and population of the metropolis.

Opposition to the excise at Beverwyck continuing, De Decker was ordered to arrest such of the tapsters as refused to pay, and convey them to New Amsterdam. One of them was accordingly lodged in Fort Orange until the sloop should be ready to sail. The prisoner escaping, however, fled to the patroon's house; and Van Rensselaer, going down to the capital, protested against Stuyvesant's exactions. The West India Company had not fulfilled its obligation to protect the inhabitants. On the contrary, the colonists had thrice come to the assistance of the company's officers; once during the French and Indian war, again in the troubles with New England, and lately during the outbreak of the savages around Manhattan. The colonie had always been the first to purchase the friendship of the Indians, and its proprietors had borne all the

13 May. Excise at Beverwyck.

24 May.

20 June. Van Rensselaer protests to Stuyvesant.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 206, 218; xi., 424; xiii., 268, 302–319; xv., 166; New Amst. Rec., ii., 341, 363, 377, 433, 467–488, 640, 690; O'Call., ii., 322, 540. Van Tienhoven and his brother soon afterward absconded from the province. There was formerly a street outside of the wall, known as "Tienhoven's" street; but the name is now extinct.

CH. XVIII. 1656. 27 June.

expense of ministers and officers of justice. It was, therefore, unjust for the company to appropriate the excise and demand tithes. Stuyvesant, however, pronounced Van Rensselaer's protest to be "frivolous," and fined him twenty guilders for making such "absurd assertions." By the eighteenth article of the "Freedoms and Exemptions" of 1629, the patroon's colonists, after ten years, were as much bound as the other inhabitants of New Netherland to contribute to the public revenue. As Van Rensselaer himself was the instigator of the opposition of the "contumacious tapsters," he was ordered to give a bond in three thousand guilders for their appearance at New Amsterdam, or else remain there himself under civil arrest.

Rensselaer fined, and ordered to give bond.

6 July.

A proclamation was soon afterward issued, forbidding the removal of crops in any town or colonie within the province until the company's tithes had been paid. The authorities of Rensselaerswyck refused to publish this placard; but the tapsters were sent down to New Amsterdam. They pleaded that they had acted under the orders of their feudal superiors. This defense, however, was overruled; and one was fined two hundred pounds, and the other eight hundred guilders.

7 August. Tapsters convicted.

Measures had been taken, in the mean time, to build a new church at Beverwyck, in place of the small one which had been used since 1643. The court at Fort Orange appropriated fifteen hundred guilders, and the proprietors of Rensselaerswyck subscribed one thousand. A site was chosen in middle of the highway, at the intersection of what were long known as Yonker's and Handelaar's Streets, and afterward as State and Market Streets. The corner-stone was laid, in the presence of the authorities and the inhabitants, with appropriate ceremony, by Rutger Jacobsen, one of the oldest magistrates of the colonie. The work went rapidly on; and the inhabitants subscribed twenty-five beavers, worth about two hundred guilders, to purchase an oaken pulpit in Holland. The Amsterdam Chamber added seventy-five guilders to this subscription; and, the next year, presented Domine Schaats and his con-

New church at Beverwyck. 2 June.

gregation with a bell "to adorn their newly-constructed little church." CH. XVIII. 1656.

De Decker, being about to return to Holland, now resigned his office as vice-director at Fort Orange. La Montagne, one of the provincial council, was appointed as his successor, and Johannes Provoost was made secretary. The vice-director lived in a two-storied house within the fort, the upper floor of which was used as a court room. One of the most important duties of the provincial officers was the oversight of the large fur trade which was now concentrated at Fort Orange, from which post, and from its neighborhood, upward of thirty-five thousand beaver and otter skins were exported during the year 1656.* 28 Sept. La Montagne vice-director at Fort Orange. Fur trade.

Upon receiving the official ratification of the Hartford treaty by his government, Stuyvesant wrote to the commissioners of the United Colonies, expressing his joy at the peace between Holland and England; renewing his proposition for a union and combination between the Dutch and English colonies; asking for the appointment of a time and place to exchange the ratifications; and urging that the New England governments should detain "all persons of no note or qualification," coming from New Netherland without a proper passport, and promising to do the like in return. The commissioners replied that they desired the continuance of peace; expressed no wish for a "nearer union;" passed the boundary question by, with an insinuation that the Dutch had no right to claim jurisdiction over "the English plantation at Oyster Bay;" complained of Stuyvesant's treatment of John Young of Southold, "when 22 August. Fruitless correspondence with New England. 27 Sept.

* Alb. Records, iv., 233, 239, 268; x., 68; xi., 409–499; xiii., 72, 221–223; xviii., 83; Renss. MSS.; Fort Orange Rec.; Let. of Domine Schaats, 26th June, 1657; O'Call., ii., 307–310; Munsell's Alb. Reg., 1849; *ante*, p. 375, 538, 539. The site of this church, in which Schaats ministered for many years, was, until within a short time ago, partly inclosed by an iron railing in the centre of the street, in front of the Albany Exchange. In 1715, a new church was erected *around* the walls of the one built in 1656, so that public worship was suspended only three Sundays. In the windows of this new church were inserted panes of glass, on which were painted the coats of arms of most of the old Dutch families of Albany. There they remained until the church was demolished in 1806. The old octagonal oak pulpit is now in the attic of the North Dutch church; and a fragment of the little bell, which bears the inscription "Anno 1601," is still preserved. Margaret, one of the daughters of Rutger Jacobsen, who laid the corner-stone of the church of 1656, was married in 1667 to Jan Jansen Bleecker, who emigrated from Meppel in 1658, and who was the ancestor of the Bleecker family in this state.

CH. XVIII. 1656.

he came peaceably to trade at the Manhattoes;" and ended their repulsive letter by declaring that the Dutch "as yet have made no satisfying resignation of Greenwich."*

24 October. Lutherans at New Amsterdam.

The Lutherans at New Amsterdam now informed the director that their friends in Holland had obtained from the West India Company a promise that there should be the same toleration in New Netherland "as is the practice in the Fatherland under its estimable government;" and as they expected a clergyman to arrive the next spring from Holland, they hoped they should no longer be interrupted in their religious exercises. The petition was considered in council, and it was determined to ask, by the next vessel, the "further interpretation" of the West India Company. In the mean time, however, the ordinance against public conventicles must be executed.

At Flushing, where the people had been for some time without any ordained clergyman, the ordinance was severely enforced. William Wickendam, "a cobbler from Rhode Island," coming there, began to preach, and "went with the people into the river and dipped them." This soon came to the director's ears, with the additional intelligence that William Hallett, the sheriff, had "dared to collect conventicles in his house," and had permitted Wickendam to preach and administer sacraments, "though not called thereto by any civil or ecclesiastical authority." Hallett was therefore removed from office, and sentenced to a fine of fifty pounds, or, in default of payment, to be banished. Wickendam was fined one hundred pounds, and ordered to be banished. As he was poor, and had a family, the fine was remitted; but he was obliged to leave the province.†

8 Nov. Ordinance enforced against the Baptists at Flushing.

29 Dec. Affairs at Oost-dorp.

The English settlers at West Chester having sent to New Amsterdam a double nomination of magistrates for the next year, Captain Newton, Secretary Van Ruyven, and Commissary Van Brugge were directed to go there and administer the oath of office to the three persons selected, and the oath of allegiance to the actual inhabitants. Embark-

* Hazard, ii., 363–365; Hutchinson, i., 189; Trumbull, i, 228, 229.

† Alb. Rec., xiii., 140, 274–277; Cor. Classis Amsterdam; O'Call., ii., 320, 321; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 106.

ing early in the morning in an open boat, the commissioners passed safely "through Hell-gate, and by the fast-anchored Brothers, to the kill in front of Oost-dorp." It was late on Saturday evening when they arrived; and as they wished to return to New Amsterdam the next day, they asked that the inhabitants might be summoned to meet early in the morning. But the Puritan settlers "were in no way so inclined;" and the commissioners were obliged to tarry over Sunday. Secretary Van Ruyven, attending service, found a gathering of about fifteen men and twelve women. There was no clergyman. "Mr. Baly made a prayer, which being concluded, one Robert Bassett read a sermon from a printed book composed and published by an English minister in England. After the reading, Mr. Baly made another prayer, and they sung a psalm and separated." The next day the new magistrates were sworn in, and most of the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance, during their residence in the province. On their return to New Amsterdam, the commissioners submitted a report to the council, embracing several points in which the English settlers felt aggrieved; and a dozen muskets and a quantity of ammunition were sent to Oost-dorp, as the savages were becoming insolent, because the inhabitants having submitted to the provincial government, Pell, who had purchased the land from them, required that they should either return his money, or "free him from the Dutch nation."*

1656. 30 Dec. 31 Dec. 1657. 1 Jan. 3 Jan. Arms allowed to the inhabitants.

For a long time, as we have already seen, the cities of Holland had possessed certain municipal privileges, and their burghers had enjoyed certain peculiar rights. In 1652, a modification of the old system was adopted at Amsterdam; and its burghers were divided into the two classes of "Great" and "Small." All those who paid five hundred guilders were enrolled as Great burghers. They had the monopoly of all offices, and were exempted from attainder and confiscation of goods. The Small burghers paid only fifty guilders, and had only the freedom

Great and Small burgher-right at Amsterdam.

* Alb. Rec., xv., 8; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 921–926; O'Call., ii., 315, 316; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 161.

CH. XVIII. 1657.

of trade and the privilege of becoming members of the guilds.*

This example was soon followed in New Amsterdam. Its inhabitants, while they welcomed all who came intending to make New Netherland their permanent home, were exceedingly jealous of itinerant traders; and it had become the established law that those who wished to engage in commerce must keep "fire and light" in the province. Manhattan, too, had been declared, in the charter of Freedoms, to be the emporium of New Netherland, and had been invested with the important privilege of "staple right." The residents, however, found that their metropolitan immunities were constantly infringed; and every year larger numbers of "Scotchmen," or peddlers, came over, who, proceeding at once into the interior, finished their trade, and returned to Europe without contributing any thing to the advantage of the country. The burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, therefore, addressed a petition to the director, setting forth these circumstances, and asking that, in consideration of the burdens which the citizens were obliged to bear, and the loyalty they had always exhibited, they should be favored with "some privileges." As the "burgher right" was "one of the most important privileges in a well-governed city," they prayed that no persons except city burghers should be allowed to carry on business in the capital, and none but "settled residents" to trade in "any quarter hereabout, without this place."

22 Jan. Petition of the authorities of New Amsterdam for burgher privileges.

The provincial government considering the petition favorably, ordained that "the arriving traders," before selling their goods, should "set up and keep an open store within the gates and walls" of New Amsterdam, and obtain from the burgomasters and schepens the Common or Small burgher-right; for which they should pay twenty guilders to the support of the city. "In conformity to the laudable custom of the city of Amsterdam in Europe," a

30 Jan. Concession of Great and Small burgher-right.

* Wagenaar's Amsterdam, i., 583; iii., 141–161; *ante*, p. 453. This distinctive system, however, not working well, was abolished in 1668.

1657.

Great burgher-right was also established, "for which those who may request to be therein shall pay fifty guilders. All such, and such only, shall hereafter be qualified to fill all the city offices and dignities; II., be exempt for one year and six weeks from watches and expeditions; and, III., be free in their proper persons from arrest by any subaltern court or judicial benches of this province." At the request of the municipal authorities, the present and future burgomasters and schepens, and the director, counselors, clergymen, and military officers, with their male descendants, were declared to belong to the class of Great burghers. The class of Small burghers was to include all natives and all who had resided in the city a year and six weeks, all who had married or should marry the daughters of burghers, all who kept stores or did business within the city, and all salaried officers of the company. Thus absurdly imitating an invidious policy, which the mother city was soon obliged to abandon, Stuyvesant attempted to establish in New Amsterdam that most offensive of all distinctions, an aristocracy founded on mere wealth.*

2 Feb. Amplification.

Great burghers.

Small burghers.

In the mean time, the West India Company, embarrassed by its losses in Brazil and Guinea, and heavily in debt to the city of Amsterdam for the aid which it had afforded in fitting out the South River expedition, had offered to transfer to its burgomasters and schepens Fort Casimir and the lands in its neighborhood, where the city might establish a colony. The proposition was received with favor, as soon as the States General had ratified the Hartford treaty. Beside the hope of more effectually securing the Dutch possession of New Netherland, a nobler motive was presented. Hundreds of Waldenses, escaping from the persecutions of the Duke of Savoy, had fled for refuge to Amsterdam. There they were cordially received; and the city government, not content with giving them an asylum, liberally appropriated large sums from its treasury for their support. With such materials, the city of

1656.

12 Feb. Offer of lands on the South River to the city of Amsterdam.

3 March.

29 March.

30 June.

* New Amst. Rec., ii., 704, 722–724, 741–745; iii., 267–272; Alb. Rec., vii., 389–392; xv., 54; *ante*, p. 194, 243, 489. See also Kent's City Charters, 243–246.

CH. XVIII. Amsterdam now undertook to found a colony of its own in New Netherland.*

1656.

12 July. An agreement was soon made, by which, for the sum of seven hundred thousand guilders, the company transferred to the city of Amsterdam all the Dutch territory on the South River, from the west side of Christina Kill to the "Boomtje's Hook," now corrupted into "Bombay Hook," at the mouth of the river. This region was named "Nieuwer-Amstel," after one of the suburbs belonging to the city, between the River Amstel and the Haerlem Sea. Six commissaries were appointed by the burgomasters to manage the colony, who were "to sit and hold their meetings at the West India House on Tuesdays and Thursdays." A set of "conditions" was drawn up, offering a free passage to colonists, lands on the river side for their residence, and provisions and clothing for one year. The city engaged to send out "a proper person for a schoolmaster, who shall also read the holy Scriptures in public and set the Psalms." The municipal government was to be regulated "in the same manner as here in Amsterdam." The colonists were to be exempted from taxation for ten years; after that time they should not "be taxed higher than those who are taxed lowest in any other district under the government of the West India Company in New Netherland." Specific regulations were adopted with respect to trade; and besides the recognitions payable to the West India Company on goods exported from Holland, four per centum was to be paid in New Netherland.†

City's colony at New Amstel.

Conditions.

16 August. All these arrangements were ratified and confirmed by the States General, upon condition that a church should be organized and a clergyman established as soon as there were two hundred inhabitants in the colony. Prepara-

* Hol. Doc., xv., 1, 2, 117, 118, 191; Commelin's Amsterdam, 115–117; Wagenaar's Amsterdam, i., 594; Lambrechtsen, 63–65; Report of Mr. Sidney Lawrence to the Senate of New York, 3d February, 1844, Sen. Doc., No. 42, page 6.

† These "conditions" are appended to the second edition of Van der Donck's Description of New Netherland, which was published this year; *ante*, p. 561, note. Translations are in Hazard, ii., 543; i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 291; ii., 1, 238; O'Call., ii., 328. Abstracts are in S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 220; Dunlap, ii., Appendix, xii. Dunlap errs in dating them in 1623, and in making them refer to New Amsterdam.

tions were immediately made to organize the colony, of which Jacob Alrichs, an uncle of Beck, the vice-director at Curaçoa, was appointed director. Martin Kregier, of New Amsterdam, upon Stuyvesant's "good report," was commissioned as captain of a company of sixty soldiers, and Alexander d'Hinoyossa, who had formerly served in Brazil, was made lieutenant. Ordinances were also passed requiring the colonists to take an oath of allegiance to the States General, the burgomasters of Amsterdam, and the director and council of New Netherland, and likewise to promise faithfully to observe the articles which defined their duties and obligations to the city. These, among other things, required them to remain four years at New Amstel, unless they gave satisfactory reasons for leaving, or repaid, within the proper time, the expenses incurred on their account.

CH. XVIII

1656.

Jacob Alrichs director. 5 Dec.

9 Dec.

The West India Company informed Stuyvesant of all these arrangements, and instructed him to transfer the territory which the city had purchased to Alrichs on his arrival in New Netherland. At Forts Christina and New Gottenburg, "now called by us Altona and the island of Kattenberg," he was to maintain for the present a small garrison. "The confidence which we feel," they added, "about the success and increase of this new colony, and of which we hope to see some prominent features next spring, when to all appearance large numbers of the exiled Waldenses, who shall be warned, will flock thither as to an asylum, induces us to send you orders to endeavor to purchase, before it can be accomplished by any other nation, all that tract of land situated between the South River and the Hook of the North River, to provide establishments for these emigrants."*

19 Dec. Company's instructions to Stuyvesant.

Waldenses.

About one hundred and sixty-seven colonists embarked in three vessels—the Prince Maurice, the Bear, and the Flower of Guelder—and set sail from the Texel on Christmas-day. Evert Pietersen, who had passed a good exam-

25 Dec. Embarkation of colonists.

* Hol. Doc., viii., 138–177; xv., 6–10, 119, 121, 184, 191–203; Alb. Rec., iv., 223; xviii., 400; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 223, 225, 226; Lambrechtsen, 649.

CH. XVIII. 1656. ination before the Classis, accompanied the emigrants as schoolmaster and Zieken-trooster, "to read God's word and lead in singing," until the arrival of a clergyman. A storm separated the squadron; and, after a long voyage, the Prince Maurice, with Alrichs, Kregier, D'Hinoyossa, Van Sweringen the supercargo, and most of the emigrants on board, struck about midnight on the south coast of Long Island, at a place called "Sicktewacky," or Secontague, near Fire Island Inlet. The next morning, the crew and passengers escaped through the ice to a barren shore, "without weeds, grass, or timber of any sort to make a fire." The shipwrecked emigrants were visited before long by some of the neighboring Indians, by whom Alrichs sent a letter to Stuyvesant imploring help.

1657. 8 March. Shipwreck on Long Island. 9 March. 12 March.

Yachts were immediately dispatched from New Amsterdam, and the director went in person to the scene of the disaster. The emigrants and most of the cargo were brought in safety to New Amsterdam, where the other vessels had meanwhile arrived. In a few days, Stuyvesant, in obedience to the company's orders, formally transferred to Alrichs "the Fortress Casimir, now named New Amstel, with all the lands dependent on it, in conformity with our first purchase from and transfer by the natives to us on the nineteenth of July, 1651, beginning at the west side of the Minquas, or Christina Kill, named in their language Suspencough, to the mouth of the bay or river included, named Boomtje's Hook, in the Indian language Canaresse, and this as far in the country as the limits of the Minquas' land." A vessel was immediately chartered, and Alrichs sailed for the South River, with from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and eighty emigrants. Upon his arrival at Fort Casimir, Alrichs received from Jacquet a surrender of his authority, and the government of the colony of New Amstel was formally organized.*

20 March. 12 April. Transfer of Fort Casimir to Alrichs. 17 April. Colonists sail to the South River. 21 April. New Amstel organized.

The region north of Christina Kill remained under the jurisdiction of the West India Company, in obedience to

* Alb. Rec., xii., 405–411; xv., 124, 125; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 229–233; O'Call., ii., 335; Lond. Doc., iv., 173; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 344; Letter of Classis of Amst., 25th May, 1657; Montanus, 124; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 131; *ante*, p. 529.

1657.

whose orders the name of Fort Christina was changed to that of "Altona." It had been Stuyvesant's intention to continue Jacquet in command of this territory; but complaints of his misgovernment having been made by Allerton and others, the director ordered him to transfer the company's effects to Hudde. This was done; and Jacquet, on his return to Manhattan, was arrested and prosecuted.*

Altona.

20 April. Jacquet succeeded by Hudde.

24 May.

During the first few months of Alrich's directorship, New Amstel prospered. In the absence of a clergyman, the religious instruction of the colonists was superintended by Evert Pietersen the "Voorleezer," who had accompanied them from Holland. The Classis of Amsterdam, however, soon commissioned Domine Everardus Welius, a young man of much esteem "in life, in studies, in gifts, and in conversation," to take charge of the congregation; who sailed for the South River in company with about four hundred new emigrants. On their arrival, a church was organized, of which Alrichs and Jean Williams were appointed elders, and Pietersen "fore-singer, Zieken-trooster, and deacon," with a colleague. The municipal government was now remodelled; the town was laid out; buildings were rapidly erected; industry promised success; and thirty families were tempted to emigrate from Manhattan to the flourishing colony of New Amstel.†

9 March. Domine Welius.

25 May.

21 August. Church at New Amstel.

The Gravesend memorial which Grover had carried to Cromwell the last year awakened the attention of the government at Whitehall; and a statement of "the English rights to the northern parts of America" was prepared, in which Cabot's voyage and the Virginia and New England patents were assumed to give the English the "best general right," the Dutch were roundly affirmed to be intruders, and the absurd story was gravely repeated that King James had granted them Staten Island "as a watering-place for their West India fleets." It was, therefore, advised that the English towns at the west of Long Island

English claims of territorial right.

* Alb. Rec., xv., 138, 139, 149–151, 187; S. Hazard, 233–236; Acrelius, 418–421.

† Letter of Classis of Amsterdam, 25th May, 1657; Pietersen to Classis, 12th August, 1657; 12th December, 1659; Alb. Rec., iv., 237, 247; vii., 406; xii., 417–449; Hol. Doc., xv., 213–252; xvi., 196–200; O'Call., ii., 336, 337; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 237–241.

CH. XVIII. 1657.

should be "very cautious of making themselves guilty either of ignorant or willful betraying the rights of their nation, by their subjecting themselves and lands to a foreign state."*

Letter of Cromwell to English on Long Island.

A letter was accordingly addressed by the Protector to "the English well-affected inhabitants on Long Island, in America," which Grover, having conveyed to Gravesend, insisted should be opened and read. The magistrates, however, declined, until they had consulted Stuyvesant, who at once ordered Grover to be arrested, and brought, with his papers, to New Amsterdam. Hearing of this, the English in the neighboring villages called a meeting in Jamaica "to agitate;" and it was proposed at Gravesend to send a messenger to inform Cromwell of the "wrongs and injuries which we receive here from those in authority over us." The director, however, was neither intimidated nor thrown off his guard. He discreetly sent the letter, unopened, to the Amsterdam Chamber, so as not to be accused by the Lord Protector "of the crime of opening his letter or breaking his seal," or to be censured by his own superiors for "admitting letters from a foreign prince or potentate, from which rebellion might arise."†

24 August.

14 Sept.

30 October. Sent by Stuyvesant to the Amsterdam directors.

Lutheran clergyman sent to New Netherland.

In the mean time, the Lutheran congregation at Amsterdam had taken measures to send out a clergyman, John Ernestus Goetwater, to organize a church and preach at Manhattan. Neither the West India Company nor the Classis of Amsterdam were consulted. "We can not yet resolve," wrote the directors to Stuyvesant, "to indulge the Lutherans with greater freedom in the exercise of their religious worship than we allowed them in our letter of the fourteenth of June, 1656." Upon learning that Goetwater had actually sailed, the Classis informed their ministers at New Amsterdam that the company's intention was to permit "every one to have freedom within his own

7 April.

25 May.

* Thurloe, v., 81–83; Hazard, i., 602–605; *ante*, p. 620. The question of title has been considered, *ante*, p. 4, 44, 96, 144, 189. It may be added that, in the opinion of Louis XIV., the right of the Dutch was "the best founded," and for the English to call them "intruders" was "a species of mockery."—Let. D'Estrades, iii., 340.

† Hol. Doc., ix., 165–168, 269, 271; Alb. Rec., iv., 265; Gravesend Records; O'Call., ii., 342–345.

dwelling to serve God in such a manner as his religion requires, but without authorizing any public meetings or conventicles."

6 July. Goetwater at New Amsterdam.

The arrival of Goetwater at New Amsterdam was the signal for fresh troubles. The Dutch clergymen represented the inconvenience of allowing the Lutherans to organize a church; and Goetwater was cited before the civil authorities. Having frankly admitted that "he had no other commission than a letter from the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam," he was directed not to hold any meeting or do any clerical service, but regulate his conduct according to the placards of the province against private conventicles.

4 Sept. Ordered to return.

At the instance of the Established clergy, he was soon afterward ordered to return to Holland. Against this the Lutherans protested in vain; and Goetwater's ill health alone induced the director to suspend the execution of his harsh decree.* 16 October

The people called Quakers.

New England had, meanwhile, been maturing her system of intolerance, and "Laud was justified by the men whom he had wronged." Among the independent sects to which the political troubles in England had given rise, none had gone quite so far as "the people called Quakers." Under the preaching of George Fox, the son of a weaver at Drayton, numerous converts to a benevolent faith had declared their emancipation from the creeds and ceremonies of all existing ecclesiastical organizations. The disciples of Fox soon found their way to America; and their fervid enthusiasm alarmed the governments of New England. Several of them were imprisoned at Boston, and "thrust out of the jurisdiction." A special statute was passed that none of the "cursed sect" should be brought into Massachusetts. This was followed by a law forbidding all persons to "entertain and conceal" a known Quaker; and the unhappy sectarians were threatened, on conviction, with the loss of ears, and with having their tongues bored with a red-hot iron. New Plymouth, Connecticut,

14 October. Penal laws of Massachusetts.

* Alb Rec., iv., 234; xiv., 223, 405; Cor. Classis Amst.; Letters of 22d May, 5th and 14th August, 22d October, 1657; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 104; *ante*, p. 617, 626.

CH. XVIII. 1657.

and New Haven adopted similar statutes. But Rhode Island, nobly true to her grand principle of religious liberty, steadily refused. "These people," she replied to Massachusetts, "begin to loathe this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority."*

13 October. Liberality of Rhode Island.

Unhappily, the spirit of Massachusetts rather than that of Rhode Island seems to have moved the government of New Netherland. An English ship, the "Woodhouse," arrived at New Amsterdam, with a number of Quakers on board, among whom were several of those who had been banished from Boston the previous autumn. Two of these persons, Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead, began to preach publicly in the streets, for which breach of the law they were arrested and imprisoned. A few days afterward they were discharged; and the ship, with most of her Quaker passengers, sailed onward, through Hell-gate, to Rhode Island, "where all kinds of scum dwell, for it is nothing else than a sink for New England."†

6 August. Quakers arrive at New Amsterdam.

14 August. Go to Rhode Island.

Case of Robert Hodgson.

But Robert Hodgson, one of the Quakers, wishing to remain in the Dutch province, went over to Long Island. At Flushing he was well received. On visiting Heemstede, however, where Denton, the Presbyterian clergyman, ministered, Hodgson was arrested and committed to prison, whence he was transferred to the dungeon of Fort Amsterdam. Upon his examination before the council, he was convicted, and sentenced to labor two years at a wheelbarrow, along with a negro, or pay a fine of six hundred guilders. After a few days confinement, he was chained to a barrow, and ordered to work; and upon his refusal, was beaten by a negro with a tarred rope until he fell down. At length, after frequent scourgings and solitary imprisonments, the suffering Quaker was liberated, at the

* Hazard, ii., 347, 349, 551–554; Col. Laws Mass., 122, 123; Col. Rec. Conn., 283, 284; Hutchinson, i., 181, 454; Bancroft, i., 451–453; ii., 326–354; Hildreth, i., 401–406.

† Letter of Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis, 14th August, 1657; Hutchinson, i., 180, 181; Besse, ii., 182; Hazard, Reg. Penn., vi., 174; Thompson's L. I., ii., 73, 288. The Quakers who came to New Netherland in the Woodhouse were Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Sarah Gibbons, Dorothy Waugh, and Mary Witherhead, who had been banished from Boston the year before, and Humphrey Norton, Robert Hodgson, Richard Dowdney, William Robinson, and Mary Clarke.

intercession of the director's sister, Anna, widow of Nicholas Bayard, and ordered to leave the province.

1657.

In defiance of the ordinance against conventicles, Henry Townsend, one of the leading inhabitants of the new settlement of Rustdorp, or Jamaica, had ventured to hold meetings at his house. For this offense he was sentenced to pay an "amende" of eight Flemish pounds, or to leave the province within six weeks, under pain of corporeal punishment. This was followed by a proclamation somewhat resembling the enactments of Massachusetts. Any person entertaining a Quaker for a single night was to be fined fifty pounds, of which one half was to go to the informer; and vessels bringing any Quaker into the province were to be confiscated. Upon its publication at Flushing, where Townsend formerly resided and had many friends, a spirited remonstrance to Stuyvesant was drawn up by Edward Hart the town clerk, and signed by the inhabitants. They refused to persecute or punish the Quakers, because "the law of love, peace, and liberty in the state, extending to Jews, Turks, and Egyptians, as they are considered the sons of Adam, which is the glory of the outward state of Holland, so love, peace, and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemns hatred, war, and bondage." Appealing to their charter, they declared that they would not lay violent hands upon any who might come among them in love. This remonstrance, bearing the names of twenty-nine of the inhabitants, and of Henry and John Townsend of Jamaica, was carried to New Amsterdam by Tobias Feake, the schout of Flushing.

15 Sept. Henry Townsend.

Proclamation against Quakers.

27 Dec. Remonstrance of Flushing.

Stuyvesant's indignation was instantly aroused. Feake was arrested; and Farrington and Noble, two of the magistrates, with Hart, the town clerk of Flushing, were summoned to Fort Amsterdam. Noble and Farrington, craving pardon for having subscribed the remonstrance, were forgiven upon promising good behavior; and Hart, its author, after three weeks imprisonment, was pardoned upon his humble submission and the intercession of several of his neighbors. The weight of Stuyvesant's vengeance fell

1658.

1 January. Magistrates of Flushing punished.

10 January.

23 January.

CH. XVIII. upon the schout. In the face of the placards of the director and council, Feake had given lodgings to "that heretical and abominable sect called Quakers," and he had been foremost in composing and procuring signatures to "a seditious and detestable chartabel." He was, therefore, sentenced to be degraded from his office, and to pay a fine of two hundred guilders, or be banished. To prevent future disorders "arising from town meetings," Stuyvesant soon afterward determined to modify the municipal franchise which Kieft's patent had assured to Flushing. It was, therefore, decreed that seven of the "best, most prudent, and most respectable" inhabitants should be chosen as a "Vroedschap," or board of counselors, with whom the schout and magistrates should consult, and that whatever they might all agree upon respecting the local affairs of the town should be "submitted to by the inhabitants in general." As there had now been no "good, pious, and orthodox" minister there since Doughty's departure for Virginia, the authorities were directed to procure a proper clergyman, to be supported by a tax of twelve stuyvers on every morgen of land; and all persons who should not submit to this arrangement were to dispose of their property and leave the place.*

1658.

28 January.

26 March. Modification of Flushing charter.

These severe measures against Flushing did not check the spread of Quakerism elsewhere. Henry Townsend, of Rustdorp, undeterred by his former sentence, was again brought before the council, and, confessing that he had disregarded the placards of the government, was sentenced to be fined one hundred pounds Flemish. Upon his refusal to pay this fine, Townsend was imprisoned in the dungeon of Fort Amsterdam, until his friends procured his release "by giving the oppressors two young oxen and a horse."

15 Jan.

Gravesend. The doctrines of Fox found a welcome reception among the Anabaptists of Gravesend; and John Tilton, its town clerk, convicted of lodging a Quaker woman, was fined twelve Flemish pounds. Viewing the "raising up and propaga-

* Alb. Rec., xiv., 1–68, 169–173, 275; xix., 275; Sewel's Hist., 217–219; Besse, ii., 182–184; O'Call., ii., 347–353; Thompson's L. I., ii., 72–74, 288–292; *ante*, p. 410.

ting a new, unheard-of, abominable heresy called Quakers," as a sign of God's judgment, the director and council proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer throughout the province. At Heemstede, where the Presbyterians had already shown their zeal against Hodgson, the magistrates, observing many seduced from "the true worship and service of God," ordained that no person should entertain or have any conversation with the people called Quakers. But the persecuted sectarians, refused admittance into the houses, persisted in holding their meetings in the woods. The wives of Joseph Scott and Francis Weeks were presently arraigned before the village magistrates for attending a conventicle, "where there were two Quakers," and were each fined twenty guilders. Symptoms of disaffection also appeared at Breuckelen; and three persons were summoned by Tonneman, the schout, for not contributing to the support of Domine Polhemus. The excuses they pleaded—that they did not belong to the Established Church, and did not understand Dutch—were pronounced "frivolous," and each was fined twelve guilders. These measures against sectarianism and non-conformity were accompanied by an ordinance setting forth that as it had become common for parties to put off marrying for a long time after their banns had been proclaimed, "which is directly in contravention of, and contrary to the excellent order and customs of our Fatherland," all persons must thenceforward be married within one month after the proclamation of their banns, unless they could give a good excuse.*

CH. XVIII.

1658.

29 Jan. Fast-day proclaimed.

13 April. Heemstede.

18 April.

26 March. Breuckelen.

2 April.

15 Jan. Ordinance respecting marriages.

The beginning of this year was marked by a very important concession to the citizens of New Amsterdam. Its burgomasters and schepens were at last allowed to nominate a double number of persons, from whom the new magistrates were to be chosen by the director. It was now found that the division of the citizens into two classes produced inconvenience, in consequence of the small number who, by being enrolled as Great burghers, were eligible to

New Amsterdam affairs.

* Alb. Rec., xiv., 12–26, 168–184; New Amst. Rec., i., 79, 80; iii., 25, 26, 85–87; Cor. Classis Amst.; Besse, ii., 196, 197; Thompson's L. I., ii., 11, 12, 291.

CH. XVIII. office; and the government was obliged to enlarge that unpopular order. A double list of candidates was then submitted to Stuyvesant, who sent it back the next day, objecting that it was not properly signed, and that the nomination had not been made in the presence of the schout. The informality was corrected; and the director and council selected and confirmed the new magistrates from the candidates proposed by the municipal authorities. No concession, however, was made respecting a separate schout, which office De Sille continued to fill for two years longer.

1658.
28 Jan. Nomination of magistrates.
31 Jan.
2 Feb.

Foreign residents.

Foreign residents had now become so numerous, that the government thought it necessary to order that the proclamations against smuggling should be translated into French and English. New Amsterdam, however, though its commercial prosperity seemed to be assured, was by no means a well-regulated city. Most of its houses were wooden; and the risk of destruction appeared so great, that the burgomasters and schepens were authorized to demand one beaver, or its equivalent, from each householder, to pay for two hundred and fifty leather fire-buckets, to be procured in Holland, and for hooks and ladders. A "rattle watch," to do duty from nine o'clock at night until morning drum-beat, was also established. The education of youth, though not neglected, had hitherto been imperfect; and volunteer instructors were not regarded with favor. Jacob Corlaer, who had undertaken the duty of a teacher, was interdicted by Stuyvesant, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the city authorities, because he had presumed to take the office on himself without authority from the provincial government. The attention of the West India Company had already been called by Domine Drisius to the advantage of establishing a Latin school at New Amsterdam, and the project had been favorably received. In exhibiting the condition and wants of the city to the Amsterdam Chamber, the burgomasters and schepens represented that the inhabitants were desirous to have their children instructed in the most useful languages, especially Latin, and were willing to build a school-house. As the nearest place where

Fire apparatus.

Rattle watch.

Popular education.

19 Sept. Latin school desired by the people.

they could send them for classical instruction was Boston, they urged that a suitable master of a Latin school should be sent over; "not doubting but, were such a person here, many of the neighboring places would send their children hither." Thus New Amsterdam might "finally attain to an academy, whereby this place arriving at great splendor, your honors shall have the reward and praise."* CH. XVIII. 1658.

To promote agriculture, and establish "a place of amusement for the citizens of New Amsterdam," the government resolved to form a village, to be called "New Haerlem," at the northern part of Manhattan Island, "in the vicinity of the lands of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, deceased." Large privileges were offered to persons disposed to settle themselves there; and a good road was to be made, "so that it may be made easy to come hither and return to that village on horseback or in a wagon." A ferry to Long Island was to be established, so that correspondence with the English might be encouraged; a court was to be organized; and "a good orthodox clergyman" was to be settled as soon as the place should contain twenty-five families. It was more than two years, however, before New Haerlem contained inhabitants enough to entitle it to the patent which Stuyvesant promised.† 4 March. New Haerlem. Road and ferry.

Staten Island and the country in its neighborhood continued to feel the effects of the Indian massacre of 1655; and Melyn, leaving New Netherland, from the authorities of which he had suffered so much injustice, took an oath of fidelity to the government of New Haven. Van de Capellen, however, sent out fresh colonists, and endeavored to encourage the former settlers to return to their deserted homes. To secure the good-will of the savages, Van Dincklagen, his agent, repurchased from the sachems of Tappan, Hackinsack, and its neighborhood, their hereditary rights to the whole of the island, which they called "Eghquaous," and concluded with them a treaty of peace and alliance, "with submission to the courts of justice at Hospating, Staten Island. 1657. 17 April. 10 July. Repurchased from the savages.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 268; xiv., 65, 87–99, 233; New Amst. Rec., i., 73, 74; iii., 46–54, 87, 88, 230–234, 336–339. † Alb. Rec., vii., 420–422; xiv., 130–133, 422; xxiv., 368, 369.

CH. XVIII. near Hackingsack, on Waerkimins-Connie, in New Netherland." This transaction thwarted the policy of the West India directors, who insisted that all the land titles should pass through them or their provincial authorities. Stuyvesant was accordingly ordered to declare Van Dincklagen's purchase void; to procure for the company the Indian title; and then to convey as much land to Van de Capellen as he might require.*

1657.

22 Dec.

1658. In order to hasten the settlement of the country on the west side of the North River, and quiet doubts respecting title, Stuyvesant formally purchased from the Indians all the territory now known as Bergen, in New Jersey, "beginning from the great rock above Wiehackan, and from there right through the land, until above the island Sikakes, and from there to the Kill van Col, and so along to the Constable's Hook, and thence again to the rock above Wiehackan." The farmers at "Gamoenepa," or Communipa, who had been forced to desert their settlements in 1655, now petitioned to be restored to their former homes. The director promptly complied with their request; but, to guard against future danger from the savages, required them to concentrate their dwellings, so that a village might eventually be incorporated there.†

30 Jan. Purchase of Bergen, in New Jersey.

Gamoenepa, or Communipa.

20 May. Letter of the West India Company respecting the Lutherans.

The West India Company, having now been informed of Stuyvesant's proceedings against Goetwater, approved of what had been done, "though it might have been performed in a more gentle way." As the chief reason why the Lutherans wished to separate themselves from the provincial Church was the use of a "new formulary" of baptism, it was recommended that the old Liturgy, "adopted in the times of the Reformation," be followed as less offensive; and that more moderate measures should be employed, "so that those of other persuasions may not be frightened away through such a preciseness in the public Reformed Church there, but by attending its services may

Moderation enjoined.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 225, 258, 259; viii., 161; O'Call., ii., 425, 426, 575. Van Dincklagen died probably in the autumn or winter of 1657; certainly before the 2d April, 1658.

† Alb. Rec., xiv., 27, 28, 82, 83; New Amst. Rec., ii., 212; iii., 143; Whitehead's East Jersey, 20, 21; New Jersey Bill in Chancery, 1745, p. 5; *ante*, p. 537.

in time be attracted and gained." And in subsequent dispatches the directors, wishing that nothing should be left untried to win the Lutherans "by moderation and forbearance," ordered that the "old formulary, word for word," should be used in the New Netherland churches.

19 June. Old formulary of baptism.

These instructions were communicated by Stuyvesant to the Dutch clergymen at New Amsterdam; who, feeling that they were unjustly accused of "too great preciseness," drew up an elaborate defense, which was submitted to the director and council. The question, however, being one of an ecclesiastical nature, the whole subject was referred to the Classis of Amsterdam. In their letters to the Classis, Megapolensis and Drisius gave an interesting account of the state of religion in the province; and, in view of the rapid growth of other sects, earnestly entreated that "good Dutch clergymen" should be speedily sent over; as, besides themselves, Schaats at Beverwyck, Polhemus at Midwout, and Welius at New Amstel, were now the only ministers of the Reformed Church in New Netherland.

19 August. 23 August. 24 Sept. Explanations of the clergymen at New Amsterdam.

Scarcely had these letters been dispatched before three persons, "suspected of being Quakers," came over the river from Gamoenepa to New Amsterdam, and were brought before the director and council for examination. Their particular offense seems to have been that they had entered the court with their heads covered. As they had committed no other impropriety, they were merely ordered to be sent back to Communipa. They then asked to be allowed to go to New England. But Stuyvesant, unwilling, perhaps, to offend his Puritan neighbors, peremptorily refused, and warned them not to return to New Amsterdam.*

30 Sept. Quakers from Communipa.

The Jesuit missions in Western New York had, meanwhile, undergone great vicissitudes. Leaving Chaumonot at Onondaga, Dablon returned to Canada to urge the es-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 266, 275, 277; xiv., 223, 369, 405; Cor. Cl. Amst.; Letter of Megapolensis and Drisius, 24th September, 1658. In another letter of 25th September, Megapolensis recommended to the Classis his son Samuel, then "going into his 25th year," who, after studying Latin and English at the "Academy of New England in Cambridge," now went to the Fatherland to complete his education at the University of Utrecht. After taking his degrees in Theology and in Medicine, Samuel was ordained to the ministry, and returned to New Netherland in 1664; *post*, p. 730.

CH. XVIII. tablishment of a French colony among the Iroquois. The governor yielded a ready assent, and Father Le Mercier, the superior general, accompanied by Dablon and five other missionaries, with fifty Frenchmen under the command of the Sieur Dupuys, set out for Onondaga. Entering Lake Genentaha, on the shores of which they designed to pitch their camp, they remarked the salt fountains on the eastern side, where in the spring there gathered "so great a quantity of pigeons, that thousands are caught of a morning. A grand salute of five pieces of cannon, breaking the silence of the forest, announced their arrival to "the ancients of the country." Formal possession was taken in the name of Christ; cabins were soon constructed for the French colonists; and a redoubt, the ruins of which were yet visible fifty years ago, was built on an eminence commanding the eastern shore of the lake. At the grand council, the superior, Le Mercier, and Chaumonot, "who spoke the Iroquois language as well as the natives of the country," explained the Roman faith; and hope whispered that "Saint Mary's, of Genentaha," was to be the pledge of union between Onondaga and Christendom.

1656.
2 March. Jesuit mission at Onondaga.
17 May.
11 July.
12 July.
17 July.
24 July.
St. Mary's, of Genentaha.

Opposition of the Mohawks.

The Mohawk delegates to the grand council of the confederation, disliking the alliance between the Onondagas and the Canadians, "made a harangue full of sneers and ridicule against the French." But the Cayugas sought instruction in the faith; and Father René Mesnard and two Frenchmen were sent to their villages. The Oneidas, too, asked for a teacher; and early the next year, Chaumonot passed on toward the Senecas, in the hope of founding a permanent mission. Thus France pushed her influence westward, beyond the beautiful valleys of Onondaga; and the Jesuit Fathers carried the cross from the banks of the Mohawk to the borders of the Genesee. The unjealous Dutch colonists rejoiced at their settlement in those countries, and wished to bring them "horses and other things." The Amsterdam directors, however, viewing the presence of the Jesuits in the West with less favor, instructed Stuyvesant to be upon his guard.

Friendship of the Cayugas, Oneidas, and Senecas.

Feelings of the Dutch colonists.

19 Dec. Of the West India Company.

But supplies from Quebec soon began to fail; and the savages, finding that they received no presents, relaxed their regard for Christianity as they withdrew their affections from the French. The warlike spirit of the Iroquois was unchanged. The Eries suffered under their exterminating wrath; several Huron converts were massacred; and three Frenchmen were surprised by a band of Oneidas near Montreal. A general conspiracy seemed to have been formed to cut off the Jesuit missionaries. D'Ailleboust, who had succeeded De Lauzon in the government of Canada, retaliated by imprisoning all the Iroquois within his province. This step produced a violent commotion among the cantons; but the wary warriors, postponing their vengeance, entreated Father Le Moyne, who was now among the Mohawks, to go to Quebec and intercede for their captive countrymen.*

CH. XVIII.

1657.

August.

November. The Iroquois again incensed.

Le Moyne, however, instead of going to Canada, passed the winter in New Netherland. He had frequently been to Fort Orange with the Mohawks; and now took the opportunity to make a first visit to New Amsterdam, where a number of Roman Catholics were residing. During his stay at the Dutch capital, he formed a warm friendship with Megapolensis, whose early missionary efforts among the Mohawks led him to look with lively interest, if not with entire sympathy, on the zealous labors of the Jesuit fathers. On this occasion, Le Moyne communicated to his friend an account of his visit, in 1654, to the "salt fountains" at Onondaga. In detailing this information to the Classis of Amsterdam, however, the Domine could not help adding, somewhat uncourteously, "I will not debate whether this is true, or whether it is a Jesuit lie."†

1658.

Le Moyne in New Amsterdam.

His intimacy with Megapolensis.

Stuyvesant availed himself of Le Moyne's presence to obtain, through his influence, a permission from the gov-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 222; Relation, 1655–6, 1656–7; Creuxius, 770; Charlevoix, i., 322–328; Bancroft, iii., 144, 145; Clark's Onondaga, i., 152–179; ii., 146, 147; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 45; *ante*, p. 612.

† Letters of Megapolensis to Classis of Amsterdam, of 24th and 28th September, 1658; *ante*, p. 592. These letters contain interesting details about the Mohawks, or, as "they call themselves, Kayingehaga," the restoration of Jogues' missal, ritual, &c., and the zealous efforts of Father Le Moyne to convert his Dutch clerical friend to the Roman faith.

CH. XVIII. ernor of Canada for Dutch vessels to trade in the Saint Lawrence. D'Ailleboust promptly wrote to the father that, in view of the friendship between the Netherlands and France, the Dutch might open a commerce with Canada whenever they pleased, provided they refrained from trading with the savages, and from the public exercise, on shore, of "the religion which is contrary to the Roman." The governor's letter was immediately sent to New Amsterdam by the kind-hearted father, who was then at Fort Orange. The merchants of New Amsterdam hastened to avail themselves of this opportunity to extend their commerce; and a bark was presently cleared for Quebec, with a cargo upon which all duties were remitted, in consideration of its being the "first voyage" from Manhattan to Canada. But the unlucky pioneer vessel, in entering the Saint Lawrence, was wrecked on Anticosti.

1658.
18 Feb. Commerce between New Netherland and Canada.
7 April.
2 July.
First voyage.

In the mean time, the French colonists of Onondaga had passed a winter of anxiety and alarm. Rumors of a general rising of the Iroquois constantly reached their ears; and there was no hope of succor from Quebec. Early in the year numerous bands of Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga warriors took the field. Dupuys, informed by a converted savage of the plot against him, now resolved to retreat with his countrymen into Canada. But no means of conveyance were ready, and the enemy was alert and watchful. Light boats were secretly built in the large store-house, where none of the savages were allowed to enter. When all was ready, the Onondagas were invited to a feast. Trumpets and drums drowned the preparations for departure. While the revelry was at its height, the French were noiselessly embarking on the lake. A heavy sleep overpowered the unsuspecting savages; and long before they awoke from their lethargy, Dupuys and all his countrymen, abandoning their chapel and their cabins, were safe beyond pursuit, working through the floating ice their perilous way to Canada.

February. Distress of the French at Onondaga.
19 March.
20 March. Abandonment of the mission.

Thus ended the attempt of France to found a colony within the present territory of New York. Le Moyne had

already left the Mohawk country; and the next year, the Iroquois, whose warriors were estimated to number more than two thousand, were again in open hostility with the Canadians. As long as New Netherland continued to be a Dutch province, the enmity of the Mohawks against the French could scarcely be allayed; though the milder Onondagas sought to bury the hatchet of war, and the bell, which had called the faithful to worship in the chapel of the Jesuits, summoned the deputies of the Western Iroquois to the council of peace.*

1658. The Iroquois again at war with the French.

1661.

In the mean time, the settlers who had been driven away from Esopus by the Indians in 1655, had returned to their farms, hoping that, with the restoration of peace, they should enjoy security. But, in spite of all proclamations, the farmers persisted in isolating themselves from each other, and in buying peltries from the savages for brandy. Outrages naturally followed. One of the settlers was killed, the house and outbuildings of another were burned, and the Dutch were forced, by threats of arson and murder, to plow up the patches where the quarrelsome savages planted their maize. At this time there were between sixty and seventy colonists at Esopus, who had just sowed nearly a thousand "schepels" of grain. "We pray you to send forty or fifty soldiers," wrote they to Stuyvesant, "to save the Esopus, which, if well settled, might supply the whole of New Netherland with provisions."†

Esopus colonists.

1658.

1 May. Outrages of the savages.

2 May. Succor demanded.

The Amsterdam Chamber had already instructed their director to build a redoubt at Esopus for the protection of the inhabitants, and had sent out an additional military force and a supply of ammunition. Stuyvesant now went up the river, accompanied by Govert Loockermans and fifty soldiers. The morrow after he reached Esopus was Ascension day; and the people, having no church, assembled at the house of Jacob Jansen Stol to keep the festival. The

28 May. Stuyvesant visits Esopus.

30 May.

* Alb. Rec., xiv., 275; Stuyvesant's Letters; Fort Orange Rec.; Relation, 1657–58, 1659–60; Charlevoix, i., 328–338; Bancroft, iii., 145–148; Hildreth, ii., 91; Clark's Onondaga, i., 179–189; O'Call., ii., 363–365; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 45–55.

† Alb. Rec., xiv., 265; xvi., 7–13. To this day the flat lands along the creeks in Ulster county are proverbial for their fertility.

CH. XVIII. director immediately recommended them to form a village, which could easily be palisaded, and afford them full protection; but the colonists objected that it would be inconvenient to remove their residences while their crops were yet ungathered, and that it would be difficult to select a site for a village which would please all. They, therefore, asked that the soldiers should be allowed to remain with them until after harvest. This the director refused, but promised that, if they would agree at once to palisade the ground for a village, he would stay with them until the work should be completed.

1658. The colonists advised to form a village at Esopus.

Word had meanwhile been sent to the neighboring chiefs to come and meet the "grand sachem from Manhattan;" and some fifty savages, with a few women and children, soon appeared, and seated themselves under an old tree. The director went to meet them, accompanied by two followers and an interpreter. One of the chiefs made a long harangue, reciting the events of Kieft's war, and the losses which his tribe had then suffered. The director replied that the general peace had settled all the questions connected with that war. "Has any injury been done you," he demanded, "since that peace was made, or since I came into the country?" "Your sachems have asked us, over and over again, to make a settlement among you. We have not had a foot of your land without paying for it, nor do we desire to have any more without making you full compensation. Why, then, have you committed this murder, burned our houses, killed our cattle, and why do you continue to threaten our people?" After a long pause, one of the chiefs replied, "You Swannekens have sold our children drink. The sachems can not then control the young Indians, nor restrain them from fighting. This murder has not been committed by any of our tribe, but by a Minnisinck, who is now skulking among the Haverstraws." "If this be not stopped," rejoined Stuyvesant, "I shall have to retaliate on old and young, on women and children. I expect that you will repair all damages, seize the murderer if he come among you, and do no further mischief.

30 May.

Conference with the savages.

The Dutch are now going to live together in one spot. It is desirable that you should sell us the whole of the Esopus land, as you have often proposed, and remove further into the interior." Thus ended the conference; and the Indians departed, promising to consider well what had passed.

31 May. Village laid out at Esopus.

The settlers, adopting Stuyvesant's advice, now signed an agreement to form a village, the site of which they left to the director's judgment. He accordingly chose a spot at a bend of the kill, where a water-front might be had on three sides; and a part of the plain, about two hundred and ten yards in circumference, was staked out.

4 June.

A few days afterward, while the Dutch were busily at work stockading their village, a band of savages was observed approaching, and the soldiers were ordered to stand by their arms. But the visit of the Indians was one of peace. They had come to give the land on which the village was commenced as a present to the grand sachem of the Hollanders, "to grease his feet, as he had taken so long and painful a journey to visit them." The work now went merrily on. In three weeks the palisade and ditches were completed, the buildings removed, a bridge thrown over the kill, and a guard-house and temporary barracks built. Stuyvesant detailed twenty-four soldiers to remain as a garrison; and, after seeing the new village fairly started, he took leave of Esopus and returned to the capital.*

Cession of the land by the savages.

24 June.

July. Settlement of difficulties at Beverwyck.

The next month witnessed the settlement of the difficulties between the provincial government and the authorities of Rensselaerswyck. In place of the tenths demanded by Stuyvesant, the colonists agreed to pay a yearly contribution of three hundred schepels of wheat. About the same time, John Baptist van Rensselaer was succeeded as director of the colonie by his brother Jeremias, who continued for sixteen years to manage its affairs with discretion and acceptance. He soon acquired a great influence among the neighboring savage tribes, and was sincerely respected by the French in Canada.†

Jeremias van Rensselaer director of Rensselaerswyck.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 248; xvi., 15–35; Kingston Rec.; O'Call., ii., 357–362.

† Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 310, 551, 552; *ante*, p. 624.

CH. XVIII. 1658. May. In the mean time, the Mohawks had obtained from the Canadian government the release of some of their captive warriors. Six of them, however, were detained until the Iroquois sachems should come in person and make a general treaty of peace. Several Mohawk chiefs now visited Fort Orange to procure an interpreter to go with them to Canada, as they did not understand the French tongue. But Le Moyne had now returned home, and the Dutch authorities did not know of any one who could serve their purpose. The Mohawks were dissatisfied. "When you were at war with the Indians," they replied, "we went to the Manhattans, and did our best to make peace for you. You are, therefore, bound to befriend us now." The Dutch could not resist this appeal; and the public crier was sent around to offer a bounty of one hundred guilders for a volunteer. One of the soldiers, Henry Martin, agreeing to go, was furnished with a letter from Vice-director La Montagne to La Potherie, the governor of the Three Rivers, and accompanied the savages under a promise to be brought safely back in forty days. When near the Three Rivers, Martin lost himself in the woods; and ten of the Mohawks, presenting themselves to La Potherie without La Montagne's letter, were seized as spies, and sent as prisoners to Argenson, the new governor general of Canada, who "did good justice" upon them for the recent murder of some Algonquins under the very guns of Quebec.*

13 August. Mohawks at Fort Orange.

15 August. Interpreter furnished by the Dutch.

15 October. Before the winter set in, Stuyvesant revisited Esopus, to provide for its security and obtain some further concessions from the Indians. The savages demurred, and adroitly endeavored to divert him from his purpose by promising a large trade with the Minquas and Senecas, if the Dutch would furnish them with ammunition. After waiting several days, the director found that the chiefs would not yield to his wishes; and, from their anxiety to have the soldiers removed, he suspected them of treacherous designs as soon as the closing of the river should isolate the settlers. On his return to New Amsterdam, he, therefore, left a garrison

16 October. Stuyvesant revisits Esopus.

19 October.

* Relation, 1657–58, 60–69; Charlevoix, i., 338, 339; O'Call., ii., 366, 367; *ante*, p. 647.

of fifty men, under the command of Ensign Dirck Smit, with instructions to keep a steady watch, act only on the defensive, allow no Indians inside the stockade, and detail a proper guard for the protection of the farmers while working in the fields.* CH. XVIII. 1658. Dirck Smit commandant.

On the South River, New Amstel—where several shipwrecked Englishmen from Virginia, whom Alrichs had ransomed from the savages, had become residents—began to wear an appearance of prosperity, and was now "a goodly town of about one hundred houses." An inevitable consequence, however, of the establishment of the city's colony was the increase of smuggling. The revenue suffered severely, and the regular traders complained. The colonists at New Amstel seemed to think themselves independent of the company and of its provincial authorities at New Amsterdam. These and other considerations induced the council to advise Stuyvesant to go there, and correct all irregularities in person. South River. Consequences of the establishment of New Amstel.

Accompanied by Tonneman, the director accordingly set sail for the South River. On his arrival at Altona, the Swedes were called upon to take the oath of allegiance which was required of all the other colonists. This they willingly took, and at the same time asked for certain specific favors; among others, that they should be allowed to remain neutral in case of war between Holland and Sweden. Some of these requests were evaded; others were granted; and the Swedes were allowed to choose their own officers. On his return to New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant informed the council that "many things are there not as they ought to be;" smuggling and fraud had prevailed, by reason of the shipments to the city colony; and Alrichs, though he now promised amendment, had entirely omitted from the oath, required of the newly-arrived colonists, any mention of the West India Company and of their provincial authorities of New Netherland. 20 April. 8 May. Stuyvesant visits Altona. 13 May. Report to the council.

Fearing that the English from Virginia would endeavor to intrude at Cape Hinlopen, "as they before tried it from

* Alb. Rec., xiv., 380; xvi., 41–59; O'Call., ii., 367–370.

CH. XVIII. 1658.

the side of New England," the West India directors now recommended that Alrichs should "disentangle himself, in the best manner possible," from the Englishmen whom he had allowed to settle at New Amstel, and, "at all events, not to admit any English besides them in that vicinity, much less to allure them by any means whatever." A few days afterward, they instructed Stuyvesant to purchase from the Indians the tract between Cape Hinlopen and the Boomtje's Hook, so that it might be afterward legally conveyed to the commissaries of the city of Amsterdam. "You will perceive," they added, "that speed is required, if for nothing else, that we may prevent other nations, and principally our English neighbors, as we really apprehend that this identical spot has attracted their notice." "When we reflect on the insufferable proceedings of that nation, not only by intruding themselves upon our possessions about the North, to which our title is indisputable, and when we consider the bold arrogance and faithlessness of those who are residing within our jurisdiction, we can not expect any good from that quarter."

28 May.

7 June. Instructions of the W. I. Company to buy lands at Cape Hinlopen.

To maintain the rights and authority of the company, Stuyvesant immediately appointed Willem Beeckman, "an expert and respectable person," and one of the earliest magistrates of New Amsterdam, as commissary and vice-director on the South River. Beeckman, however, did not receive his instructions until late in the autumn. They required him to live at first at Altona, but to have his permanent residence at or near New Amstel, where he could more conveniently attend to the collection of the revenue. He was invested with all the powers of the company on the whole of the South River, except the district of New Amstel, and was bound to maintain the Reformed religion. With regard to the proposed purchase, he was to act in concert with Alrichs, and obtain a deed from the Indians as soon as possible.

30 July. Willem Beeckman appointed vice-director.

28 October. Beeckman's instructions.

The prosperity of New Amstel had, meanwhile, become clouded. The colonists had planted in hope; but heavy rains setting in, their harvest was ruined, and food became

Failure of the harvest, and sickness at New Amstel.

1658.

scarce and dear. An epidemic fever broke out; the surgeon and many children died; and most of the inhabitants suffered from a climate to which they were not accustomed. While the disease was yet raging, the ship "Mill" arrived from Holland, after a disastrous voyage, September. bringing many new emigrants, among whom were several children from the Orphan House at Amsterdam. The 10 October. Population. population of New Amstel now exceeded six hundred; but its inhabitants were "without bread," and the ship which brought the new emigrants brought no supply of provisions. Industry was crippled, while wages advanced; Commissary Rynvelt and many "respectable" inhabit- 28 October. ants perished, and a long winter stared the famished survivors in the face.*

In the autumn of 1658, an important event happened in England. After raising his country to a prouder position among the nations of the earth than she had ever before held, the grand adventurer Cromwell died, in the zenith 3 Sept. Death of Oliver Cromwell. of a power which eclipsed the majesty of legitimate kings. The night before his death was stormy. The wind blew a hurricane. Trees were uprooted in the Park at Westminster, and houses were unroofed about the London Exchange. The Roundheads asserted that God was warning the nation of the loss it was about to suffer; while the Cavaliers maintained that the Prince of the power of the air was hovering over Whitehall to seize the soul of the expiring Protector.

The reins of government fell quietly into the hands of Oliver's oldest son, Richard. But the feeble young man 1659. was not the heir of his father's great qualities. He signed a commission for the dissolution of Parliament, and 22 April. Downfall of the Protectorate. found that he had signed his own act of abdication. The army again became supreme. Monk marched his soldiers across the Tweed; and before many days it was certain that Charles the Second would be restored to the throne of his ancestors.†

* Alb. Rec., iv., 273, 274; viii., 185; xii., 285, 456–485; xiv., 227–249, 314, 386–392; Hol. Doc., xvi., 57–79; O'Call., ii., 372–375; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 239–254; *ante*, p. 633.

† Lingard, xi., 298–300; xii., 1–60; Macaulay, i., 136–147; Bancroft, ii., 23–28.

CHAPTER XIX.

1659–1660.

CH. XIX. 1659. THOUGH the treaty at Hartford had not been ratified by the English government, and the New England colonies had taken no steps to procure such ratification, its provisions had now, for several years, met a general and quiet acquiescence. Up to this period, whatever annoyance had been caused to the Dutch province by the progress of English encroachment at the East, had been chiefly caused by Connecticut and New Haven. But the time had come for Massachusetts to take a step which brought her in direct conflict with New Netherland.

Eastern boundary of New Netherland.

The Hartford treaty had settled the boundary "between the English United Colonies and the Dutch province" on the main land, as extending from the west side of Greenwich Bay on a northerly line "twenty miles up into the country, and after, as it shall be agreed by the two governments of the Dutch and of New Haven, provided the said line come not within ten miles of Hudson's River." That treaty had been solemnly signed by the plenipotentiaries of the New England commissioners, of whom Simon Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, was one. Massachusetts, however, now found it convenient to understand the agreement as extending only "so far as New Haven had jurisdiction." Under her own charter, she claimed all the American territory between a line three miles south of the Charles River and a line three miles north of the Merrimac River, and extending west from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The most northerly of these lines was claimed to be three miles north of the outlet of the Winnipiseogee Lake. The southernmost was at about the forty-second parallel of

Territorial claims of Massachusetts.

latitude. If extended westward, it would have crossed the Hudson River, near Red Hook and Saugerties. The beginning of the forty-third degree of latitude now forms the southern boundary of the State of New York, from the Delaware River to the county of Erie, in Pennsylvania. All the territory as far north of this line as the present counties of Warren and Oswego, in the State of New York, and as far west as the Pacific Ocean, was claimed by Massachusetts, in virtue of her patent from Charles the First.*

Nor did Massachusetts hesitate to assert her extravagant demand, under a charter which was eight years younger than that of the West India Company, and which, as far as it interfered with New Netherland, was "utterly void." A grant of land on the Hudson River, opposite to Fort Orange, was made to a number of her principal merchants, who were "enterprising a settlement and a trade with the Indians." Early in the summer, an exploring party, setting out from Hartford, sailed up the North River, and spent several weeks in examining its attractive shores. Finding the region around the Wappinger's Kill more beautiful than any they had seen in New England, they selected a spot near its mouth as the place of their proposed settlement. Thence proceeding up to Fort Orange, they were honorably received and entertained by Commissary La Montagne. The region between the North River and the valley of the Connecticut being yet a wilderness, the English party asked Stuyvesant for permission to pass and repass by water. This, however, he refused; for he foresaw that such a settlement in the heart of the Dutch province would be fatal, "as many hounds are death to the hare." To prevent the English, he determined to establish a Dutch settlement at the Wappinger's Kill, and earnestly entreated the Amsterdam Chamber to send out immediately as many Polish, Lithuanian, Prussian, Dutch, or Flemish peasants as possible, to form a colony which should protect the yachts sailing up and down the river.†

Massachusetts grants land on the Hudson River.

Exploring party.

July.

Refused permission to navigate the North River.

4 Sept. Proposed Dutch settlement at Wappinger's Kill.

* Hazard, i., 571, 591; Hutchinson, i., 191, 192; Journal N. Y. Prov. Assembly, 8th March, 1773; Dunlap's N. Y., ii., Appendix, ccv.–ccvii.; Revised Statutes N. Y., i., 64; *ante*, p. 189, 519, 520.

† Alb. Rec., xviii., 31–34; xxiv., 215; Hutchinson, i., 150.

CH. XIX.

1659.

13 Feb. New Netherland allowed a foreign trade.

Yielding to the earnest solicitation of the citizens of New Amsterdam, the West India Company reluctantly consented that their province, which had already been allowed to trade for slaves on the coast of Africa, should now try the "experiment" of a foreign commerce with France, Spain, Italy, the Carribean Islands, and elsewhere, upon condition that the vessels should return with their cargoes either to New Netherland or to Amsterdam, and that furs should be exported to Holland alone. This concession was followed by another, perhaps quite as important. The "vigilant exertions" of the directors to provide New Amsterdam with a Latin schoolmaster resulted in the engagement of Doctor Alexander Carolus Curtius, a professor in Lithuania, at a salary of five hundred guilders, and some perquisites In the course of the summer the "rector" arrived at New Amsterdam; and, on commencing his duties, was allowed by the city government two hundred guilders yearly Curtius likewise practiced as a physician.*

25 April. Curtius Latin schoolmaster.

4 July.

13 Feb.

The Amsterdam directors also enjoined Megapolensis and Drisius to obey the former orders of the Chamber, and, "to prevent schism and promote tranquillity," directed them to follow the old form of baptism without waiting for the special directions of the Classis of Amsterdam. Finding that the metropolitan clergymen hesitated, these orders were renewed. All moderate ministers in Holland, they were told, looked upon the new formulary as an "indifferent" subject, and as wanting the unanimous sanction of the Church. Harmony could never be preserved, unless a too "overbearing preciseness" should be avoided; and, if they should persist in their former course, the company would be obliged to allow the Lutherans a separate church of their own. At the same time, the directors promised to send out other Dutch clergymen to New Netherland; but these must be "men not tainted with any needless preciseness, which is rather prone to create schisms than it is adapted to edify the flock."†

22 Dec. More liberality in religion enjoined by the company.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 290, 291, 303; viii., 201; xviii., 19; xxiv., 193; New Amst. Rec., i., 97, 98; iii., 378, 381; iv., 209; *ante*, p. 640; Paulding's New Amsterdam, 42.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 288, 323, 324; viii., 195; *ante*, p. 643.

The letters which Megapolensis and Drisius had sent to the Fatherland the last autumn awakened the attention of the Classis of Amsterdam to the spiritual wants of New Netherland; and earnest representations on the subject were addressed to the College of the XIX. It was difficult to induce any settled clergyman to leave his charge in Holland; but the Classis encouraged Hermanus Blom, a candidate for the ministry, to come out to New Amsterdam, where he arrived at the end of April. Esopus now seemed most in want of a clergyman; and its inhabitants, though anxious for a settled minister, had, up to this time, been obliged to content themselves with the services of a comforter of the sick, who read to the people, in one of the houses, on Sundays and festivals. Blom accordingly visited the new village, where he preached two sermons. The people immediately organized a church, and presented the candidate with a call to become their pastor, which, having accepted, he returned to Holland, to pass his examination before the Classis and receive ordination.*

CH. XIX. 1659.

Clergymen.

April.

Blom called to Esopus.

17 August.

September.

The war now raging between the Iroquois and the French seemed to excite a thirst for European blood among the other savage tribes. Two soldiers who had deserted from Fort Orange were murdered near the Tachkanic Mountains, while on their way to Hartford. The next month, some Raritans, tempted by a roll of wampum, massacred a family at Mespath Kill, on Long Island. At Esopus great fear prevailed; for the savages had already begun to complain that Stuyvesant had not given them their promised presents. The folly of the Dutch soon brought on another collision. Thomas Chambers, one of the original settlers, having employed several Indians to husk his corn, at the end of their day's work gave them some brandy for which they asked. A carouse followed; and one of the savages about midnight fired off his gun. The garrison at the block-house was alarmed, and the sergeant of the guard was sent out to see what was the cause of the disturbance. On his return, he reported that it was only the revelry of

Temper of the savages.

31 July.

26 August.

Esopus.

September.

* Hol. Doc., ix., 102, 103; Cor. Cl. Amst., Letter of 10th September, 1659.

CH. XIX. some drunken savages. Notwithstanding the prohibition of Ensign Smit, an armed party, headed by Stol, left the fortress, and fired a volley among the unsuspecting red men. Finding his authority set at naught, the commandant told the colonists that he would return the next day with his soldiers to New Amsterdam. The people, however, took care to hire all the boats and yachts in the neighborhood; and Smit, thus deprived of the means of departure, was obliged to send an express to Stuyvesant asking his immediate presence at Esopus.

1659. Outrage by the Dutch.

21 Sept.

Revenge of the Indians.

The dastardly assassination of the sleeping savages provoked an awful retaliation. Returning from the river side, the courier's escort fell into an Indian ambuscade, and thirteen prisoners were carried off by the savages. Open war was now declared. Houses, barns, and harvests were burned up; cattle and horses were killed. Four or five hundred savage warriors invested the Dutch post; and for nearly three weeks not a colonist dared trust himself outside the stockade. Foiled in their attempts to set fire to the fortress, the savages avenged themselves by burning eight or ten of their prisoners at the stake. Without any doubt, the colonists at Esopus "did court and begin" their new calamity.*

6 Sept. Mohawks visit Fort Orange.

8 Sept.

In the mean time, a Mohawk delegation had visited Fort Orange, to keep bright the chain of union with the Dutch; to demand that no more "fire water" should be sold to their people; to ask that their guns might be repaired, and ammunition be furnished to them; and to require the assistance of men and horses for the rebuilding of their castles, as they were now at war with the French. The Dutch presented the Mohawks with fifty guilders; and, assuring them of their desire to maintain the ancient league, promised to submit their requests to the director general, who was daily expected at Fort Orange.

Stuyvesant, however, being detained by illness at New Amsterdam, the authorities of Fort Orange and of Rens-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 330; xvi., 60–97; xviii., 35–37; xxiv., 68; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 394–398; *ante*, p. 536, 651.

selaerswyck determined to send a joint embassy to confirm and renew their old alliance with the Mohawks. Twenty-five of the principal inhabitants accordingly visited the first Mohawk castle at "Kaghnuwagé."* The chiefs of all the villages attended; the council-fire was lighted; and the calumet of peace was smoked. Among the delegates from Beverwyck was Arendt van Curler, who in 1642 had explored the way to the castles of the Mohawks. "Brothers," said the Dutch orator, "sixteen years have now passed away since friendship and fraternity were first established between you and the Hollanders; since we were bound to each other by an iron chain. Up to this time, that chain has not been broken, neither by us nor by you." Explaining Stuyvesant's absence, the orator promised that the Dutch would remain the Mohawks' "brothers for all time —for the roads are so bad that we can not come hither every day." Their gunsmiths, however, could not be forced to repair their brothers' fire-arms without pay, "for they must earn food for their wives and little ones, who otherwise must die of hunger or quit our land, if they get no wampum for their work." "Brothers," he added, "our chiefs are very angry that the Dutch sell brandy to your people, and have always forbidden them to do so. Forbid your people also. Will ye that we take from your people their brandy and their kegs? Say so, then, before all here present." Powder and lead were then given to the Mohawks to be used against the "hostile Indians." As the Dutch were "all sick," and the hills at Caughnawaga so steep that their horses could not draw timber for the Mohawk fort, fifteen axes were presented instead.

17 Sept. Delegation visits the Mohawk castle.

24 Sept. Conference at Caughnawaga.

Fully satisfied with this oration, the Mohawks readily agreed that the Dutch should seize the liquor kegs of their people. But when the Beverwyck delegates attempted to procure the release of some French prisoners in their hands, the chiefs refused until all the castles had been consulted, and complained that their hunting parties were constantly

Mohawks refuse to liberate their French prisoners.

* The county town of Montgomery county, on the north bank of the Mohawk, about forty miles from Albany, for many years bore the sonorous aboriginal name of "Caughnawaga."

CH. XIX. 1659. attacked by the Canada Indians, who were always accompanied by "skulking" Frenchmen.

While the conference was yet going on, intelligence came from Fort Orange of the new outbreak at Esopus, which was immediately communicated to the Mohawks. The chiefs replied that if the river Indians should endeavor to obtain their assistance against the Christians, they would answer "we will have nothing to do with you!" The firm friendship of the most powerful tribe of the Iroquois being now secured, the Dutch delegates set out from Caughnawaga early the next morning; and, after a hard day's journey upon the Indian trail, along the banks of the Mohawk, and across the barren pine plain of "Schonowe" —now so pleasantly traversed in the "rapid car"—arrived, the same evening, at Beverwyck.*

25 Sept. Return of the delegation to Beverwyck.

The courier from Esopus had, meanwhile, reached New Amsterdam, where a severe epidemic fever was raging. Ill, and troubled by the news which had also come from the South River, Stuyvesant hastened to visit the neighboring settlements; called upon the city authorities for volunteers; and ordered into service the company's people at Fort Orange and Beverwyck. The burghers of the metropolis, however, while they were ready to defend their own firesides, were reluctant to go upon a distant expedition. Few volunteers offered themselves; and a draft from the city militia was directed. At length, one hundred drafted men and forty volunteers from New Amsterdam, and twenty-five English and as many friendly Indians from Long Island, were collected. With this force Stuyvesant embarked on Sunday evening, "after the second sermon;" and, on reaching Esopus, found that the savages, unable to carry or reduce the post, had broken up the siege. Heavy rains having flooded the country around, it was impossible to pursue the enemy; and the expedition returned to the capital.

23 Sept.

30 Sept. Expedition to Esopus.

10 October.

The Mohawks and Mahicans now exhibited the sincerity of their friendship; and, at the suggestion of the au-

* Fort Orange Rec.; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 389-393; *ante*, p. 346, 523, 611.

1659.

thorities at Fort Orange, a number of their chiefs went down to Esopus, where they procured the release of two prisoners, and compelled the sachems to agree to a truce. The savages, however, would not consent to a permanent peace, nor would they surrender the younger captives in their hands. Stuyvesant, therefore, represented the condition of the province in earnest terms to the Amsterdam Chamber; and urged that re-enforcements be sent at once for the security of the country, whose inhabitants would otherwise leave it, and seek for "some place of residence and such government where they will be protected."*

1 Nov. Mediation of the Mohawks.

26 Dec. Re-enforcements asked from the company.

The opening of this year found New Amstel in deep distress. Disease and famine had almost decimated its population, and the heat of the summer had enfeebled the unacclimated survivors. The wife of the director was one of the victims. Every one had been occupied in building houses and in preparing gardens, so that little grain was sown; and the emigrants from Holland brought very scanty supplies of provisions. "Our bread magazine, our pantry room, our only refuge is to Manhattan," wrote the desponding Alrichs to Stuyvesant.

Distress at New Amstel.

6 Jan.

March.

Intelligence now reached the colony that the burgomasters of Amsterdam had altered the conditions which they had originally offered to emigrants. These alterations seemed to have been suggested by the large expenditures which the city had made for a colony which had produced no returns, and was already seven thousand guilders in arrear. To guard against further loss, it was determined that such colonists only as had left Holland before December, 1658, were to be supplied with provisions; goods should be sold only for cash; the city was no longer to be bound to keep supplies in its magazine; exemption from tenths and taxes was to cease several years before the period originally stipulated; and merchandise exported by the colonists was thereafter to be consigned to the city of Amsterdam exclusively. The commissaries of the colony, however, remonstrated against this restriction of trade, which

Alteration of the conditions by the burgomasters of Amsterdam.

February.

* Alb. Rec., xvi., 101–107; xviii., 54–70; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 398–401.

CH. XIX. 1659.

"had the appearance of gross slavery and chain-fettering the free spirit of a worthy people." The remonstrance was well-timed; for the West India Company had just determined to enlarge the commercial privileges of the provincial merchants. The city council was finally obliged to consent that all traders on the South River might export all goods, except peltries, to any place they chose.

10 March.

Effect at New Amstel.

This measure only added to the difficulties of the colony. The emigrants began to grow distrustful of the good faith of their patrons, and numbers came to Alrichs beseeching him to let them go to Manhattan, and accept the remnant of their property in discharge of their debts to the city. But the director only replied, "Ye are bound to remain for four years." The despairing inhabitants began to leave the colony; and even soldiers of the garrison deserted their service, and took refuge in Virginia and Maryland. New Amstel had already won "such a bad name that the whole river could not wash it off."

Yet the regions around the South River were among the most fertile and productive in all New Netherland. Not only was there a wild luxuriance of vegetation, and an almost exhaustless supply of furs, but the earth gave promise of great mineral wealth, the fame of which had already reached Holland. "We lately saw a piece of mineral," wrote the directors to Stuyvesant, "said to have been brought from New Netherland, which was such good and pure copper, that we deemed it worth inquiring about of one Kloes de Ruyter, as we presumed he must know if the fact is as stated. He asserted that there was a copper mine at Minnisinck; and that between the Manhattans and the South River there had been discovered a mountain of crystal, of which he said he brought several specimens with him."*

25 April. Copper mine at Minnisinck.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 304; xii., 480–485; Hol. Doc., xv., 21–27; xvi., 215–218; Wagenaar, Besch. Amst., i., 594; *ante*, p. 656; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 250–255. Tradition affirms the early existence of mines in the upper valley of the Delaware, which were worked by "miners from Holland." Mr. Samuel Preston, in a communication to Mr. Samuel Hazard, expressed himself "clearly of opinion that Menesink was the oldest European settlement of equal extent ever made in the territory afterward named Pennsylvania."—Hazard's Reg. Penn., i., 428, 440; *ante*, p. 412.

The West India Company, suspicious of the fidelity of the Swedes, had meanwhile instructed Stuyvesant not to appoint them to public office, and to induce them to settle themselves more at large among the other inhabitants of the province. Beeckman, the vice-director at Altona, was now ordered to complete the purchase of the territory southward of the Boomtje's Hook. He accordingly went with Hinoyossa to the mouth of the bay, and bought from the native chiefs the Horekills, which included the site of De Vries and Godyn's unfortunate colony at Swaanendael. A trading post was immediately established, and a few soldiers stationed there to keep possession.

13 Feb.

23 May.

June. Purchase of the Horekills.

Rumors were now spread among the Dutch that the English in Maryland "pretend that this river country is their property," and that persons were soon to be sent to claim the possession. Letters, too, were said to have been written from Virginia to the Swedes, "that they might remain here as a free colony under the English." The messengers whom Alrichs had dispatched to reclaim the deserters in Maryland returned with tidings that Lord Baltimore had given orders that the territory on the South River was to be reduced under his jurisdiction. As soon as it was known that Fendall, the governor of Maryland, was about to execute these orders, anxiety and alarm prevailed among the Dutch colonists; business was suspended, and every one prepared for flight. Within a fortnight, fifty persons, including several families, removed to Maryland and Virginia. Scarcely thirty families remained at New Amstel. "A chief excuse for these removals," wrote Stuyvesant to the directors at Amsterdam, "is supposed to be the too great preciseness of the honorable Alrichs." "It would seem as if those of the South and North are jealous of each other," wrote Alrichs to his own superiors, "and dread that this settlement should become great and flourishing."

Designs of the Maryland government.

29 July.

18 August.

Alarm at New Amstel.

4 Sept.

The government of Maryland lost no time in executing their proprietary's orders. A meeting of the council was held at Ann Arundel, at which Governor Fendall and Secretary Philip Calvert, Lord Baltimore's brother, were pres-

CH. XIX. ent. Colonel Nathaniel Utie was directed to repair "to the pretended governor of a people seated in Delaware Bay, within his lordship's province," and require him to depart thence. Utie was further instructed, in case he found opportunity, "to insinuate into the people there seated, that in case they make their application to his lordship's governor here, they shall find good conditions." Fendall at the same time wrote to Alrichs: "I received a letter from you directed to me as the Lord Baltimore's governor and lieutenant of the province of Maryland, wherein you suppose yourself to be governor of a people seated in a part of Delaware Bay, which I am very well informed lyeth to the southward of the degree forty; and therefore can by no means own or acknowledge any for governor there but myself, who am by his lordship appointed lieutenant of his whole province, lying between these degrees, thirty-eight and forty, but do by these require and command you presently to depart forth of his lordship's province, or otherwise desire you to hold me excused if I use my utmost endeavor to reduce that part of his lordship's province unto its due obedience under him."*

1659.

3 August. Utie sent to New Amstel.

Letter of the Maryland governor.

Utie soon arrived at New Amstel with a suite of six persons, and spent some days in sowing "seditious and mutinous seed among the community." At length he demanded an audience of Alrichs, who requested the presence of Beeckman, as the representative of the West India Company. In a "pretty harsh and bitter" manner, Utie delivered Fendall's letter, and peremptorily commanded the Dutch to leave the South River, or else declare themselves subject to Lord Baltimore. "This communication appears very strange to us in every respect," replied the Dutch officers, "as we have been in possession of this land during so many years." "I know nothing about it," answered Utie; "it was granted to Lord Baltimore, and was confirmed by the king himself, and renewed two years ago, and sanctioned by Parliament, to the extent of forty de-

8 Sept. Utie at New Amstel.

Interview with the Dutch officers.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 291; xii., 496, 503–506, 514; xviii., 28–39, 42, 45; Hol. Doc., xvi., 99, 183–207; N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii., 368, 369; Acrelius, 421, 422; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 251, 255–260, 273; *ante*, p. 206, 220, 252.

grees." "You should take hold of this opportunity," he added, "as your men have chiefly deserted you, and they who yet remain will be of little or no aid. It is our intention to seize this occasion, as we are convinced of your weakness, and it now suits us best in the whole year, as the tobacco is chiefly harvested. We therefore demand a positive answer—just as you may please." "The case must be left to our lords and principals in England and Holland," answered the Dutch officers, "and we are in duty bound to refer the case to the director general of New Netherland, to whose government we are also subject; and it will require some time to consult them."

9 Sept. Reply to Utie.

The next day Utie was summoned to the fort to receive the written reply of the Dutch officers. Beeckman had advised that the Maryland delegates should be arrested and sent as prisoners to Manhattan. But Alrichs and Hinoyossa objected, "fearing great calamities from it, and a revolt of the citizens." A protest was therefore drawn up, on receiving which Utie merely "repeated his former saying;" and addressing Beeckman, who he learned was commander at Altona, he added, "You, too, must depart from there, as it is situated within forty degrees." "If you have any thing to say to me," replied Beeckman, "you should appear at the place of my residence."

11 Sept.

Two days afterward, the English delegates returned to Maryland. Rumors soon spread that five hundred men were to march upon the South River; and messengers were dispatched overland to Stuyvesant to ask for large re-enforcements. "It seems to me," added Beeckman, "that Alrichs and Hinoyossa are much perplexed, and full of fear with respect to the English coming from Maryland, which I can not believe."*

21 Sept. Succor asked from Stuyvesant.

23 Sept. Re-enforcements sent.

The news of the troubles on the South River found Stuyvesant already sufficiently embarrassed by the hostile attitude of the Esopus savages. Sixty soldiers, however, were sent at once, under the command of Captain Kregier,

* Alb. Rec., xii., 509–514; xvii., 5–12; Hol. Doc., xvi., 117; Lond. Doc., iv., 174, 175; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 344; O'Call., ii., 377–380; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 260–266, 275.

CH. XIX. 1659. and he, with Secretary Van Ruyven, was commissioned to act as general agents for the service of the company. At the same time, Stuyvesant severely censured Alrichs and Beeckman for a "want of prudence and courage" in their whole conduct toward Utie.

Embassy to Maryland. Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron, the under schout of New Amsterdam, were also dispatched on an embassy to the government of Maryland to request the surrender of fugitives, or threaten retaliation, and to demand reparation for the seditious proceedings and "frivolous demands and bloody threatenings" of Colonel Utie on the South River. Stuyvesant likewise wrote a letter to Fendall, accrediting his representatives, and complaining of Utie's conduct as a breach of the treaty of 1654 between England and Holland.*

23 Sept.

The Dutch ambassadors, proceeding with a small escort overland from New Amstel, after many embarrassing adventures arrived in a week at Patuxent. While awaiting an audience with the governor, they were hospitably entertained, and, among others, accidentally met Doughty, the former minister at Flushing. Dining, on one occasion, with Secretary Calvert, they were surprised to find him claiming that Maryland extended to the limits of New England. "Where, then, would remain New Netherland?" asked the envoys. With provoking calmness, Calvert replied, "I do not know."

6 October.

8 October. Conference with Calvert.

16 October. Interview with Fendall. A week afterward, the ambassadors had an interview with Fendall and his council, to whom they delivered a "declaration and manifesto" in behalf of the government of New Netherland, setting forth the Dutch title to the South River, the first possession of which was "sealed with the blood of many souls." In regard to this possession, there had never been difficulty between New Netherland and Virginia or Maryland until Utie's unwarrantable proceedings. Satisfaction should be made for this; and runaways into Maryland should be surrendered, otherwise the

* Alb. Rec., xvii., 466; xix., 331; N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii., 370–373; Hazard, Ann. Penn., 266–273; Acrelius, 422.

government at Manhattan would feel constrained "to publish free liberty, access, and recess to all planters, servants, negroes, fugitives, and runaways, which from time to time may come out of the jurisdiction of Maryland into the jurisdiction of New Netherland." Lord Baltimore's claim to the South River was utterly "denied, disowned, and rejected." His patent was only twenty-four or twenty-seven years old; while the Dutch had been forty years in just and lawful possession. Lord Baltimore's patent did not refer to the Delaware Bay as much as did Plowden's "invalid" charter. The Dutch title to New Netherland, moreover, had been acknowledged and confirmed by the Lord Protector's omission to reduce it to subjection, and by the Peace of 1654. Yet, "to prevent further mischief," the envoys proposed that "three rational persons" might be chosen from each province, "to meet at a certain day and time, about the middle of between the bay of Chesapeake and the aforesaid South River or Delaware Bay, at a hill lying to the head of Sassafrax River," with full powers to settle the bounds between New Netherland and Maryland, or otherwise that the dispute be referred for settlement to their common sovereigns in Europe.*

Statement of the Dutch.

This statement produced "an astonishing change" in Fendall and his council; and a long discussion followed. The Maryland governor declared that he had not intended to meddle with the government at Manhattan, but only with the settlers on Delaware Bay, to whom Utie had been sent; and on being told that the Dutch colonists there were subordinate to the provincial government of New Netherland, he replied that he "knew no better." With great vehemence, Utie broke in: "All that has been done was against people who had dared to settle within the province of my Lord Baltimore; if the governor will renew my commission, I will do as I did before." "If you return and act as you did," replied Heermans, "you will lose the

Reply of Fendall.

Utie's interposition.

* This "declaration and manifesto" was drawn up in Dutch, and "Englished" by Mr. Simon Oversee, at Patuxent, by order of the Maryland council. A copy of that version, which is imperfect, is in N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii., 373–381, and in Hazard's Ann. Penn., 277–284. Copies of the original Dutch are in Hol. Doc., ix., 171, 274; xvi., 127.

CH. XIX. name of ambassador, and will be treated as a disturber of the public peace."

1659. 17 October. On the morrow, Fendall exhibited Lord Baltimore's patent to the Dutch envoys, who, detecting its weakness, drew up a memorandum neatly embodying their views. "Lord Baltimore," they stated, "hath petitioned his royal majesty of England for a country in the parts of America which was not seated and taken up before, only inhabited (as he saith) by a certain barbarous people, the Indians. Upon which ground his royal majesty did grant and confirm the said patent. But now, whereas our South River, of old called Nassau River of New Netherland (by the English surnamed Delaware), was taken up, appropriated, and purchased, by virtue of commission and grant from the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces long before, therefore is his royal majesty's intention and justice not to have given and granted that part of a country which before was taken in possession and seated by the subjects of the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces, as is declared and manifested heretofore. So that the claim my Lord Baltimore's patent speaks of to Delaware Bay, or a part thereof, in several other respects and punctuality is invalid."

Comment of the Dutch envoys upon Lord Baltimore's patent.

Fendall's defense of the Maryland patent.

This clever paper took Fendall by surprise. In defense of the English title, he insisted that the king had fully intended to include Delaware Bay in the Maryland patent; and he required the Dutch to produce their patent for New Netherland. The envoys replied that they had not come for that purpose, but only to arrange a future meeting between the parties. Fendall then remarked that Clayborne, who had made, without avail, a similar objection respecting his earlier possession of Kent Island, had been obliged to beg Lord Baltimore to save his life. "That was a different case," answered the New Netherland negotiators: "we are not subjects of England, but a free, sovereign people of the Dutch nation, who have as much right to countries in America as any other state."

Answer of the Dutch.

As the Dutch envoys had not produced their patent, the

1659.

council thought that the easiest method of treating their exceptions to the Maryland charter was "to take no notice." The next day, a reply to Stuyvesant's letter was delivered to the ambassadors. Utie's proceedings on the South River were justified, and the colonists settled there were declared to be intruders. The "original rights of the kings of England" must be maintained. "The pretended title" of the Dutch was pronounced to be "utterly none," and their alleged patent from the States General "void and of none effect." With respect to "indebted persons," the Maryland courts would be open as freely to the Dutch as to the Virginians. Upon receiving this reply, Waldron returned to Manhattan; while Heermans went on to Virginia "to inquire of the governor what is his opinion upon the subject; to create a division between them both; and to purge ourselves of the slander of stirring up the Indians to murder the English at Accomac."*

19 October. Answer to the Dutch papers.

20 October. Waldron returns. Heermans goes to Virginia.

Stuyvesant took care to communicate all these transactions to his superiors in Holland. "Your honors may see," said he, "that notwithstanding our remonstrance and that of the commissioners with regard to the honorable company's indisputable title, right, and actual possession of the South River, those of Maryland held fast to their frivolous pretensions; from which it may be presumed that they will take hold of the first opportunity to expel our people from our possessions, unless, ere long, regard is paid by your honors and the burgomasters of Amsterdam to the population and defense of these parts. We are already informed with some certainty that the governor of Maryland has already caused a survey to be made of these lands at the distance of about one or two miles from the fortress of New Amstel, and made a distribution of these among several

26 Dec. Stuyvesant's report to the W. I. Co.

* Heermans' Journal, in Alb. Rec., xviii., 337–365, and Hol. Doc., xvi., 141–156; Hazard's Ann. Penn., 284–296; N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii., 382–386; O'Call., ii., 381–388. Notwithstanding the contemptuous treatment, by Fendall and his council, of the exceptions of the Dutch envoys to Lord Baltimore's patent, those exceptions formed the ground upon which the English Committee of Trade and Plantations decided in 1685 that Delaware did not belong to Maryland. Indeed, it may safely be asserted that the independent existence of the present State of Delaware is mainly owing to the very reasons which the Dutch maintained so ably in 1659.—See Bancroft, ii., 308, 393, 394, and the authorities there cited; Lond. Doc., i., 65–76; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 23–27; Bozman, ii., 9; *ante*, p. 252.

CH. XIX. 1659.

inhabitants of Maryland; against whom, if they take actual possession, we earnestly solicit your honors' orders to know what we have to do, and how to conduct ourselves against such usurpers."*

The disastrous condition of the city's colony had meanwhile sorely annoyed the burgomasters of Amsterdam, at whose suggestion the city council resolved to retransfer New Amstel to the West India Company. But the company "showed no inclination whatever thereto;" and the city was obliged to vote a further subsidy of twelve thousand guilders for the support of its colony. The company attributed the misfortunes of New Amstel chiefly to "the too rigid preciseness of Director Alrichs." On the other hand, Alrichs accused Van Ruyven and Kregier of causing disaffection; while Hinoyossa and Van Sweringen laid all the blame upon their own chief. In the midst of these troubles, Domine Welius fell a victim to the epidemic, and the afflicted colonists lost a kind friend who had helped to sustain them under their heavy trials. A few weeks afterward Alrichs died, having intrusted the government to Hinoyossa. The colony was overwhelmed with debt; of all the soldiers who had been sent out from Holland, but five remained at the Horekills, and ten at New Amstel. At the close of the year 1659, the inhabited part of the colony on the South River did not extend beyond two Dutch miles from the fort.†

30 Sept.

8 Nov.

14 October.

8 Dec.

9 Dec. Death of Domine Welius.

30 Dec. Of Alrichs.

Eastern Long Island under Connecticut.

Southampton

Easthampton.

Emigrants from New England had all the while been actively colonizing the northern shores of Long Island, eastward of Oyster Bay, which the Hartford treaty had surrendered to the English. Southampton had been under the jurisdiction of the General Court at Hartford since 1644; and Easthampton, which was purchased in 1648, from Wayandanck, the "sachem of Montauk," and three other chiefs, was likewise "annexed" to Connecticut in the spring of 1658. Releases of land further to the west were

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 69; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 298.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 310–312; xvii., 22–25; xviii., 417–426; Hol. Doc., xvi., 106, 115, 157, 177, 208; Cor. Classis Amst., Alrichs' letter, 12th December, 1659; Wagenaar, i., 595; Acrelius, 422; O'Call., ii., 388; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 297–300.

also obtained from Wayandanck by Richard Woodhull and others, and settlements were begun at Huntington and Setauket, on Cromwell's Bay, now a part of the town of Brookhaven. The restless Underhill, finding himself at Setauket, joined with the inhabitants in petitioning the General Court at Hartford to receive that settlement as "a member of the said body politic," with the same privileges which Southampton and Easthampton enjoyed, in consideration of their "remoteness from the head court, and the uncertain passage over the Sound." The next spring, a similar request was presented from Huntington. The General Court accepted the propositions of both these plantations, "so far as they may be consistent with the articles of confederation;" and the next autumn liberty was granted by the commissioners, to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, "to take Huntington and Sautaukett, two English plantations on Long Island, under their government." Much embarrassment was caused to the people of Southampton and its neighborhood by the same Captain John Scott, who in 1654 had been arrested and examined at New Amsterdam, and who now returned to England. Claiming to have obtained from the Indians large tracts of land, he executed numerous conveyances, which, after much litigation, were found to be fraudulent and void.*

1659. Huntington and Setauket. 6 August. 1660. 17 May. September. Captain John Scott. 6 October.

Unwilling to relinquish their purpose of establishing themselves on the North River, the Massachusetts adventurers brought their case before the commissioners, who wrote to Stuyvesant requesting that the planters might be allowed a free passage up the Hudson River, "they demeaning themselves peaceably, and paying such moderate duties as may be expected in such cases." The exact bounds of the Massachusetts patent "we leave to that government to clear," added the commissioners, "only we conceive the agreement at Hartford, that the English should not come within ten miles of Hudson's River, doth not prej-

1659. Massachusetts claims. 17 Sept. Letter of the commissioners

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 168; Lond. Doc., i., 77–83; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 27–29; Col. Rec. Conn., 112, 200, 316, 341, 348, 365, 566, 572; Hazard, ii., 7, 18, 94, 173, 191, 384, 434; Trumbull, i., 235, 237; Thompson's L. I., i., 293–302, 380, 408–411, 433, 465, 484–488; ii., 320; Hutch. Coll., 380; *ante*, p. 297–300, 579.

CH. XIX. udice the rights of the Massachusetts in the upland country, nor give any right to the Dutch there." Stuyvesant,
1659. however, remembering the history of the English settle-
29 October. ments on the Connecticut, explained that his orders from
Stuyvesant's answer. the West India Company obliged him to refuse "categorically" to all persons, except citizens of New Netherland, the right of trading upon or passing up and down the North River. At the same time, he again earnestly wrote to the Amsterdam Chamber, and asked that a frigate of fourteen or sixteen guns should be at once stationed at New Amsterdam, to protect the river and transport soldiers. Dissatisfied with Stuyvesant's reply, the Massachusetts Gen-
$\frac{12}{22}$ Nov. eral Court sent Hawthorne and Richards "to communicate their honest intentions in this matter, and to demonstrate the equity of the motion of the commissioners in their be-
Claims of the Massachusetts agents. half." The agents claimed that as the upper part of the North River was covered by the patent of Massachusetts, within which "the Dutch perhaps may have intruded," that river should afford the English a passage, as the Rhine and the Elbe were free to the various countries on their upper banks. The Hartford treaty did not affect Massachusetts; her commissioners had been merely arbitrators; even had they been principals, it would not alter the case, for the provisional boundary line extended only twenty miles northerly from the sea; and, as the south line of Massachusetts was beyond that point, her patent was not impaired by the treaty.*

This bold claim was urged upon the director at the very moment that Maryland was asserting an adverse title to
22 Dec. the South River. The Amsterdam Chamber promptly approved his proposition to establish a Dutch colony at the Wappinger's Kill, and directed him to purchase the land there to check the projected enterprise of the New England
1660. men. Instructions were soon afterward sent him to allow
9 March. Instructions of the W. I. Company. no English to settle themselves on the North River, and to repress all attempts at encroachment as he had already opposed the Maryland project on the South River. Feeling

* Hazard, ii., 408; Hutchinson's Coll., 318; Alb. Rec., xviii., 61, 62; xxiv., 161–164.

1660.

20 April. Stuyvesant's reply to the claims of Massachusetts.

that he had the right on his side, Stuyvesant now drew up an argument in which he refuted the pretension of Massachusetts. Her patent had no connection with the question, for it was not granted until after that of the West India Company. The North River having been discovered by the Dutch, and constantly visited by them for more than half a century, and actually colonized by the West India Company for over thirty-seven years, the claim that that river was within the Massachusetts patent, which was only thirty-two years old, "scarcely deserves a serious answer." The Dutch had not "intruded." With much more justice might those be called "intruders" who now endeavor to thrust themselves within the Dutch limits, and who had already settled themselves between the Fresh River and the North River, upon territory which the Dutch had possessed and secured by forts many years before "one single Englishman had any land or possession" there. The Rhine and the Elbe were not like the North River. There was more analogy, in respect to situation, between it and the Thames; yet the English did not throw open that river to other nations. The Dutch had never prohibited their Indians from trading with other nations; but they could not grant Massachusetts, or any other foreign government, the right to come and traffic within their own lawfully-purchased territory. At the time of the Hartford treaty, Massachusetts had made no claim to lands on the North River; if such a claim had been then advanced, it would have been fairly discussed and fully disproved.*

But, while Stuyvesant was preparing this able reply to the encroaching claims of Massachusetts, he was not blind to the almost desperate condition of New Netherland. "Place no confidence," wrote he to the Amsterdam Cham- 21 April.
ber, "in the weakness of the English government and its indisposition to interfere in affairs here. New England

* Alb. Rec., iv., 321, 331; xxiv., 165–174. If Stuyvesant could have examined the Massachusetts patent, he would probably have strengthened his argument by taking ground similar to that which Heermans and Waldron did respecting the Maryland Charter, and would have insisted that the proviso in the patent actually declared it "void" with regard to the territory possessed by the Dutch before the 3d of November, 1620; *ante*, p. 189, 668.

CH. XIX. 1660.

does not care much about its troubles, and does not want its aid. Her people are fully convinced that their power overbalances ours ten-fold; and it is to be apprehended that they may make further attempts, at this opportunity, without fearing or caring for home interference." Two months afterward he again wrote, "the demands, encroachments, and usurpations of the English give the people here great concern;" and in succeeding dispatches, he urged the company to send out re-enforcements; to station a frigate at the mouth of the North River; and to put him in a position authoritatively and successfully to repel the characteristic assumption by which the English maintained that they alone had chartered rights to the possession of lands in the northern regions of America.*

25 June. Stuyvesant's dispatches to the W. I. Company.

New Amsterdam now obtained what she had so long asked in vain, a schout of her own; and Pieter Tonneman, lately of Breuckelen, returning from Holland with a commission from the Amsterdam directors, took his oath of office, and his seat in the City Hall in place of De Sille. The merchants of the metropolis were also gratified by a further concession from Stuyvesant, which extended their "burgher right" to all parts of the province. A second survey and a map of the city were made this summer by Jacques Cortelyou, and New Amsterdam was found to contain three hundred and fifty houses. At the request of the burgomasters, the director sent this map, together with "a perspective view," which Heermans had made some years before, to the Amsterdam Chamber, in case it should be thought good "to make it more public by having it engraved."†

9 April. Tonneman schout of New Amsterdam.

5 August.

Burgher right extended.

6 October. Map and survey of New Amsterdam.

16 August. New Haerlem incorporated.

New Haerlem having by this time become sufficiently populous to entitle it to a village government of its own, an inferior court was organized there, and Jan Pietersen, Daniel Terneur, and Pieter Coussen, were appointed its

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 89, 90, 104, 123, 140, 144; Hol. Doc., ix., 169–171; Smith's Hist. N. Y., i., 11, 12; O'Call., ii., 403–406; Bancroft, ii., 310.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 339; viii., 266, 267; xviii., 107, 138; xxiv., 295; Hol. Doc., xvi., 221; New Amst. Rec., i., 96; iii., 391–395, 426; iv., 208, 291; *ante*, p. 623, 628, 640. Cortelyou's map does not appear to have been engraved, and is probably now lost; but Heermans' sketch, having been added to the map which accompanied the second edition of Van der Donck's work, has been preserved; *ante*, p. 561, note.

first magistrates, with a limited jurisdiction, and in subordination to the high tribunals of the capital.

12 Feb. Measures to raise troops.

The recent occurrences at Esopus being considered in council, in connection with the difficulties with Maryland and Massachusetts, it was determined that hostilities with the savages should be postponed, and that steps should be taken to raise a force of at least a hundred men, "without distinction of nation," in Virginia, or in the North. Sergeant Andries Laurensen was accordingly commissioned to go to the South River, and endeavor to enlist soldiers for the Esopus war among the Swedes and Finns, who were estimated to number about one hundred and thirty men able to bear arms.

4 March.

6 March. Treaty with the Long Island and river Indians.

The Indians around New Amsterdam now desiring a closer friendship with the Dutch, a new treaty was made with the Long Island, Staten Island, Hackinsack, Haverstraw, and Weckquaesgeek tribes, to seal which more firmly, Stuyvesant required the savages to allow some of their children to be educated by the Dutch. "Whereas," reads the interesting record, "our posterity, after the lapse of ages, will see and know what we now speak and conclude together, while your posterity can not do it equally well, as they can not read nor write, we demand that you intrust us with the education of some of your children." The red men assented; and, leaving a child at New Amsterdam, promised to bring others when the opportunity offered.

Indian children to be educated by the Dutch.

15 March.

The next week, the chief of the Wappingers asked that the Esopus savages might be included in the new treaty; but the director, suspecting their sincerity, required that they should come in person to New Amsterdam. "They are too much frightened, and dare not come," replied the Wappinger mediator; and Stuyvesant, hoping that his presence might move the savages to peace, promptly set out for Esopus.

18 March. Stuyvesant at Esopus.

On his arrival, he found that Ensign Smit had gone with forty men into the interior, where he had captured twelve savages, and taken a quantity of corn, pease, and bearskins, besides the palisaded fort of "Wiltmeet." The prisoners and booty were ordered to be sent to New

CH. XIX. 1660.

Amsterdam, and the remaining savages to be driven across the Katskill. Going up the river to Fort Orange, Stuyvesant issued a formal declaration of offensive and defensive war against the Esopus savages and their adherents, and ordered all vessels navigating the North River during the hostilities to sail in company.*

25 March. Declaration of war against Esopus savages.

4 April. The savages were soon attacked and routed; and the chiefs from the neighboring tribes, who came to Fort Orange and Esopus to solicit peace, were referred to the director general. A month afterward, three Mahican sachems visited Fort Amsterdam, and declared that the Esopus savages were willing to give up their land as a compensation to the Dutch, if they would surrender their prisoners and make a firm peace. Stuyvesant, however, declined to do so as long as Christian captives remained in the hands of the savages. The next day, an order was made in council for the transportation of several of the prisoners to Curaçoa, "to be employed there or at Buenaire, with the negroes in the company's service." In this severe measure Stuyvesant followed the example of Massachusetts in 1637. But the red men never forgot their exiled brothers; and, before long, the Dutch settlers at Esopus bitterly atoned for the conduct of their provincial chief.

21 April.

24 May.

25 May. Esopus prisoners ordered to be sent to the West Indies.

30 May. War against the Esopus savages.

Again the savages were attacked. Smit, with a large force, advanced against their encampment, some distance above the second fall on "Kit Davit's Kill," about nine miles from the North River, and captured Preummaker, the "oldest and best of their chiefs," whom they had left behind in their hurried retreat. "As it was a considerable distance to carry him," the Dutch "struck him down with his own axe." Meanwhile, one of the principal sachems of the tribe, after obtaining the unanimous voice of the warriors, and squaws, and young men, in favor of peace, had gone down to Communipa, to obtain the mediation of the Hackinsack and Haverstraw chiefs. While there, news came that Preummaker had been killed by the Dutch; and the envoy returned to his tribe with a heavy heart. The

2 June

* Alb. Rec., xvii., 45; xxiv., 55–76, 115, 118–137; 368, 369; *ante*, p. 641, 660.

next day, Oritany, the chief of the Hackinsacks, went over to Fort Amsterdam, and a truce was agreed to, upon condition that he should personally visit Esopus with Claes Jansen Ruyter, the Dutch interpreter.* 3 June.

Up to this time, Esopus had been a dependency of Fort Orange. But the people, who had already organized a congregation and called a clergyman, felt that they were now entitled to a municipal government of their own; and Roelof Swartwout, a son of one of the original settlers, who had visited the Fatherland and engaged several colonists to accompany him to New Netherland, induced the Amsterdam directors to make the settlement an independent jurisdiction. Swartwout was immediately commissioned as schout, and furnished with full instructions; and Stuyvesant was ordered to induct him in office, and establish a separate court of justice at Esopus. This action of his superiors did not please the director, who wrote back that he had postponed the organization of a court for "lack of persons qualified to preside over it," and that Swartwout was a minor, and, in his judgment, incompetent.

15 April. Swartwout schout of Esopus.

25 June. Refusal of Stuyvesant to organize the court there.

On learning the occurrences at Esopus the previous autumn, the directors also recommended that the Mohawks should be engaged to act as warriors on the side of the Dutch. But Stuyvesant knew the nature of the Indians better than his superiors in Holland. "The Mohawks," he replied, "are, above all other savages, a vainglorious, proud, and bold tribe, and yet more presumptuous on account of their continued victories over the French and the French Indians in Canada. If their aid be demanded and obtained, and success follow, they will only become the more inflated, and we the more contemptible in the eyes of the other tribes. * * * It appears the safest way to stand on our own feet as long as possible." The reasoning of the director was satisfactory to the Amsterdam Chamber, and the thought of employing the Mohawks was abandoned.†

9 March. Employment of Mohawks recommended.

25 June Opposed by Stuyvesant.

Learning that the Esopus savages were now really anx-

* Alb. Rec., vi., 328–331; xvi., 125–135; xxiv., 253–266, 279–285; *ante*, p. 272, 396, 429.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 331, 340, 348; viii., 314–318; xviii., 102, 103, 108.

CH. XIX. 1660.

ious for peace, Stuyvesant set out from New Amsterdam, accompanied by Kregier and Van Cortlandt; and, on reaching Esopus, found Van Curler and delegates from the Mohawks, Mahicans, Wappingers, Minquas, Hackinsacks, and Staten Island Indians, awaiting his arrival to assist in the negotiation. But none of the Esopus sachems were there; and messengers were sent to summon them. After waiting several days, the director invited the delegates of the other tribes to a conference, at which he explained his own desire to conclude a peace, and urged them to bring the Esopus savages to terms. His words impressed the grave assembly. Messengers again went into the interior; and the next day four Esopus sachems appeared before the gate of the village. All the inhabitants were now summoned to a grand council; and Stuyvesant and his attendants, with the delegates from the various tribes, being seated, a Minqua sachem asked a peace in behalf of the Esopus savages. To this the director assented, provided the Mohawks, Minquas, and other tribes would answer for its faithful observance. A Mohawk and a Minqua then admonished the Esopus chiefs to live with the Dutch as brothers; and a Mohawk warned the settlers not to irritate the savages. The hatchet was trampled in the earth; and Stuyvesant proposed the conditions of the treaty. Hostilities were to cease, and past injuries be forgotten; the Esopus savages, in compensation for damages, were to convey "all the lands of Esopus" to the Dutch; eight hundred schepels of corn were to be paid as ransom for the captive Christians; future damages were to be reciprocally paid for; murderers should be mutually surrendered and punished; the savages were not to approach the Dutch plantations with arms, but might trade freely if unarmed; no spirituous liquors were to be drunk near the houses of the Dutch; all other friendly tribes were to be included in the peace; and the mediators at the treaty were to become bound for its faithful execution, and, in case the Esopus savages should break it, were to assist the Dutch in subduing them. These terms were accepted; and the

11 July. Stuyvesant again at Esopus.

14 July. Conference with the delegates.

15 July.

Treaty proposed.

Ratified.

treaty was formally ratified, "near the concentration of Esopus, under the blue sky of heaven."*

From Esopus Stuyvesant went up to Fort Orange, where his presence was urgently demanded. The colonists at Beverwyck being almost all fur traders, and competition increasing with the progress of population, runners or "bosch-loopers" from the village, like the "coureurs de bois" of Canada, perseveringly waylaid the Indians as they came down to tide-water. Irregularities followed; and both the savages and the honest traders complained. The measures which had been adopted in 1650 to check this evil seemed to have been unavailing. The authorities now interfered again; and ordinances were passed to prohibit the employment of runners. But the people would not respect the law, and many declared that they would "scour the woods with Dutch brokers, whether permitted or not." The Mohawks again complained of the conduct of the bosch-loopers, and threatened to break their treaty with the Dutch, when "perhaps matters might end as at Esopus." Commissary La Montagne was at last obliged to visit the woods himself with a detachment of soldiers, to discover and arrest the offenders, among whom were several of the Beverwyck magistrates.

Bosch-loopers at Fort Orange.

31 May.

26 June.

14 July.

On reaching Fort Orange, Stuyvesant issued a proclamation against the bosch-loopers, and at the same time explained to the authorities of Rensselaerswyck the company's instructions respecting jurisdiction. An oath of allegiance to the company was to be taken by the colonial schout, and the collection of tithes was to be enforced. A few days afterward, several Seneca delegates came down from the western door of the "Long House" of the Iroquois, to renew the covenant with the Dutch, which they had made some years before at Manhattan. A grand council with the red men from the far-off "Niaugaurah" was held at Fort Orange, which was attended by the colonial and provincial magistrates and by the principal residents of

21 July. Stuyvesant at Fort Orange.

25 July. Conference with the Senecas.

* Alb. Rec., vi., 330; xii., 317, 318; xviii., 118, 119; xxii., 227, 229; xxiv., 303, 318, 320, 332–342; O'Call., ii., 408–420.

CH. XIX. 1660. Beverwyck and its neighborhood. The Senecas demanded that trade should be made free, while the bosch-loopers should be restrained; and they asked for supplies of ammunition to enable them to hunt beavers in their enemies' country. Stuyvesant presented tobacco and powder in return, and urged the Senecas to make peace with the Minquas, so that the Dutch might "use the road to them in safety." But he could not comply with their demand that a piece of cloth should be the price of a beaver, as long as it "must come so far over the water."*

16 Feb. Domine Blom ordained.

In the mean time, Domine Blom had been ordained to preach in New Netherland, "both on water and on the land, and in all the neighborhood, but principally in Esopus," and his call had been approved by the Classis and confirmed by the West India Company. The want of another clergyman on Long Island was also supplied by the appointment of Domine Henricus Selyns to preach at Breuckelen. Blom and Selyns left Holland soon afterward, bearing with them a letter from the Classis to the Dutch churches in New Netherland, which were earnestly exhorted "not to depart from the usual formulary" of baptism.

26 March.

Domine Selyns.

1 March.

The troubles with the northern Indians retarded the settlement of the new clergymen; and it was not until the autumn that Blom began his ministry at Esopus. The church at first consisted of sixteen members only. But the people gladly listened to the preaching of the word, and all was soon "well ordered in church matters and in consistory."

12 Sept. Blom at Esopus.

Domine Selyns, after preaching a few sermons at New Amsterdam, Esopus, and Fort Orange, was formally installed as the clergyman of Breuckelen, where he found one elder, two deacons, and twenty-four members of the church. The population of the village was now one hundred and thirty-four persons, in thirty-one families. Steps were immediately taken to build a church; and, in the mean time, the congregation worshiped in a barn. The

3 Sept. Selyns at Breuckelen.

Population.

Church.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 302; vi., 236–238, 254–283; xxiv., 343–352; O'Call., ii., 420–424; *ante*, p. 523.

bounds of Domine Selyns' charge included "the Ferry, the Waal-bogt, and Gujanes." As the people there were unable of themselves to pay his salary, they petitioned the council for assistance; and Stuyvesant individually agreed to contribute two hundred and fifty guilders, provided Domine Selyns would preach a sermon on Sunday afternoons at the "director's bouwery, on the island of Manhattan." To this arrangement the Domine assented. The director's "bouwery" was a sort of "stopping-place, and the pleasure-ground of the Manhattans." Thither the people came from the city to evening service; and besides Stuyvesant's own household, about forty negroes, who lived in that neighborhood, received religious instruction. In announcing these arrangements to the Amsterdam Chamber, Stuyvesant urged that more clergymen should be sent over, to supply the wants of New Utrecht, Gravesend, and New Haerlem, "besides a newly-commenced village of about one hundred and thirty families on the North River."

Stuyvesant's Bouwery.

6 October. More clergymen required.

After the installation of Selyns at Breuckelen, Polhemus confined his services to Midwout and Amersfoort, whose petition to the council for aid was answered by a promise of four hundred guilders "as soon as the treasury shall permit it." At Beverwyck and Fort Orange, Schaats felt some annoyance that the Lutherans were promoting a subscription for a clergyman of their own. Nevertheless, they were submissive, and attended the Dutch church, which had now increased to two hundred members. The church at New Amsterdam continued to flourish under the ministration of Megapolensis and Drisius, although the question of the form of baptism seemed to have placed the Amsterdam Chamber for a time in direct opposition to the governing Classis in Holland.*

Polhemus at Midwout.

4 Nov.

Schaats at Beverwyck.

Church at New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant now revisited Esopus, to see after the finishing of the redoubt and the settlement of Domine Blom in a proper residence. Thence he went again to Fort Orange,

10 Nov. Stuyvesant at Esopus.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 337, 364; viii., 270–278, 304; xviii., 133; xxiv., 149, 383–386, 441, 442; Cor. Cl. Amst.; Letters of Polhemus, 29th Sept.; Schaats, 22d Sept.; Drisius and Selyns, 4th October, 1660; Blom, 18th Sept., 1663; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 109, 961, 962; O'Call., ii., 431, 437; Dr. De Witt, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, 74, 75; *ante*, p. 657.

CH. XIX. 1660. Fort Orange.

at the request of the governor of Massachusetts, to use his good offices with the Mohawks, who were meditating an expedition against the Kennebeck savages. The director urged the sachems to be at peace, and was so far successful that they promised "to discuss that point with the other chiefs."

January. Troubles at New Amstel.

On assuming the government of New Amstel at Alrichs' death, Hinoyossa, by his indiscreet conduct, produced great discords, which were increased when news of the proposed

12 May.

retransfer of the colony to the West India Company reached the South River. With Beeckman his relations were

25 May.

scarcely pleasant; and complaints were constantly made

8 October.

to New Amsterdam of his haughty and insolent demean-

9 Dec.

or, and his contempt of the provincial regulations respecting the sale of liquors to the savages.

The hostile attitude of the Maryland authorities had, in the mean time, been under the consideration of the Am-

9 March. Stuyvesant ordered to oppose the encroachments of Maryland.

sterdam directors, who ordered Stuyvesant to oppose their encroachments, "first warning them in a civil manner not to usurp our territory; but if they despise such kind entreaties, then nothing is left but to drive them from there, as our claims and rights on the lands upon South River are indisputable." But while the company was thus strenuous in asserting its territorial rights to the whole South River, it declined to receive back from the city of Amster-

27 August. Hinoyossa director of New Amstel.

dam the colony of New Amstel; and the city's commissaries, obliged to continue their reluctant support, appointed Hinoyossa director in place of Alrichs.*

Intercourse with Virginia.

During the whole of the Protectorate, and while a spirit of war was inflamed by New England, Virginia had maintained a friendly intercourse with New Netherland, and reciprocal courtesies had confirmed the good-will which Harvey had promised to De Vries. Notwithstanding parliamentary ordinances, Dutch vessels conveyed the products of Virginia to Europe, and carried on a mutually satisfactory commerce; and envoys from New Amsterdam had

* Alb. Rec., iv., 331, 350, 351; xvii., 33–96, 141; xxiv., 109, 115, 181, 364, 450; Acrelius, 422, 423; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 300–320; *ante*, p. 670.

conducted pleasant negotiations with the authorities at Jamestown. Upon the death of Governor Mathews, Sir William Berkeley was called from his eight years' retirement, and reinstated by the Assembly, which foresaw the triumph of the royal cause in England. Stuyvesant, whose brother-in-law, Nicholas Varlett, was about visiting Jamestown on private business, took advantage of the occasion to appoint him and Captain Bryan Newton commissioners to negotiate an intercolonial treaty. They were instructed to go to Virginia "to renew our former and ancient friendship, correspondence, and neighborship; to propose to them a more strict offensive and defensive union against the savage and barbarous nations, the enemies of both; and to conclude, on a more certain basis, a treaty of commerce, in the manner our lords and principals, with their subjects, are enjoying in Europe." The Dutch agents were also directed to endeavor to enlist as many Scotchmen as they could obtain; to inquire in Maryland if danger threatened the South River; and to avail themselves of the "aid and tongue of Augustine Heermans," who was then in Virginia. On reaching Jamestown, Varlett and Newton were received with favor, and a satisfactory treaty was promptly negotiated. A "free trade and commerce" was stipulated between New Netherland and Virginia; the inhabitants of the respective provinces were reciprocally to enjoy "equal dispatch and justice in each other's courts of judicature;" runaway servants were to be mutually surrendered; and the creditors of absconding debtors were assured swift redress. The Assembly at once passed a law to give effect to the treaty in Virginia; and with equal promptitude the New Netherland government established a favorable tariff of duties on imports and exports from and to Virginia.

CH. XIX. 1660.

23 Feb.

27 Feb. Commissioners to negotiate a treaty.

1 March.

March. Treaty arranged.

March.

6 May.

Soon afterward, Berkeley dispatched Sir Henry Moody, the son of Lady Moody of Gravesend, "on an embassy to the Monhadoes," to exchange the ratifications of the treaty. Upon his reaching New Amsterdam, the "ambassador of the governor and assembly of Virginia" was received with all the usual diplomatic honors. Two members of the coun-

18 May. Moody's embassy to Manhattan.

21 June.

CH. XIX. 1660.

cil, accompanied by halberdiers, were sent "to compliment him in his lodgings;" and Moody, appearing with the committee in Fort Amsterdam, presented his credentials, and also private letters from Berkeley soliciting a loan of four thousand pounds of tobacco from the Dutch, to be returned in kind the next November. Twelve hundred guilders were accordingly advanced; and the articles of the treaty were discussed and adopted. A correspondence followed, in which Stuyvesant unsuccessfully attempted to draw from the governor of Virginia an express recognition of the Dutch title to New Netherland. "Truly, sir," wrote Berkeley in reply, "you desire me to do that concerning your titles and claims to land in this northern part of America which I am in no capacity to do; for I am but a servant of the Assembly, neither do they arrogate any power to themselves further than the miserable distractions of England force them to. For when God shall be pleased in his mercy to take away and dissipate the unnatural divisions of their native country, they will immediately return to their own professed obedience. What, then, they should do in matters of contract, donation, or confession of right, would have little strength or signification; much more presumptive and impertinent would it be in me to do it without their knowledge or assent." The Amsterdam directors promptly signified their approbation of Stuyvesant's negotiations with Virginia. "A free and unshackled commerce with that nation," wrote they in reply, "must be conducive to the prosperity of your city and its inhabitants."*

Correspondence with Virginia.

$\frac{20}{30}$ August. Berkeley's letter to Stuyvesant.

20 Sept.

29 May. 8 June. Restoration of Charles II.

The fugitive King of England had, meanwhile, been restored to the throne. On his way from Breda to London, Charles the Second was magnificently entertained at the Hague; and as he took his leave of the States General, he pointedly declared that he would feel jealous if the Dutch should prefer the friendship of any other state to that of Great Britain. But England, observing her commercial

* Alb. Rec., iv., 351; xviii., 97, 157; xxiv., 101–106, 199, 301, 302, 399–402; Herring's Stat. at large, 539, 540; Chalmers, 125; Smith's N. Y., i., 10, 11; O'Call., ii., 408, 413–415; Col. Rec. Conn., 387; Thompson's L. I., ii., 174; Bancroft, ii., 310; Hildreth, i., 366. 442; *ante*, p. 559, 562. Varlett's name is often spelled "Verlett" and "Varleth."

prosperity, envied Holland; and the convention Parliament, which had called home the king, took early steps to render still more obnoxious one of England's most selfish measures. The Navigation Act of 1651 was revised; and it was now enacted, that after the first day of December, 1660, no merchandise should be imported into or exported from any of his majesty's plantations or territories in Asia, Africa, or America, except in English vessels, of which "the master and three fourths of the mariners at least are English."*

Act of Navigation.

Charles had hardly reached Whitehall, before Lord Baltimore instructed Captain James Neale, his agent in Holland, to require of the West India Company to yield up to him the lands on the south side of Delaware Bay. Neale accordingly made a formal demand for the surrender of New Amstel, and informed the directors that Lord Baltimore would use all lawful means to defend his rights and subject the Dutch to his authority. The Amsterdam Chamber referred the question to the College of the XIX., who returned a "proud answer" that the company's rights were by possession under grant of the States General; that they were resolved to defend those rights; and that, if Lord Baltimore should persevere and resort to violent measures, "they would use all the means which God and nature had given them to protect the inhabitants and preserve their possessions."†

24 July. Lord Baltimore demands the surrender of the Dutch possessions on the South River.

23 August.

1 Sept. Answer of the W. I. Company.

Seriously alarmed at the condition of New Netherland, which, after an outlay of one million of guilders, was only now in a position to sustain itself, the College of the XIX. addressed a memorial to the States General, praying them to instruct their ambassadors at London to demand of the king that Lord Baltimore should be ordered to desist from his pretensions until a boundary line should be settled; and also, that the territory which the English had usurped at

5 Nov. Memorial of the W. I. Company to the States General.

* Aitzema, iv., 598; Basnage, i., 606; Lingard, xii., 65–69; Davies, iii., 10–13; Bancroft, ii., 30–43; Chalmers, 241, 257; Act xii. Charles II., cap. xviii., Statutes at large, iii., 166; *ante*, p. 543, 653.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 354; viii., 292–302; Hol. Doc., ix., 111–126, 175–177; Lond. Doc., iv., 175–177; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 344, 345; O'Call., ii., 460, 461; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 317, 318; Smith's N. Y., i., 12.

CH. XIX. 1660.

the East, and on Long Island, should be restored, and the inhabitants be required to conduct themselves as Dutch subjects. The memorial likewise prayed that the treaty at Southampton of 1625, which allowed the company's ships the free use of English ports, should be renewed. Accompanying the memorial, the directors presented various explanatory papers, including a deduction of their title to New Netherland, and detailing the usurpations of the English from the time of Van Twiller. The States General communicated these papers to their ambassadors, who were about to set out for London, and instructed them to call the king's attention to the subject as soon as possible.

$\frac{4}{14}$ July. English Plantation Committee.

One of the first acts of the royal government had, meanwhile, been to appoint a committee, "to receive, hear, examine, and deliberate upon any petitions, memorials, or other papers presented by any persons respecting the plantations in America, and to report their proceedings to the council from time to time." Of this committee Lord Say and Seal was one of the principal members. In the following autumn, a standing "Counsell of Trade" was created by patent. Soon afterward, the Plantation Committee, appointed in July, was superseded by another patent, which constituted Hyde, the lord chancellor, and several others, a Standing Council for Foreign Plantations, with instructions to acquaint themselves with the state of the colonies, to correspond with the governors, to regulate trade, and generally to take "all prudential means for the rendering those dominions useful to England, and England helpful to them."*

$\frac{7}{17}$ Nov. Council of Trade.

$\frac{1}{11}$ Dec. Standing Council for Foreign Plantations.

* Hol. Doc., ix., 136–301; London Doc., i., 84–104; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 30–37.

CHAPTER XX.

1661–1664.

1661.

THE Restoration of Charles the Second, though hailed at first with joy in Holland, did not produce in Great Britain more friendly feelings toward the Dutch. The two nations were now commercial rivals; and it was soon perceived at the Hague that another crisis with England was approaching. The Act of Navigation had already closed, against Holland and New Netherland, the ports of New England, Virginia, and Maryland; and it was evident that no more was to be hoped from the king than from the Protector. While British statesmen were exhibiting such a spirit of commercial exclusiveness, a new element was introduced into political affairs. The Restoration had by no means been the unanimous act of the nation; and at Breda Charles had endeavored to win the good-will of all his subjects by declaring liberty to tender consciences. But the Royalists and Churchmen, who had so long endured the yoke of Puritanism, now that they were again in power, insisted upon restoring the hierarchy. The Independents and Dissenters, wounded where they were most sensitive, could scarcely conceal their vexation; and many of them desired to seek new homes not subject to English rule, and where they would be free alike from monarchy and prelacy.

English jealousy of the Dutch.

Intolerance of the Royalists.

These considerations were not overlooked in Holland; and the West India Company, finding that there were scarcely any colonists within their territory between the North and South Rivers, now forming the State of New Jersey, determined to invite emigration thither by the offer of large inducements. A new charter of "conditions and privileges" was therefore drawn up, granting to "all such

CHAP. XX. 1661.

people as shall be disposed to take up their abode in those parts" fifteen leagues of land along the sea-coast, "and as far in depth in the continent as any plantation hath, or may be settled in New Netherland." The emigrants were to have "high, middle, and low jurisdiction;" freedom from "head money" for twenty years; the property in mines; freedom, for ten years, from taxes or recognitions to the company; the right to use their own ships; freedom of the fishing trade; and, in case of difference with Stuyvesant or his successor, "to choose a director or chief—only they shall issue out all writs, of what nature soever, in the name of the States General of the United Netherlands." The advantageous situation of the country was described in glowing terms. "Therefore," added the company, "if any of the English good Christians, who may be assured of the advantages to mankind of plantations in these latitudes from others more southerly, and shall be rationally disposed to transport themselves to the said place under the conduct of the United States, they shall have full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord upon the aforesaid good conditions, and shall be likewise courteously used."

Liberal conditions offered by the W. I. Company.

14 Feb. Approved by the States General.

These conditions were immediately approved by the States General. An act under their seal was issued at the Hague, by which was granted to "all Christian people of tender conscience, in England or elsewhere oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies, between New England and Virginia, in America, now within the jurisdiction of Peter Stuyvesant, the States General's governor for the West India Company;" and all concerned were forbidden to hinder such colonists, and were enjoined to afford them "all favorable help and assistance where it shall be needful."*

While the West India Company and the States General were thus endeavoring to attract emigrants to New Netherland by the promise of courteous treatment, and "full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord," their chief provincial officer was reviving the religious persecutions which for

* Alb. Rec., iv., 363; Lond. Doc., i., 105-109; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 37-39.

the last two years had been generally suspended. But the Quakers were still objects of suspicion; and the cruelties with which Massachusetts and New Haven visited the disciples of Fox seem to have stimulated the director of New Netherland to fresh severities. In spite of the law, the Quakers had continued to attend private conventicles at the house of Henry Townsend, of Rustdorp, who had already been twice fined. Richard Everett and Nathaniel Denton now communicated to Stuyvesant the names of eleven persons who had attended these prohibited meetings; and the inhabitants, at the same time, petitioned that a minister might be sent from New Amsterdam to baptize some of their children. Domine Drisius was accordingly desired to visit Jamaica and administer the holy rite; and Waldron, the deputy schout, and Bayard, one of the director's clerks, were sent to examine into the affair of the conventicles. John and Henry Townsend, of Jamaica, and John Tilton and Samuel Spicer, of Gravesend, were arrested and conveyed to New Amsterdam, where Henry Townsend and Spicer were sentenced to be fined, and John Townsend and Tilton to be banished. This was followed by the appointment of the two informers, Everett and Denton, together with Andrew Messenger, to be magistrates of Rustdorp, and, by stationing soldiers in the village, to suppress the unlawful meetings. The people, soon petitioning that the detachment might be withdrawn, were answered that they would be gratified upon signing a pledge to sustain the government. The new magistrates, with twelve of their townsmen, accordingly set their names to a paper, drawn up by Denton the clerk, engaging "that if any meetings or conventicles of Quakers shall be in this town of Rustdorp, that we know of, then we will give information to the authority set up in this place by the governor, and also assist the authority of the town against any such person or persons called Quakers as needs shall require." But some refusing to sign the pledge, the soldiers were quartered upon them, and Townsend was ordered to leave the province. The Independents and Presbyterians of Mid-

Quakers again persecuted.

8 Jan. Arrests at Jamaica and Gravesend.

20 Jan.

24 Jan. New magistrates at Jamaica.

10 Feb.

11 Feb.

15 Feb.

CHAP. XX. 1661.

delburgh, however, "fearing that some of the inhabitants may be led away by the intrusion of Quakers and other heretics," petitioned the director to aid them in obtaining a minister in place of the deceased John Moore.*

Middelburgh asks for a minister.

Stuyvesant's refusal to erect a court at Esopus had, meanwhile, brought upon him the severe censure of the Amsterdam directors, who peremptorily ordered him to execute their commands. By a formal charter, municipal powers were accordingly conferred on the settlement, which was now ordered to be called "Wiltwyck," or Indian village, as the ground on which it stood was a gift from the savages. The charter appointed Evert Pels, Cornelis Barentsen Sleght, and Elbert Heymans Roose, schepens, who, with a schout to be named by the director, were to form a court of justice for the government of the village. These magistrates were to see the laws of the Fatherland and the ordinances of the director and council faithfully executed, and were forbidden to publish any acts of their own without the previous consent of the provincial government. As it was customary in the Fatherland that annual changes should take place in the magistracy, the schepens were required to "pay due attention to the conversation, conduct, and abilities of honest and decent persons," inhabitants of their village, and to inform the authorities of New Amsterdam, "about the time of the next election, as to who might be sufficiently qualified to be then elected by the director general and council." The next month, Stuyvesant completed the organization of the first municipal court in the present county of Ulster, by installing Roelof Swartwout as schout of Wiltwyck.†

16 May. Charter of Esopus or "Wiltwyck."

First magistrates.

27 June. Swartwout schout.

Beyond Esopus Fort Orange was now the extreme frontier post of New Netherland. The territory west and north of Beverwyck had, indeed, been explored; but, excepting a few scattered husbandmen near the Cohooes Falls, no

* Alb. Rec., xix., 2, 11, 18, 21–28, 40–46, 55, 56; Jamaica Rec., i., 120; Thompson's L. I., i., 380; ii., 143, 292, 293; O'Call., ii., 450, 451; Hutchinson, i., 183, 184; Hazard, ii., 565–572; *ante*, p. 638. Moore, of Newtown, died on the 13th of October, 1657.—Letter of Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis, 22d of October, 1657.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 352; xviii., 158; xix., 36, 112, 114, 125–131, 137–140; Kingston Rec.; O'Call., ii., 432–437; *ante*, p. 76, 677. The name is frequently spelled Wildwyck.

pioneers of civilization had yet fixed their homes within the eastern hunting-ground of the Mohawks. That territory, however, which, when Fort Nassau was first built, had abounded in beavers and wild deer, was now almost destitute of peltries; and its aboriginal owners felt disposed to sell the land, which to them had become of little value. On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Beverwyck, where there was often a dearth of food, were anxious to settle themselves as farmers in the neighborhood of Fort Orange, yet not as dependents of the patroon of Rensselaerswyck. Van Curler accordingly applied to Stuyvesant for permission to buy the "Great Flat" west of the fort, "toward the interior of the country;" which was promptly given, upon condition that the lands should, as usual, be transferred to the director and council as the representatives of the West India Company, and that "whatever the petitioners shall pay for the aforesaid lands to the original proprietors shall in due time be returned to them, or be discounted to them against the tenths." The next month, several chiefs appeared before Vice-director La Montagne at Fort Orange, and formally conveyed to Van Curler the Great Flat, lying between Fort Orange and the Mohawk country, "called in Indian Schonowe." This was the first step toward the settlement of "Schaenhechstede," of which the name survives in that of the present city of Schenectady. The next year the provincial government confirmed the purchase by a grant; but the lands were not surveyed and laid out until the spring of 1664.*

18 June.

21 June.

27 July. Purchase of Schenectady Flats.

Not long afterward, another court, similar to that at Esopus, was established back of Gamoenepa, where there was now a thriving settlement. The name given to the new village was "Bergen," after that of a small town in North Holland; and Tielman van Vleeck, a notary in New Amsterdam, was appointed the first schout, and Michael Jansen, one of the former "Nine Men," Hermanus Smeeman, and Casparus Steynmets, the first magistrates of the ear-

15 Sept. Village of Bergen.

* Alb. Rec., vi., 345; xix., 179, 180; xxi., 135–139; xxii., 169, 234; Fort Orange Rec.; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 438, 439; *ante*, p. 306, 660; *post*, p. 732.

CHAP. XX. liest organized municipal government within the present State of New Jersey. A log building, to serve as a place of worship, was presently erected by the inhabitants, who voluntarily taxed themselves for the purpose; and nine male and eighteen female members composed the first church. For many years divine service was conducted, and the sacraments were administered at Bergen by the clergymen of the neighboring metropolis.*

1661. Church at Bergen.

The difficulties respecting the title to Staten Island were now arranged. Melyn, visiting Amsterdam, surrendered to the West India Company all his rights as a patroon, for which he received fifteen hundred guilders, indemnity for his losses, the promise of certain privileges as a "free colonist and inhabitant" in New Netherland, and a "full amnesty with regard to all disputes." Under this arrangement Melyn returned to New Amsterdam. This was followed by the purchase of all the claims and estate of Van de Capellen, who had recently died, to any part of Staten Island. The whole island thus became the property of the company, which by this time had sufficient experience of the inconvenience of patroonships. Grants of land were presently made to various persons, among whom were several French Waldenses, and afterward many Huguenots from Rochelle. A new village was commenced a few miles south of the Narrows, where twelve or fourteen families were soon settled. To secure themselves against the savages, they built a block-house in 1663, which was provided with two small guns and a garrison of ten soldiers. At the request of the inhabitants, who were not able to support a clergyman of their own, Domine Drisius visited Staten Island every two months, to preach in French and administer the sacraments.†

Surrender of Melyn's claims to Staten Island.

Of Van de Capellen's.

22 August. Waldenses and Huguenots

Village and block-house.

Domine Drisius.

* Alb. Rec., xix., 273; xx., 277–280; xxiv., 117, 143, 372, 398; O'Call., ii., 428; *ante*, p. 642. The Bergen church records begin in 1664; and in 1680, a stone edifice of an octagonal form was built. I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. B. C. Taylor, its present minister, for an interesting sketch of this first church in New Jersey.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 282, 307, 365, 384, 425, 437, 457, 461; viii., 222, 290; xviii., 11, 140, 160, 198, 236, 251, 295; xxi., 49; Hol. Doc., xii., 141; New Amst. Rec., iv., 359; Drisius to Classis, 5th Aug., 1664; Dr. De Witt, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, 69, 70; 1848, 78; O'Call., ii., 426, 576; *ante*, p. 615, 641.

On the south side of the Narrows, the lands which had been granted to Van Werckhoven remained uninhabited for several years. After his death, Jacques Cortelyou, his former agent, commenced a settlement, which was named "New Utrecht," in compliment to Van Werckhoven's place of birth. Fiscal De Sille became one of the proprietaries, and the village grew slowly until 1660, when it was determined to palisade it, and build a block-house in its centre. At the end of the next year, New Utrecht received a village charter, giving it municipal powers similar to those of New Haerlem; and Jan Tomasse, Rutger Joosten, and Jacob Hellekers were appointed its first magistrates. It had, however, no schout of its own, the duties of which office were performed by Adriaen Hegeman, who had succeeded Tonneman as schout of the neighboring villages of Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout.

Settlement of New Utrecht.

22 Dec. Village charter.

Several Frenchmen wishing to settle themselves on the lands between Breuckelen and Middelburgh, Stuyvesant, at their request, went thither early in 1660, and fixed upon a place "between Mespath Kill and Norman's Kill" as the site for a new village. In a year the settlement contained twenty-three families, and the director again going there, at the request of the inhabitants, named the place "Boswyck," now known as Bushwick. A few days afterward, a subaltern court was established at the new village, of which Pieter Jansen de Witt, Jan Tilje, and Jan Cornelissen were appointed the first magistrates. Two block-houses were built in 1663 for the defense of the village, which had increased so rapidly as to contain forty men able to bear arms. Boswyck, like New Utrecht, having no schout of its own, was subject to the jurisdiction of Hegeman, the schout of Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout; and the district now became known as "the Five Dutch Towns."*

14 March.

25 March. Bushwick charter.

The Five Dutch Towns.

The metropolis had continued to prosper; and its inhabitants, still jealous on the subject of residence, now obtained from Stuyvesant a decree that those who should absent

31 Jan. Burgher right.

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 235; xix., 444; Doc. Hist. N. Y., i., 633–655; New Utrecht Rec.; Bushwick Rec.; Thompson's L. I., ii., 155, 190; O'Call., ii., 429, 430; Riker's Newtown, 50, 51; *ante*, p. 537, 580.

CHAP. XX. themselves from New Amsterdam for four months, "without holding fire and light" there, should lose their burgher right. It was also proposed to replace the decaying stockade with a more substantial defense, and to require each North River yacht, in lieu of wharfage, to make one or two voyages to Tappan for stone, "in order to surround the city with a wall in course of time." A better currency having also become indispensable, the burgomasters and schepens resolved to write the Fatherland for authority to establish a mint for the coinage of silver, and after this should come into circulation, to make wampum or sewan, without which no beavers could be obtained from the savages, an article of trade. This, however, the Amsterdam directors would not consent to yield. The Latin or High school, which had been established in 1659, did not prosper under the superintendence of Curtius, who fell into disputes with the parents of some of his pupils in regard to discipline, and with the burgomasters and schepens respecting the collection of taxes, from which he claimed to be exempt. Curtius, therefore, returned to Holland, and was succeeded by Domine Ægidius Luyck, who came out from the Fatherland especially to educate Stuyvesant's sons. Under Luyck's superintendence, the High School at New Amsterdam gained such a reputation that children were sent to it from Fort Orange, the South River, and Virginia.

1661. 4 October. Stone wall proposed.

12 October. A mint contemplated.

Latin school.

Curtius returns to Holland.

1662. January. Succeeded by Ægidius Luyck.

A number of breweries, brick-kilns, and other manufactories were now in successful operation; and the potteries of Long Island were esteemed equal to those of Delft. Salt-works were also attempted; and Dirck de Wolf, having obtained from the Amsterdam Chamber an exclusive privilege for seven years to make salt in New Netherland, began its manufacture upon Coney Island, of which he received a grant. But the people of Gravesend, who claimed the island, forcibly arrested De Wolf's enterprise, which he was obliged to abandon, notwithstanding Stuyvesant sent a military force to protect and encourage him.*

1661. 14 April. Salt-works on Coney Island.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 341, 373, 375, 387, 396, 411; viii., 319, 321; xvii., 150; xviii., 44, 85, 164, 228; xxi., 257–270; New Amst. Rec., i., 99; iv., 136, 296, 408, 435, 635; Bancroft, ii., 311; O'Call., ii., 542, 546; *ante*, p. 656, 674. Luyck afterward became a magistrate of the city

1661.

In the mean time, the New England colonies had received the news of the Restoration with varied feelings. Massachusetts adopted an apologetic address to Charles the Second; ordered the royal warrants against the fugitive regicides, Whalley and Goffe, to be executed; and even asked Stuyvesant to deliver them up. The refugees, however, found an asylum in New Haven. The General Court at Hartford, in a loyal address drawn up by Governor Winthrop, besought the king to accept that colony as "a little branch" of his empire, and also petitioned for a royal charter to "assure" them possession, against their "noxious neighbors" the Dutch, of the territory for which they had "not so much as a copy of a patent." The governor was also commissioned as agent in England, and instructed to procure a charter which should include all the region "eastward to Plymouth line, northward to the limits of the Massachusetts colony, and westward to the bay of Delaware, if it may be," together with the adjacent islands. With these instructions, Winthrop, repairing to New Amsterdam, where he met "honorable and kind reception," set sail for England in the Dutch ship "De Trouw."

Massachusetts and Charles II.

17 May. Regicides.

17 June. Hartford petitions for a charter.

Winthrop agent.

21 July. Sails from New Amsterdam.

The ready submission of the Hartford Court did not please the more sturdy republicans of New Haven, who for several months omitted to proclaim the king. At length, "taking encouragement from what has been done in the rest of the United Colonies," they ungraciously acknowledged Charles the Second. But the extorted avowal disgusted many of the more rigid Puritans, who dreaded a prelacy surrounding the throne.*

$\frac{21}{31}$ August. Dissatisfaction at New Haven.

And now the liberal conditions, which the States General and the West India Company had published in the spring, becoming generally known, several persons visited New Netherland, to examine the lands between the North and South Rivers proposed to be colonized. A report of their courteous entertainment soon reached New Haven;

* Alb. Rec., iv., 382, 405; xviii., 189; Lond. Doc., i., 110–117; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 39–42; ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 456; Hazard, ii., 451, 586–588; Col. Rec. Conn., 367–369, 579–585; Trumbull, i., 240–248, 511–514; Hutchinson, i., 195–201; Chalmers, 250–253; Bancroft, ii., 50–54, 71–74; Hildreth, i., 448–450; *ante*, p. 262, 654.

CHAP. XX. and Fenn and Treat, two of the magistrates of the dissatisfied colony, accompanied by two others, came to New Amsterdam to negotiate for the establishment of a Puritan colony under the Dutch provincial government. The agents insisted upon several preliminary conditions. These were the right to establish a church "in the Congregational way, such as they have enjoyed in New England;" the calling of a synod by the English churches in New Netherland, "for the suppressing of heresies, schisms, and false worship, and for the establishment of truth and peace" in those churches; the establishment of a civil government, to be administered by their own elected magistrates and officers, under laws similar to those of New Haven, and without any right of appeal; the extinguishment of the Indian title by the Dutch government, and the conveyance of the lands to the settlers; the exclusion of all persons from settling among them, except such as they might approve; and the right to collect debts.

1661. 28 Nov. Deputies visit New Amsterdam.

Conditions demanded.

Stuyvesant's concessions.

To all of these demands Stuyvesant promptly acceded, except to that which contemplated the introduction of the New Haven system of government. "In the way of magistrature, judicature, and civil affairs," he replied, "shall be granted to the petitioners all such power, authority, privilege, and liberty, as all other towns and colonies in New Netherland have obtained." This, however, did not satisfy the New Haven men. They insisted upon introducing their own civil code in all its vigor, and without any appeal to the supreme provincial authorities of New Netherland. The suspended negotiation was renewed the next spring. But Stuyvesant, feeling that he had already conceded enough, insisted upon the double nomination and the right of appeal; and the authoritative decision of the question was referred to the Amsterdam directors.*

1662. 11 March.

30 May. Referred to the W. I. Company.

Doubts had, meanwhile, arisen in the council of Maryland whether New Amstel was really within their limits; and all further demonstrations had been delayed until the

* Alb. Rec., xix., 409–421; xx., 73–77, 147; N. A. Rec.; O'Call., ii., 447, 448; Whitehead's East Jersey, 22, 183.

1661.

will of the proprietary should be ascertained. Baltimore, however, took care to obtain from the king a confirmation of the patent which had been granted by Charles I.; and Stuyvesant, receiving the news, wrote to the directors "that Lord Baltimore's natural brother, who is a rigid Papist, being made governor there, has received Lord Baltimore's claim and protest to your honors in council (wherewith he seems but little satisfied), and has now more hopes of success. We have advice from England that there is an invasion intended against these parts, and the country solicited of the king, the duke, and the Parliament, is to be annexed to their dominions." The savages around the South River showing signs of hostility, Hinoyossa and Pieter Alrichs went to Maryland to propose the negotiation of a general treaty of peace with the neighboring Indians. Calvert approving the suggestion, soon afterward sent commissioners to the South River, who were courteously received by Beeckman at Altona. On their return, they were accompanied by Hinoyossa, who met Calvert at the head of the Apoquinimy Creek, where a treaty was concluded with the sachem of the savages. The English, at the same time, proposed to deliver two or three thousand hogsheads of tobacco annually to the Dutch, in return for negroes and merchandise.*

Confirmation of the Maryland patent. 21 July.

Stuyvesant's dispatch to the W. I. Company.

6 Sept.

October. Treaty with the Indians.

In the mean time, active measures had been taken by the city of Amsterdam, whither Van Sweringen had gone, "to remonstrate the condition" of its colony. A full report was made to the burgomasters; and the West India Company, on its part, readily agreed to modify the conditions under which New Amstel had been conveyed in 1656. These changes, which promised great advantages, were approved by the city government; and the burghers of Amsterdam were invited to take an interest in its colony.

9 March.

21 March.

Public attention was soon drawn toward the South River, and various plans of emigration were proposed. The region between New Amstel and Cape Hinlopen being

* Alb. Rec., xvii., 100, 112, 124, 127, 129, 142, 146, 377; xviii., 146; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 320–330; Smith's N. Y., i., 13; McMahon, 25; Bancroft, ii., 236, 309.

CHAP. XX. almost unoccupied, seemed to present special attractions, and a number of Mennonists, or Anabaptists, proposed to establish themselves in a colony at the Horekill. A correspondence with the burgomasters resulted in the formation of a company, and the adoption of one hundred and seventeen articles of association for the government of the proposed settlement, which are among the most extraordinary of the early memorials of American colonization. The associates were to be either married males, or single men twenty-four years old, who were free from debt. Each was to bind himself to obey the ordinances of the society, and not to seek his own advancement over any other member. No clergymen were to be admitted into the society. Religious services were to be as simple as possible. Every Sunday and holiday the people were to assemble, sing a psalm, and listen to a chapter from the Bible, to be read by one of the members in rotation; after which another psalm was to be sung. At the end of these exercises, the court was to be opened for public business. The object of the association being to establish a harmonious society of persons of different religious sentiments, it was determined to exclude from it "all intractable people—such as those in communion with the Roman See; usurious Jews; English stiff-necked Quakers; Puritans; fool-hardy believers in the Millennium; and obstinate modern pretenders to revelation." Laws were to be ordained by the votes of two thirds of the members; but they must be approved by the authorities of the city of Amsterdam before they could become binding. Ten persons were to be annually proposed as officers, of whom the burgomasters of Amsterdam were to select five, to serve for one year. During the first five years after their arrival, the emigrants were to live in common. At the end of that time the property was to be divided, and each head of a family to receive his proportionate share. Idle and dissolute persons might be expelled by a vote of two thirds of the members. The laws of Holland, and especially those of the city of Amsterdam, were to govern the new association, and no

1661. Mennonists propose to emigrate.

1662. 10 Jan. Articles of association for the Horekill colony.

magistrate was to receive any compensation, "not even a stuyver." CHAP. XX.

1662.

These singular articles, together with a description of the country and various papers and arguments in favor of the project, were published in Holland; and the city government granted an advance of two hundred guilders each to twenty-five families of Mennonists about to emigrate to New Netherland. A few months afterward, articles were agreed upon between the burgomasters and Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy, as the leader of the colonists, to whom was granted a tract of land at the Horekill, to be free from taxes for twenty years. The emigrants were to establish for themselves such laws as they thought proper, provided they did not conflict with the general "conditions" which the city had published in 1656. Arrangements were made for the transportation of the colonists; and twenty-five hundred guilders were loaned to the association, for the repayment of which the whole body was to be bound.*

Publication of the Korte Verhael. 20 April. 9 June. Agreement between Amsterdam and the Mennonists.

The condition of New Amstel and Altona, however, had not improved. The officers of the city's colony became daily more independent, refusing to publish Stuyvesant's thanksgiving proclamations, and requiring vessels to lower their colors while passing New Amstel. Hinoyossa denounced the provincial government, and threatened that if the burgomasters of Amsterdam did not support his authority he would follow the example of Minuit, "who, in consequence of the ill treatment he had received from the company, had brought the Swedes to the South River." Beeckman, on his part, charged Hinoyossa with peculation; and Van Sweringen, having accidentally shot one of the company's soldiers, was protected by the city's director against the criminal process of New Netherland. Meanwhile, religious ordinances were discontinued, for there

Affairs at New Amstel and Altona. 12 March. 15 May. 21 June.

* Hol. Doc., xv., 37–51, 123–133; xvi., 231–235; Alb. Rec., iv., 377; viii., 335–337; xviii., 195; Lond. Doc., iv., 177; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 345; Wagenaar, i., 595; O'Call., ii., 461–469. These articles form a part of the Appendix to a small quarto pamphlet of 84 pages, compiled from De Laet, De Vries, and the Vertoogh, entitled "Korte Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandts Gelegenthied," &c., &c., printed in 1662. The copy which I procured in Holland is in the library of the N. Y. Historical Society; and a translation will probably be included in its collections.

CHAP. XX. were no clergymen to baptize the children or administer the communion. It was now evident that either the company or the city must be supreme there. To accomplish this object, earnest representations were sent to Holland; whither Hinoyossa announced that he would return by way of Virginia, "to give an accurate description of the colony to his lords and patrons, and to convince them of the necessity of obtaining possession of the South River."*

1662. Want of religious services.

September. Hinoyossa visits Holland.

In the mean time, the relations between England and the Netherlands had been far from harmonious. Charles, indeed, had paid the Dutch the compliment of accrediting to them the first ambassador whom he sent to a foreign court after his Restoration. But the king's choice was singularly infelicitous. The new ambassador was Sir George Downing. He had been educated in Massachusetts, and was one of the earliest graduates of the college at Cambridge in the year 1642. Going over to England, Downing entered Cromwell's army, and was afterward sent by the Protector as ambassador to the States General. In this position he had conducted himself with great haughtiness toward the republic, and had become personally obnoxious to the Dutch statesmen. Changing with the change of the times, he recommended himself to the versatile king, who reinstated him in his former post. On his return to the Hague, Downing became still more arrogant. Able and bold, but faithless and unscrupulous, his character had already become a proverb among his countrymen, who were used "to say of a false man who betrayed his trust, that he was an arrant George Downing."†

1661. June. Sir George Downing British ambassador at the Hague.

It was no wonder that the negotiations for a treaty of commerce and alliance between England and the United Provinces were protracted. Besides embarrassing questions arising out of the new Act of Navigation, there were other reasons why Charles was not anxious for a definitive arrangement with the Dutch. Lord Baltimore had already

* Alb. Rec., xvii., 151–247; xviii., 195; O'Call., ii., 464, 465; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 330–341.

† Hutchinson, i., 107, 444; Savage's Winthrop, i., 49; ii., 240–242; Lettres d'Estrades, ii., 364; Basnage, i., 634; Brieven van De Witt, iv., 139; Davies, iii., 20, 21.

appealed to him in behalf of Maryland; and now Henry, the third Earl of Stirling, urged his petition that, in any treaty which might be made with the Netherlands, the Dutch upon Long Island should be required to submit themselves to English authority. The king's obvious policy was procrastination. Not so that of the Dutch. The States General, wearied with delays, at length sent orders to their ambassadors to conclude the treaty which had been so fully discussed, or else leave London. The ambassadors were put off some time longer; but, in the end, a convention was signed at Whitehall. At first the alliance seemed to promise well; the Dutch fulfilled their stipulations with promptness and honor; and the king declared that as they had been the first to execute, so he would be the last to violate the treaty. But the event did not verify the royal word. A bitter, hereditary jealousy of the Dutch was deeply seated in the minds of the English people. Amsterdam had overshadowed London; the commerce of Holland had prospered more than that of England; Dutch fleets had humbled the arrogance which claimed to rule the seas; and Saint John's vindictive Act of Navigation had been followed up by the still more selfish statute of the Twelfth of Charles the Second. That act contemplated the total exclusion of all foreigners from any trade or commerce with the British colonies. Though its restrictions violated the rights of mankind, they were looked upon with less repugnance in New England, where envy of the Dutch in New Netherland predominated, than in Virginia, where a more magnanimous policy obtained. The intercolonial treaty which Stuyvesant had negotiated with Berkeley in 1660 had given satisfaction to the people of both provinces. The new Act of Navigation was felt to be a serious grievance, and its provisions were virtually evaded. Dutch ships continued to convey to foreign markets the tobacco which otherwise would have been the prize of monopoly at London or Bristol; and Governor Berkeley was sent to England as agent of Virginia, to ask relief from commercial oppression. But the king was indiffer-

31 May.
10 June.

March.

14 Sept. Convention between the United Provinces and Great Britain.

Berkeley agent of Virginia.

CHAP. XX. ent, and Parliament was inexorable. At the very time the treaty with the Netherlands was matured, the council for

1662.

25 August. Foreign Plantations was considering the question of the secret trade between the Dutch and the English colonies in

4 Sept. America; and Berkeley was presently instructed to cause

12/22 Sept. The Navigation Act ordered to be observed in the English colonies. the Act of Navigation to be "carefully and faithfully executed and observed" in Virginia, where the government had certain knowledge that "very much tobacco is shipped in that our colony in Dutch vessels." Well might Stuyvesant inform the Amsterdam Chamber that Berkeley had "effected very little in favor of the English Virginians."*

Connecticut was more fortunate in her agent than was Virginia. Though the son-in-law of the executed Hugh Peters, Winthrop, by his personal character, talents, and literary attainments, soon commanded respect and won confidence. Before long a royal charter passed the great seal,

23 April. Royal charter of Connecticut. by which "the governor and company of the English colony of Connecticut, in New England," were incorporated, and invested with jurisdiction over all the territory bounded on

Boundaries. the east by the Narragansett Bay, on the north by the south line of Massachusetts, on the south by the sea, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean; together with "the islands thereunto adjoining." Thus the "careless benevolence" of Charles the Second gave to Connecticut the whole of New Haven, besides the greater part of New Netherland, including Long Island, then claimed by Lord Stirling; and

Encroaches on New Netherland. the coveted possessions of the Dutch appeared at last to be within the grasp of those who had striven so long to appropriate the territory of their "noxious neighbors," and "crowd out" the original discoverers of the land.†

The next autumn, the charter was presented and read

September. at the annual meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies; and the English settlers at the eastern end of Long Island hastened to acknowledge their allegiance to

* Lond. Doc., i., 110–123; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 39–44; Alb. Rec., xviii., 157, 158, 197; Chalmers, 242–244; Hazard, ii., 610; Brieven van De Witt, iv., 221–304; Aitzema, iv., 1111–1114; Basnage, i., 665; Bancroft, ii., 69, 198, 309; Verplanck, in iii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., 87; *ante*, p. 683, 685.

† Hazard, ii., 597–605; Chalmers, 293; Bancroft, i., 425; ii., 51–54; Trumbull, i., 249; *ante*, p. 262, 324, 695.

Connecticut. Southold chose Captain John Young as her deputy to the next General Court at Hartford. Young's previous proceedings had awakened the attention of the New Netherland government; and Stuyvesant now informed the Connecticut authorities that they were "an absolute breach and a nullification" of the boundary treaty of 1650, and that they gave the States General and the West India Company a just ground to demand and recover all their ancient rights to the territory between Greenwich and the Fresh River. The General Court was, therefore, requested to return its "categorical answer" about Young's "seditious doings." This was soon given. The charter was exhibited to Captain Nicholas Varlett, who had brought his brother-in-law's letter, and the court desired that Stuyvesant "would not in any wise incumber or molest his majesty's subjects comprehended within the extent of our patent by any impositions, that thereby more than probable inconveniences may be prevented." Southold was received under the protection of the court, and Young was admitted a freeman of the corporation. West Chester was declared to be included in Connecticut, and the inhabitants were required to send deputies to its next General Court. Greenwich was also accepted, and annexed with West Chester to the jurisdiction of the local court at Fairfield. The settlements at Huntington, Setauket or Ashford, and Oyster Bay, were notified to choose constables; and "all the Plantations on the island," including Jamaica, Flushing, Gravesend, Heemstede, and Middelburgh, were ordered to "attend the established law of this colony for the rule of rating," and to appear at the General Assembly to be held the next May.*

13 October. Stuyvesant's letter to the General Court of Connecticut.

$\frac{9}{19}$ Oct.

Reply of Connecticut.

23 October. West Chester, Greenwich, and the Long Island towns annexed.

Religious zeal had, meanwhile, been animating the Jesuits in Canada to new efforts for the conversion of the sav-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 379, 382; xviii., 218, 219; xx., 249, 253, 263; xxi., 97–101; Dunlap, ii., App. xxix.; Hazard, ii., 467; Hartford Rec., i., 12; ii., 1, 168; Col. Rec. Conn., 384–390; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 20, 162, 163; Riker's Newtown, 54. The particular reason why Captain Varlett went to Hartford was because his sister Judith had been imprisoned there, on a "pretended accusation of witchery;" and the Dutch director's letter warmly urged her release. Judith afterward married Stuyvesant's nephew, Nicholas Bayard, and in 1686 resided in the "Hoogh Straat," or High Street, in the city of New York.

CHAP. XX. ages, and Father Le Moyne once more visited the country of the Iroquois. Though the Mohawks were implacable, the Western tribes showed friendship; and deputies from the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, assembled at the sound of the bell, which had once summoned the faithful to worship in the deserted chapel of the Jesuits. The council seemed inclined to peace; but the Western nations could not influence the fiercer Mohawks, and the next spring Le Moyne returned to Canada.

1661. Le Moyne among the Iroquois. 12 August.

1662. Returns to Canada.

After having crushed the Hurons, the Mohawks executed their threatened design against the Eastern savages, and a formidable war party visiting the English traders on the Kennebeck, forced them to an unwilling traffic. Thence they proceeded to the Penobscot fort, where they surprised and captured a party of Abenaquis, who had come thither to trade. On their return, the Mohawks killed the cattle of the English, and robbed their store-houses "to the value of three hundred pounds." To obtain redress for these aggressions, delegates from Boston accompanied Captain Thomas Breedon, the governor of Nova Scotia, to New Amsterdam; and the director at once proceeded with the English agents to Fort Orange. The Mohawk sachems offered an atonement of wampum, but would surrender no prisoners; and, abruptly breaking up the conference, they threatened, unless the English declared themselves satisfied, to ravage the borders of Connecticut. At length Stuyvesant arranged an accommodation, and purchased by presents the release of some of the captives. Breedon, however, still unsatisfied, complained to the commissioners at Boston that "no recompense" could be obtained; and the Board, apprehending "the insolencies and wrongs done by the aforesaid Indian Mohawkes have been very great," recommended the several colonies to allow the governor of Nova Scotia to enroll volunteers within their jurisdictions "for his just relief and satisfaction."

30 April. Mohawks on the Kennebeck.

3 May. Surprise the Abenaquis and rob the English.

27 July.

3 August. Stuyvesant arranges an accommodation.

$\frac{12}{22}$ Sept. Measures of the N. E. commissioners.

At the very moment Stuyvesant and the English delegates were negotiating with the sachems at Fort Orange, a war party of Mohawks and Oneidas was threatening

1662.

Montreal. A post near its gates was attacked, and the garrison killed or captured. Father Vignal was slain; Brignac was burned at the stake. Three of the prisoners escaping with great difficulty, after nine days of constant suffering and peril, reached Fort Orange, where they were hospitably entertained and clothed. Thence they were conveyed to New Amsterdam, and finally reached Quebec by way of Boston. The situation of Canada was now, indeed, alarming. Reduced to forty-five associates, the impoverished and disheartened proprietaries of New France resigned all their rights to the king; and the surrendered province was soon afterward conveyed by Louis XIV. to the new and wealthier West India Company, which his great minister Colbert had organized, and under whose auspices Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, was commissioned as French viceroy in America.*

12 August. Iroquois again invade Canada.

Reorganization of the government of New France.

1663.

19 Nov.

Stuyvesant had scarcely returned from Fort Orange when he felt himself called upon to interfere again, to check the progress of Quakerism on Long Island. And now the scene of persecution was at Flushing. Among the early emigrants thither was John Bowne,† a plain, strong-minded English farmer. His wife soon became attached to the society of the Quakers, who, owing to the severe measures of the provincial government, were obliged to hold their meetings privately, in the woods and solitary places. Bowne, out of curiosity, having attended some of these meetings, invited the Quakers to his house, and, before long, joined their society. The magistrates of Jamaica, faithful to their promise, informed the director that Bowne's house had become a "conventicle" for the Quakers of all the neighboring villages; and the new convert, upon being

John Bowne, of Flushing.

24 August. Arrested and fined for harboring Quakers.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 423; xx., 178, 184–194; Hol. Doc., xi., 211; Hazard, ii., 462, 463; Relation, 1660–1, 1661–2, 1663–4, 1664–5; Charlevoix, i., 348–380; Bancroft, iii., 148; O'Call., ii., 452, 453; Hildreth, ii., 91; *ante*, p. 647, 682.

† Bowne was born at Matlock, in Derbyshire, in 1627. He came over to Boston in 1649, and soon afterward settled himself at Flushing, where, in 1656, he was married to Hannah, a daughter of Robert Field, and a sister of Elizabeth, the wife of Captain John Underhill. In 1661, Bowne erected a fine dwelling-house at the eastern end of Flushing, where it may still be seen. Near this house were two large oak-trees, under which George Fox preached in 1672. One of these trees was blown down in September, 1841; the other, still standing, is supposed to be at least four centuries old.

CHAP. XX. arrested, confessed his offense. To punish Bowne's contempt of authority, Stuyvesant condemned him to "an amend" of twenty-five Flemish pounds, and threatened him with banishment.

1662. 14 Sept.

21 Sept. New proclamation against sectarianism and sedition.

The next week, a new proclamation declared that the public exercise of any religion but the Reformed, "in houses, barns, ships, woods, or fields," would be punished by a fine of fifty guilders; double for a second offense; and for the third quadruple, with arbitrary correction. The importation or distribution of all seditious books was forbidden, under penalty of fine and confiscation. Strangers arriving in the province were to report themselves within six weeks to the secretary, and take the oath of allegiance. And magistrates who permitted the violation of this proclamation were threatened with immediate removal from office. But the threat of punishment did not repress the

5 October. zeal of the Quakers. John Tilton, and Mary his wife, and Michael and Samuel Spicer, of Gravesend, persisting in frequenting conventicles, were ordered to leave the province before the twentieth of November. Meanwhile, Bowne, refusing to pay his fine, had remained imprisoned at New Amsterdam; and, at the end of three months, "for the wel-

14 Dec. Order in council against Bowne.

fare of the community, and to crush as far as it is possible that abominable sect who treat with contempt both the political magistrates and the ministers of God's holy word, and endeavor to undermine the police and religion," an order was made in council "to transport from this province the aforesaid John Bowne, if he continues obstinate and pervicacious, in the first ship ready to sail, for an example to others." The Quaker convert, however, remaining firm,

1663. the director executed his threat. Bowne was ordered on

9 Jan. Bowne banished.

board the Gilded Fox; and Stuyvesant wrote to the Amsterdam Chamber that the contumacious prisoner had been banished as a terror to others, who, if not discouraged by this example, would be dealt with still more severely.

But the banishment of Bowne was the harbinger of a better day for New Netherland. On reaching Amsterdam, the exile "manifested his case" to the directors of the West

India Company, who did not utter "one word tending to the approval of any thing" that their provincial government had done against the Quakers. So far from justifying Stuyvesant, they thus rebuked him in their next dispatches. "Although it is our cordial desire that similar and other sectarians may not be found there, yet as the contrary seems to be the fact, we doubt very much whether rigorous proceedings against them ought not to be discontinued; unless, indeed, you intend to check and destroy your population, which, in the youth of your existence, ought rather to be encouraged by all possible means. Wherefore, it is our opinion that some connivance is useful, and that at least the consciences of men ought to remain free and unshackled. Let every one remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of our magistrates in this city; and the consequence has been that people have flocked from every land to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed." This reproof was effectual. Persecution ceased in New Netherland; and Bowne, returning after two years absence, met Stuyvesant as a private citizen, who "seemed ashamed of what he had done."*

16 April. The W. I. Company enjoins toleration.

Persecution ceases

The Amsterdam Chamber also instructed their director that it would gratify them if the proposed settlement of Puritans on the Raritan River, which might serve as a bulwark against the Raritans and Minnisincks, should be carried into effect. "The principal obstacle was the appeal in criminal cases, and capital crimes of fornication, adultery, and similar offenses, which they punish according to the law and the expressed word of God. Against which maxim, although the laws of our Fatherland use some connivance in this respect, we make no objection; but we could not willingly transfer to them the absolute disposal of all criminal cases whatever without appeal." The di-

26 March. Instructions of the W. I. Company respecting a Puritan settlement on the Raritan.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 427; xviii., 221, 222; xx., 199, 208–220, 230–233, 263, 291; Besse, ii., 237; Thompson's L. I., ii., 74–79, 293–295, 386–388; Bancroft, ii., 300; Dr. De Witt, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, 73; O'Call., ii., 454–457; *ante*, p. 689.

CHAP. XX. rectors, however, consented that no appeals should take place in cases of voluntary confession; but this could not be conceded "in all other cases of a dubious nature." Further, "their laws, in punishing all similar crimes against the maxims of our Fatherland, should only be put in practice against their own countrymen, and not against such of our nation as might settle among them." "Your honor must not give up this point as long as it is tenable; it is of too high importance. If, however, the object in view is not attainable without this sacrifice, then your honor is authorized to treat with the English on such terms as, in your opinion, are best adapted to promote the welfare of our state and its subjects."

1663. Concessions of the W. I. Company.

20 July. Terms offered by Stuyvesant.

On receiving this dispatch, so consistent with the conditions offered in 1661, Stuyvesant informed the applicants that most of their demands would be granted, and a charter be sealed to assure their rights. They would be allowed to elect their own magistrates, upon condition that these should be annually presented to the director and council to be confirmed and sworn. They might establish their own courts, and make such laws as they pleased, which, if found "to concur with the holy Scriptures," would be confirmed by the provincial government. In convictions upon confession, capital sentences might be executed without appeal; in "dark and dubious" cases, such as witchcraft, the consent of the director and council must be first obtained. In civil matters, an appeal was to be allowed only in cases exceeding one hundred pounds Flemish; and new settlers were to be admitted only with the consent of the local magistrates, and upon their swearing allegiance to the provincial government. But fresh elements of discord had by this time sprung up between Connecticut and New Netherland; and it does not appear that the Puritans, who, instead of being "obstructed by the then ruling Dutch," had been granted all they could fairly ask, ever availed themselves of the liberal concessions of the provincial government.*

Offers not accepted.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 415, 416; xxi., 231–237; Denton's N. Y.; Bancroft, ii., 317; O'Call.,

1663.

Rejoicing in their newly-acquired patent, the General Court at Hartford had lost no time in extending their jurisdiction over the adjoining territory. New Haven, however, feeling wronged, bore testimony "against the great sin of Connecticut in acting so contrary to righteousness, amity, and peace," and poured out her griefs in a long letter to the Hartford court. While New Haven protested, the inhabitants of West Chester were placed in an embarrassing dilemma. Stuyvesant, observing that they had not made their usual annual nomination of officers, dispatched Waldron to inquire into the cause and summon the magistrates to New Amsterdam. On reaching the capital, the West Chester magistrates were interrogated; and, upon acknowledging their error, they were discharged, and sent back with a letter forbidding the people to send delegates to Hartford, and directing them to submit their nominations for officers. Mills, the ringleader, was, however, detained in prison; and the next week the West Chester settlers sent in their nominations, out of which three persons were selected and confirmed as magistrates. Upon this, Mills was discharged. The Connecticut council, presently appointed Captain John Talcott to go down to West Chester, and administer the oath of a constable "unto him whom the inhabitants shall desire and choose to that service, if he approves of the person." Repairing thither, with sixteen or eighteen armed men, Talcott declared that the inhabitants were absolved from their allegiance to the Dutch government; summarily dismissed the old magistrates, and appointed others in their places. Thus Connecticut enforced her claim to West Chester, and, at the point of the sword, affected "to lead the inhabitants to the choice of their officers."*

Connecticut and New Haven.

$\frac{6}{16}$ May.

9 May.

12 May. West Chester submits to the Dutch.

24 May.

20 July.

Jurisdiction of Connecticut enforced.

Early this year, a severe shock of an earthquake was felt throughout New Netherland, New England, Acadia, and Canada. This was followed by a great freshet, which inundated the country and destroyed the harvests around

Earthquake.

ii., 448, 449; Whitehead's East Jersey, 22, 40, 181–183; *ante*, p. 688, 696. It would seem, however, that some of these persons afterward founded Elizabethtown, in New Jersey.

* Alb. Rec., xxi., 80, 93–95, 103, 141, 143; Aitzema, iv., 112; Col. Rec. Conn., 403, 405, 406; Trumbull, i., 254–257, 517–520; O'Call., ii., 456; Bolton's West Chester, ii., 164–169.

CHAP. XX. 1663.

Fort Orange. The small-pox also broke out, and spread with fatal rapidity among Europeans and savages. At Beverwyck, twelve of its slender population died in one week; and a thousand victims perished among the five Iroquois tribes. The court at Hartford, "understanding that the hand of God is gone out against the people at New Netherland by pestilential infections," prohibited all persons, coming from any places where the disease raged, from entering the colony; and masters of vessels arriving from infected places were forbidden to land any persons or goods in any harbor of Connecticut. This order, however, was repealed about two months afterward.*

Small-pox at Beverwyck.

21 March. Non-intercourse regulations of Connecticut.

24 May.

Three years had now passed away since peace had been covenanted at Esopus, "under the blue sky of heaven," between the Dutch and the savages. Industry had gradually repaired the losses of war, and numerous settlers, attracted by its pleasant situation, had flocked to Wiltwyck or Wildwyck. Domine Blom had continued his ministrations with success, and the church had increased from sixteen to sixty members, "so that this newly-rising community began to grow and to bloom right worthily." A new village was laid out in the "Great Plot" for the rapidly augmenting population. Most of the soldiers who had garrisoned the first settlement had been withdrawn, and only a sergeant's guard was maintained at the "Ronduit" or Redoubt, which had been erected a few miles off, on the Kill, near its mouth. Yet the red men, who remembered their brethren whom Stuyvesant had exiled to Curaçoa, liked not the "new fort," which marked the progress of the whites; and muttered threats foreboded a new outbreak of the Indians, who, in spite of all proclamations, were now supplied more freely than ever before with the "fire-water" and the fire-arms of their European neighbors. The temper of the savages had been reported to Stuyvesant, who sent word that he would soon visit Esopus. The sachems replied, that if he came to renew the peace, he should come

Affairs at Wiltwyck or Wildwyck.

New village.

"Ronduit," on the Kill.

5 June.

* Alb. Rec., vi., 409, 428; Relation, 1662-3, 6-18; 1664-5, 92; Charlevoix, i., 363-369; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 483; Col. Rec. Conn., 398, 402.

1663.

unarmed, and "sit with them in the open field outside the gate, according to their custom."

In fancied security most of the villagers went forth to work in their fields. About noon-tide, bands of savages, entering all the gates, scattered themselves about, and, "under the guise of friendship," offered corn and beans for sale at the quiet cottage doors. In a few minutes mounted horsemen dashed through "the mill-gate," announcing that the Indians had destroyed the new village. The work of death went on; houses were plundered and fired; women and children were hurried as prisoners outside the gates; and the alarmed husbandmen, rushing toward their blazing dwellings, were shot down by foes concealed within their own doors. Rallied at last by Swartwout, their schout, Captain Chambers, and Domine Blom, the few men at home secured the gates, cleared the gun, and drove the savages out of the village. By evening all was still again; sixty-nine efficient men were mustered; the palisades were replaced; and during the night the bereaved inhabitants kept mournful watch. "The burned bodies were most frightful to behold." Twenty-one lives were lost; nine were wounded; and forty-five, chiefly women and children, were carried off captives. Twelve houses were burned in Wiltwyck, and the new village was almost annihilated.*

7 June. Wiltwyck and the new village surprised.

The savages repulsed.

Intelligence of the calamity was quickly sent from Ronduit to New Amsterdam; and Stuyvesant dispatched Counselor De Decker to Fort Orange, to raise a loan, engage volunteers, and enlist the Mohawks and Senecas. The latter, however, were already at war with the Minquas; and when the news from Wiltwyck reached Beverwyck, the whole neighborhood was seized with panic. The farmers fled to the patroon's new fort "Cralo," at Greenbush; the plank fence which inclosed Beverwyck, and the three guns mounted on the church, were put in order; and Fort Orange, with its nine pieces of artillery, was prepared against an attack.

10 June.

12 June. Panic at Beverwyck.

Fort Cralo.

* Alb. Rec., xvi., 148–199; xviii., 193; xx., 113–120, 352; xxi., 87; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 962; iv., 39–44; *ante*, p. 76, 678, 690; note H, Appendix.

CHAP. XX. 1663.

A re-enforcement of forty-two men, under the command of Ensign Christiaen Niessen, was immediately sent from Fort Amsterdam to Wiltwyck; and the inhabitants of the metropolis and of the surrounding villages were offered large rewards if they would enlist. The chief men in the English settlements on Long Island discouraged the raising of volunteers, and few were obtained there; but a considerable force was collected in New Amsterdam, and forty-six "Marseping" savages from Fort Neck were engaged as auxiliaries. The command in chief was intrusted to Burgomaster Martin Kregier as captain lieutenant, under whom were Schepen Van Couwenhoven, Lieutenant Nicholas Stillwell, and Sergeant Pieter Ebel.

Re-enforcements sent from New Amsterdam. 19 June.

26 June. Kregier's expedition.

4 July.

The expedition, sailing in two yachts, soon landed at the Ronduit, and marched up to Wiltwyck. Guarded wagons conveyed abundant supplies to the village, where a "council of war" was established; and scouting parties were sent up the river to surprise some of the savages who lurked behind Magdalen Island. In a few days De Decker arrived from Fort Orange with five Mohawks, by whose mediation some of the Dutch captives were recovered. The Esopus savages, however, would not release the rest of their prisoners, unless "Corlaer and Rensselaer" should bring them presents, and make a peace within ten days, at their fort upon the Shawangunk Kill, in the present town of Shawangunk, about thirty miles southwest of Wiltwyck. It was, therefore, determined to attack them; and Kregier set out with a force of two hundred and ten men, two pieces of cannon, and two wagons, guided by Rachel la Montagne, wife of Surgeon Gysbert van Imbroeck, who had been taken prisoner on the seventh of June, and had escaped. After hauling the wagons and cannon over many hills, and crossing many streams upon bridges made of trees which they cut down, the expedition arrived near the fort, which Couwenhoven, with one hundred and sixteen men, was sent forward to surprise. Coming up with his party, Kregier found his friends in possession, as the savages, two days before, had fled with their prisoners to the mountains.

15 July.

Fort at Shawangunk.

26 July. Invasion of the Esopus country.

27 July.

The fort contained several strongly-built houses, and was inclosed by three rows of palisades. Here the expedition remained overnight. At dawn of the next morning, Couwenhoven was dispatched with one hundred and forty men, and a captured squaw as a guide, to a high mountain several miles off; but no Indians were there. As it was useless to continue the pursuit of their subtile enemies, the expedition destroyed the corn of the savages, burned their fort and houses, and, after a long day's march, returned in safety to Wiltwyck.

28 July.

31 July. Esopus fort destroyed.

Unsuccessful efforts were made, through the mediation of the Wappingers, to obtain the release of the Christian captives; and the Esopus savages having built a new fort "about four hours" further off, another expedition was ordered. Heavy rains delayed the forces several days; but at length, Kregier set out with fifty-five men, guided by a young Wappinger. After a toilsome march of two days, they reached the new fort, about thirty-six miles south southwest of Wiltwyck, and probably in the present town of Mamakating, in the county of Sullivan. Taken by surprise, the savages retreated across the Shawangunk Kill; and the Dutch having slain Papequanaehen their chief, and fourteen warriors, besides several women and children, remained conquerors, with the loss of three killed and six wounded. Thirteen prisoners were taken, and twenty-three Christian captives recovered. Spoil enough "well to fill a sloop" was destroyed; several guns and a quantity of ammunition were seized; and the victorious expedition returned to Wiltwyck with the rescued captives and the Indian prisoners, one of whom, refusing to proceed, was dispatched on the way.

Unsuccessful mediation of the Wappingers.

30 August.

3 Sept.

5 Sept.

New Esopus fort surprised.

7 Sept.

The enemy was now nearly crushed; yet detachments were prudently ordered to guard the Dutch reapers in their fields. Even the peaceful Katskill savages were suspected; and a party was sent about nine miles from the fort, to a maize plantation on the "Sager's Kill." No Indians, however, were found; but some corn was secured, and the party reported that "it is a beautiful maize land, suitable

24 Sept. Party sent to the "Sager's Kill."

CHAP. XX. for a number of bouweries." This report is confirmed at the present day by the flourishing farmers of Ulster.*

1663. The council of war now resolved to dispatch a third expedition against the Esopus savages; and one hundred and fifty-four soldiers and Long Island Indians marched from Wiltwyck. The next afternoon they came to the scene of their recent victory, where all was now desolation. Several pits had been filled with dead Indians; the unburied corpses of others lay around. Parties were sent into the neighboring woods, but no savages were seen. They had fled southward among the Minnisincks. The fort and wigwams were burned; the maize was destroyed; and the expedition returned in safety, after a fatiguing march through an incessant rain.

1 October. Third expedition against the Esopus Indians.

4 October.

5 October.

Tranquillity being restored, Couwenhoven was sent back to New Amsterdam, with several of the soldiers and the Long Island auxiliaries; and Wiltwyck, which now contained thirty-four occupied lots, was palisaded anew, "from the water-gate, along the curtains, unto the lot of Arent Pietersen Tack." After making arrangements with a Wappinger sachem for an exchange of prisoners, Kregier, leaving the post in charge of Ensign Niessen, with a garrison of sixty soldiers, paid a short visit to the capital. On his return, he found that some of the captives had been restored, and the release of the remainder been promised. Swartwout's conduct, however, having displeased Stuyvesant, he was discharged from his office of schout of Wiltwyck; and Matthys Capito, the secretary of the village court, was installed, provisionally, in his place.†

9 October. Wiltwyck palisaded anew.

17 Nov.

22 Dec.

24 Dec. Swartwout discharged.

Negotiations had meanwhile been going on between the West India directors and the burgomasters of Amsterdam, which resulted in the surrender to the city of all the company's territory on the South River, upon condition that the rights of the colonists should be respected; sufficient garri-

8 Feb. The W. I. Company cedes the South River to the city of Amsterdam.

* The "Sager's Kill" is now known as the Esopus Creek, which, running northeasterly from Kingston, empties into the river at Saugerties. The "Sager's Killetje," or Little Kill, crosses the road, and empties into the river about a mile north of Saugerties.

† Alb. Rec., vi., 388, 415; xii., 331; xvi., 171–270; xviii., 248; xx., 313, 356; xxi., 129–181, 203–208, 249, 261, 294, 313; New Amst. Rec., v., 248–257; Hol. Doc., xii., 347; Renss. MSS.; O'Call., ii., 473–482; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 964; iv., 41–98.

sons be maintained; the space of a mile be cleared and settled, and four hundred emigrants be sent out every year; and that the city should never sell or dispose of any part, upon pain of forfeiting the whole of their privileges. The commissaries of the city colony in an able report set forth the commercial advantages which New Netherland would enjoy if sufficiently peopled. Its trade with the West Indies and the neighboring English colonies now employed two hundred vessels annually. The English near the South River had shown themselves well disposed; and even if their own government should enforce the Navigation Act, they would still "open a small door" by which the Dutch might trade with them overland. To foster the colony on the South River would be the wisest expenditure of the city's funds. Holland was crowded with refugee Huguenots, Waldenses, Norwegians, and Germans; and many of a better class from Rochelle were desirous to emigrate to New Netherland at their own expense. All that these colonists desired was to be protected from the savages for a few years in their new home. This report was received with favor by the burgomasters of Amsterdam, and large sums were appropriated for the vigorous prosecution of the work of colonization.

10 March. Report of the city's commissaries.

16 March.

These views were warmly supported by Hinoyossa, who arrived not long afterward. He represented the Maryland authorities, with whom he had communicated, as anxious to promote intercolonial commerce; that the Swedes, Finns, and others had already one hundred and ten plantations, and thousands of cattle and swine, besides horses and sheep; that the city had already two or three breweries, and more were wanted to supply the English with beer, who, in return, could furnish a thousand tubs of tobacco a year; and that ten thousand furs and other articles could be annually procured from the Indians and exported from the colony. These representations had their effect. The next month, Hinoyossa set sail for the South River, with about one hundred and fifty colonists, and arrangements were made to dispatch another ship.

25 June. Hinoyossa's representations.

14 July. Return of Hinoyossa.

CHAP. XX. 1663.

The directors, on their part, informed Stuyvesant of their proceedings, and ordered him to transfer to the city's agent all the company's possessions on the South River, as stipulated in the articles of agreement. In a subsequent dispatch they explained in detail that, by this step, they hoped to secure the South River more effectually "from the encroachments of our English neighbors at the South, of whom nothing more favorable can be expected than from those of the North, who, notwithstanding the alliance between the crown of England and this republic, are continuing their usurpations." "It appears, too, that this city is willing to fulfill her engagements; while she, since that event, not only with more zeal, but with more vigor, exerts herself in watching her own interests in that distance, having resolved to transport to that country annually four hundred colonists and other useful husbandmen, if a larger number is not obtained, which must contribute to our security against the English North. We may expect, besides this, a more powerful intercession of this city with our government, to obtain from the crown of England the final settlement of the long-desired boundaries, for which we shall leave nothing undone, and communicate the result. Meanwhile, we renew our recommendation to maintain yourself in possession of the territory which has been allotted to us by the provisional treaty, and to resist all new encroachments of our English neighbors." Rumors soon afterward reaching Holland that the Swedish government was equipping two frigates to retake New Sweden, Stuyvesant was admonished to be on his guard, and directed not to remove the company's artillery from Fort Altona.*

11 Sept. Letter of the W. I. Company. 21 Sept. Further instructions to Stuyvesant.

16 October. Precautions against the Swedes.

May. Indian troubles on the South River.

In the mean time, the war between the Senecas and the Minquas had produced great alarm at New Amstel. A body of eight hundred Senecas attacked the Minqua fort, but they were put to flight and pursued northward for two days. This only produced fresh rumors of war, and the Mohawks were reported to be preparing to assist the Sen-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 415, 431, 437, 444, 447; viii., 352–363; xvii., 309–311; Hol Doc., xv., 52–67, 81–85, 91–108; *ante*, p. 700.

ecas; while the Esopus Indians, after the destruction of their fort at Shawangunk, were said to have encamped among their friends, the Minnisincks, at the head of the South River. News now came that the heir of Lord Baltimore was about to visit Altona; and Beeckman, finding that "here on the river not a single draught of French wine is obtainable," requested Stuyvesant to send him some from Manhattan, "to treat the nobleman with." The next month, Lord Baltimore's son, Charles Calvert, came to New Amstel and Altona with a suit of twenty-six or twenty-seven persons. Beeckman entertained him, not as a proprietary, but as a guest; and their intercourse was pleasant and harmonious. In conjunction with Van Sweringen, the schout of New Amstel, Calvert renewed the treaty with the savages; but when it was proposed to define the limits of the two colonies, he replied that he would communicate with Lord Baltimore. The young nobleman took leave of his Dutch hosts in all good feeling; and proposing to visit Boston the next spring, by way of Manhattan, he desired Beeckman to convey his thanks to Stuyvesant for his "offer of convoy and horses."

CHAP. XX. 1663.

24 July.

9 August. Calvert visits New Amstel and Altona.

12 August.

Not long afterward, Hinoyossa arrived from Holland; and Beeckman, in obedience to the company's orders, immediately recognized him as chief of the Dutch on the South River. In a few days, Stuyvesant executed a formal act, ceding to Hinoyossa, as the representative of the burgomasters of Amsterdam, "the South River from the sea upward so far as that river extends itself, toward the country on the east side, three miles from the borders of the river, and toward the west side so far as the country extends, until it reaches the English colonies." The city's director organized his government; made arrangements for the superintendence of the fur trade at New Amstel, Passayunk, and the Horekill; and chose, for his own residence, a spot on the Apoquinimy Creek, just below New Amstel, where he proposed to build the metropolis, and promote commerce with the English in Maryland and Virginia. And Beeckman, now shorn of authority, ap-

3 Dec. Hinoyossa returns from Holland.

22 Dec. Stuyvesant surrenders the South River to him.

CHAP. XX. 1663.

pealed to Stuyvesant for some official employment under the Provincial government, on the North River.*

Meanwhile, the West India directors, mistrusting Winthrop, with whom they had conversed at Amsterdam, had instructed Stuyvesant to "explore his mind," and effect, if possible, a definitive settlement with Connecticut. The director accordingly visited Boston, to meet the commissioners of the United Colonies. Appearing before them, he complained of the non-observance of the Hartford treaty, particularly with respect to West Chester, and demanded whether they considered it still in force. Winthrop and Talcott, the commissioners for Connecticut, asked a respite of the question until the next year. The other commissioners declared that, saving their allegiance to the king, and his majesty's claim, and the rights of Connecticut under her late charter, they held the Hartford treaty binding, and would not countenance its violation. At the same time, they advised that the case should be fully heard at the next annual meeting; and that, in the mean time, "all things may remain and be according to the true intent and meaning of the aforesaid articles of agreement." This evasive reply, which practically gave Connecticut all that she required, a year's delay, was a severe mortification to the Dutch director. He replied that the postponement asked was "frivolous;" yet, holding the Hartford treaty binding, he offered to submit all questions in dispute to "any impartial committee not concerned in either right." But the commissioners were inexorable; and Stuyvesant, finding their "demands so great and heavy," proposed to refer "the matters unsettled to both superiors;" and that, in the mean time, there should be a free intercolonial trade in the products of the colonies, and a "neighborly confederacy and union against so great multitude of barbarous Indians as the Christian people of both nations are dispersed among." The commissioners rejoined that they would willingly see

6 Sept. Stuyvesant visits Boston.

19 Sept. Negotiation with the N. E. Commissioners.

21 Sept.

23 Sept.

25 Sept.

* Alb. Rec., xvii., 276–298, 309–311, 317, 318; xxi., 443–445; xxiv., 286; Acrelius, 423–425; Chalmers, 361, 634; Smith's N. Y., i., 13; Bancroft, ii., 309; O'Call., ii., 470–472; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 343–356. Hudde, the former commissary on the South River, died at Apoquinimy, on his way to Maryland, on the 4th of November, 1663.

a "correspondency in traffic," not contrary to the late Act of Parliament, and would submit to their respective governments the proposition for a general union against the savages.* Thus ended the last conference between Stuyvesant and the commissioners of the United Colonies. CHAP. XX. 1663. Unsatisfactory result of Stuyvesant's visit.

On his return to New Amsterdam, the baffled director found that fresh difficulties had occurred. After executing his commission in West Chester, Talcott had crossed over to Long Island, and through his agent, James Christie, had announced to the people of Gravesend, Heemstede, Flushing, and Jamaica, that they were now under Connecticut, and no longer subject to New Netherland. Christie, however, was promptly arrested by Stillwell, the sheriff of Gravesend, and sent a prisoner to New Amsterdam. This exasperated the villagers, and a mob searched the dwelling of the obnoxious officer. Finding that he had escaped to New Amsterdam, they wrote to the council accusing him of having caused the hubbub; and the people of Middelburgh, still more excited, threatened retaliation unless Christie should be discharged. But the council, approving Stillwell's conduct, ordered all the English villages to arrest and send to New Amsterdam any seditious emissaries. The representations of the Connecticut agent, however, produced their effect. Several English inhabitants of Jamaica, Middelburgh, and Heemstede signed a petition to the General Court at Hartford, complaining of their "present bondage," and praying that Connecticut would cast over them "the skirts of its government and protection." This petition was dispatched to Hartford by a "trusty messenger," Sergeant Hubbard, whom Stuyvesant had released from imprisonment in 1656, upon his promise of good behavior. Besides submitting the petition, Hubbard demanded that the General Court should take steps to reduce, under their authority, the adjoining Dutch villages on Long Island. And to prepare the way for this change, an armed English party, headed by Richard Pan-

Difficulties on Long Island.

23 Sept. Christie arrested at Gravesend.

26 Sept.

27 Sept.

29 Sept.

9 Oct. Petition of Long Island towns to Connecticut.

Midwout threatened.

* Alb. Rec., iv., 382, 405, 424; xii., 329; xviii., 224; xxi., 287–290; Hazard, ii., 479–483; *ante*, p. 700.

CHAP. XX. 1663.

ton, threatened the people of Midwout with the pillage of their property if they should refuse to take up arms against the Dutch provincial government.

Stuyvesant now appointed Secretary Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Van Cortlandt, and John Lawrence, a burgher of New Amsterdam, commissioners to the government of Connecticut. At the same time, he drew upon the company for four thousand guilders, to meet the pressing necessities of his government. But the public credit had fallen so low, that the director could find no one to cash his bill until he pledged four of the brass guns of Fort Amsterdam as security for the repayment of the advance.*

13 October. Dutch commissioners sent to Hartford.

15 October. The Dutch commissioners, setting sail from Manhattan, in two days landed at Milford. Procuring horses with some difficulty, they rode on to New Haven, where they lodged. The next day they reached Hartford, and found the General Assembly in session, rejoicing in the recent return of Winthrop, their successful agent. The Assembly appointed Allen, Talcott, and Clarke as a committee of conference, and a long negotiation followed. The Dutch agents urged the Hartford treaty, and the recent advice of the commissioners of the other three New England colonies; the Connecticut committee declined to yield to that advice, and sheltered themselves behind the royal patent. In vain did Winthrop himself expressly declare "that the intent of the patent was by no means to claim any right to New Netherland, but that it only comprehended a tract of land in New England." The committee replied, "the governor is but a man alone," and "our patent not only takes in that, but extends northward to the Boston line, and westward to the sea." "In case there was another royal patent, between where would New Netherland then lie?" demanded the Dutch agents; and the Connecticut committee, without hesitation, answered, "We know of no New Netherland, unless you can show a patent for it from his majesty." This reply was nearly that of Calvert to

18 October. Negotiation with the General Assembly.

19 October.

21 October.

23 October.

"No New Netherland."

* Alb. Rec., xxi., 303–341; Letters in Stuyvesant's time; Aitzema, iv., 1121; Hartford Rec., i., 13, 18; ii., 6; Col. Rec. Conn., 410; O'Call., ii., 483–487; Riker's Newtown, 55; *ante*, p. 619.

Heermans and Waldron four years before. The Dutch agents appealed to the charter of the West India Company, and the approbation of the Hartford treaty by the States General. "They answered," is the record of the embassy, "that the charter is only a charter of commerce,* and the said settlement of the limits was only conditional: if you can not show a special patent for the land, it must fall to us. We said that the right of their High Mightinesses was indisputable, as appears by the first discovery, the purchase from the natives, the oldest possession, &c. They answered that they would let us keep as much as was actually possessed and occupied by our nation, but that we could not hinder them from possessing that which was not occupied by our nation." CHAP. XX. 1663.

The fruitless negotiation ended with a proposition of the Hartford committee that West Chester and all the territory eastward should belong, "till it be otherwise issued," to Connecticut, which would abstain from exercising authority over "Heemstede, Jamaica, &c.," provided the Dutch would likewise forbear to coerce "any of the English plantations upon Long Island." This the Dutch agents deemed "wholly unreasonable;" but, by way of concession, they proposed that West Chester should, for the present, "abide under Connecticut," while the disaffected towns on Long Island should remain under New Netherland. Even this was not enough; several of the Hartford men declared that "they knew of no New Netherland province, but of a Dutch governor over the Dutch plantation on the Manhattans, that Long Island was included in their patent, and that they would also possess and maintain it." In the evening, the secretary handed a letter from the Assembly, addressed to Stuyvesant merely as "Director General at the Manados," to the mortified Dutch agents, who, leaving Hartford the next morning, after three days' travelling reached New Amsterdam. Demands of Connecticut. Propositions of the Dutch. 23 October. Return of the Dutch agents. 26 October.

More clearly to define their position, the General Assem-

* The charter of the West India Company was certainly much more ample than the English affected to consider it, for it bound the directors to "advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts;" see *ante*, p. 135, 136, 666.

CHAP. XX. 1663.

bly declared that West Chester and Stamford belonged to Connecticut; and resolved that for the present they would "forbear to put forth any authority over the English plantations on the westerly end of Long Island, provided the Dutch forbear to exercise any coercive power toward them. And this court shall cease from further attendance unto the premises, until there be a seasonable return from the General Stuyvesant to those propositions that his messengers carried with them, or until there be an issue of the differences between them and us."*

Act of Connecticut respecting West Chester and the Long Island towns.

While Stuyvesant was thus endeavoring to stay the progress of Connecticut encroachment, the internal condition of the Dutch province was becoming more and more alarming. Her treasury was exhausted, Long Island in revolt, and the Esopus war not yet ended. But if New Netherland was too feeble successfully to resist, unaided, her English neighbors, as well as the savages, it was not because "the province had no popular freedom, and therefore had no public spirit." The hour of trial again suggested an appeal to the people; and the municipal government of New Amsterdam called upon Stuyvesant to summon a "Landt's Vergaderinge," to deliberate on the affairs of the country. Letters were accordingly sent to the neighboring villages, enjoining each to depute two delegates to a convention at New Amsterdam. It was too late in the year to secure the attendance of deputies from Rensselaerswyck, Fort Orange, or Esopus. But Breuckelen, Midwout, Amersfoort, New Utrecht, Boswyck, Bergen, Haerlem, and New Amsterdam were all represented. The convention adopted an earnest remonstrance to the Amsterdam Chamber, in which the disastrous situation of the province was mainly attributed to the mismanagement and supineness of the authorities in Holland. The people of Connecticut were enforcing their unlimited patent "according to their own interpretation," and the total loss of New Netherland was threatened. "The English, to cloak their plans, now ob-

22 October. Convention called at New Amsterdam.

1 Nov.

2 Nov. Remonstrance to the Amsterdam Chamber.

* Alb. Rec., xvi., 292–315; Hazard, ii., 623–633; Aitzema, v., 64; Col. Rec. Conn., 410, 411, 415, 416; Trumbull, i., 260; O'Call., ii., 487–490; Bancroft, ii., 310; Bolton, ii., 169.

ject that there is no proof, no legal commission or patent from their High Mightinesses to substantiate and justify our rights and claims to the property of this province, and insinuate that, through the backwardness of their High Mightinesses to grant such a patent, you apparently intended to place the people here on slippery ice, giving them lands to which your honors had no right whatever; that this, too, is the real cause of our being continually kept in a labyrinth, and of the well-intentioned English settled under your government being at a loss how to acquit themselves of their oaths." Stuyvesant himself dispatched this remonstrance to the Amsterdam Chamber, and at the same time urged that the boundary question should be settled; that the States General should send letters to the English villages on Long Island, commanding them to return to their allegiance, and to the Dutch villages, exhorting them to remain loyal; and, that the objections of Connecticut might be met, the original charter of the West India Company should be solemnly confirmed by a public act of their High Mightinesses under their great seal—"which an Englishman commonly dotes upon like an idol."*

10 Nov. Stuyvesant's dispatch.

At this very moment a revolution was in progress on Long Island. News soon reached the capital that Anthony Waters, of Heemstede, and John Coe, of Middelburgh, with a force of seventy or eighty men, had visited the English settlements, changed the names of several, proclaimed the king, appointed new magistrates, and threatened the Dutch villages. Gravesend and Heemstede retained their old names; but Flushing was called "Newarke;" Middelburgh, "Hastings;" Jamaica, "Crafford;" and Oyster Bay, "Folestone." Stuyvesant, now thoroughly alarmed, dispatched Fiscal De Sille with some soldiers to protect the Dutch villages. He also wrote to the authorities at Hartford, accepting their proposition respecting a mutual forbearance of jurisdiction, which the Dutch agents had declined. By this step the director virtually surrendered to

9 Nov. Names of the English villages on Long Island changed.

15 Nov. Stuyvesant surrenders them and West Chester.

* New Amst. Rec., v., 333–353; Alb. Rec., xxi., 351–376; Hol. Doc., xii., 291, 346, 363; O'Call., ii., 490–494; Bancroft, ii., 311.

CHAP. XX. 1663.

Connecticut West Chester and the English villages on Long Island. These villages had grown rapidly; and at Jamaica a "meeting-house," twenty-six feet square, was built this year, in which Zachariah Walker, who had been educated in the college at Cambridge, but had not been ordained, preached for some time.

Meeting-house at Jamaica.

The next month, some twenty Englishmen from Gravesend, Flushing, and Jamaica, went secretly in a sloop to the Raritan River, for the purpose of buying land from the Nevesincks and Raritans. As the Dutch had already made large purchases there, Stuyvesant dispatched Kregier, Loockermans, and Cortelyou, with some soldiers, through the "Kil van Kol," to prevent the proceedings of the English. Finding that they had gone up the Raritan, "Hans the Indian" was sent to warn the sachems, and arrived just in time to stop the sale. The English now went down the bay, "between Rensselaer's Hoeck and the Sandy Hoeck," whither they were followed by Kregier, who forbade their purchasing any land from the savages, as the largest part of it already belonged to the Dutch. "Ye are a party of traitors, as ye act against the government of the state," said Loockermans; and the English replied, "The king's patent is quite of another cast." The Dutch sloop now returned to New Amsterdam; and the next day, some Indian sachems came to the capital to sell to the Dutch the remainder of the Nevesinck lands. A provisional agreement was soon made; and Stuyvesant, to ratify it on his part, gave the savages presents of blankets and frieze "for their great chief Passachynon."*

English party on the Raritan.

6 Dec.

8 Dec.

10 Dec.

The project defeated.

12 Dec. Purchase of the Nevesinck lands.

24 June. 4 July. Instructions of the Privy Council to enforce the Navigation law in the Plantations.

In the mean time, the English Privy Council had addressed a circular letter to the governors of the American colonies, warning them against any further contempt of the law, which the statesmen of England generally esteemed "essential to its power," by trading "into foreign parts, from Virginia, Maryland, and other plantations, both by sea and land, as well into the Monadoes, and other plantations

* Alb. Rec., iv., 444; xviii., 238, 240; xxi., 382–385, 418, 431–435; Hol. Doc., xii., 369; Hartford Rec. Col. Bound., ii., 8; Whitehead's East Jersey, 22, 177–179; O'Call., ii., 495, 496; Thompson's L. I., ii., 97–101; Riker's Newtown, 59; *ante*, p. 313, 537.

of the Hollanders, as into Spain, Venice, and Holland." The possession of New Netherland by the Dutch was, in truth, the main obstacle to the enforcement of the restrictive colonial policy of England; and the attention of the Plantation Board was accordingly directed to the situation of the obnoxious province.

The tidings of the Restoration had attracted over from America several prominent colonists, among whom were George Baxter and John Scott, who had both been concerned in the troubles in 1654. Recommending himself as a zealous Royalist, Scott petitioned the king to bestow upon him the government of Long Island, of which he claimed to have "purchased near one third part," or to grant the inhabitants liberty to choose a governor and assistants yearly. This petition was referred to the Council for Foreign Plantations, which had already been ordered to consider Lord Stirling's opposing claim. Upon hearing Scott's complaint, "that the Dutch have of late years unjustly intruded upon and possessed themselves of certain places on the main land of New England and some islands adjacent, as, in particular, on the Manahatoes and Long Island, being the true and undoubted inheritance of his majesty," the council, suspecting "that the good intention of the late Act of Navigation is in great part frustrated by their practices," ordered Scott, together with Maverick of Boston, and Baxter, to prepare a statement of the English title; of the "Dutch intrusion;" of their "deportment since, and management of that possession, and of their strength, trade, and government there;" and, lastly, "of the means to make them acknowledge and submit to his majesty's government, or by force to compel them thereunto or expulse them."*

26 June. 5 July.

Scott's complaint to the Plantation Board.

16 July. Statement required from Scott, Maverick, and Baxter.

Returning to America, Scott brought out with him the council's instructions regarding the Navigation Laws, and royal letters recommending him to the New England governments. New Haven received him with favor, and endeavored to engage his assistance in procuring a patent for

Scott returns to New England.

* Lond. Doc., i., 119–129; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 43–46; Alb. Rec., xviii., 168; Chalmers, 242, 260–262; Hutch. Coll., 380, 381; *ante*, p. 671.

CHAP. XX. 1663. the lands they coveted upon the Delaware, declaring that in England he had been a good friend of that colony. But Scott's chief object now was to promote his private interest, in securing the ascendency of the English over Long Island. He accordingly offered his services to the government of Connecticut, which appointed him a commissioner at Setauket or Ashford, with the powers of a magistrate throughout the island, in conjunction with Talcott, Young, and Woodhull. The oath of office was administered by Winthrop; and Scott earnestly set about the work of freeing those whom he described to Under-secretary Williamson as "inslaved by the Dutch, their cruel and rapacious neighbors." His first business was to arrange the difficulties in the English villages, which, by Stuyvesant's acceptance of the terms offered at Hartford, were no longer under the jurisdiction of New Netherland. These villagers, however, were not unanimous. Those in favor of annexation complained that they received nothing but "if-so-be's and doubtings" from Connecticut, while the Baptists, Mennonists, and Quakers dreaded a Puritan government. They, therefore, invited Scott to "come and settle" their troubles.

Scott a commissioner at Setauket.

14/24 Dec.

13/23 Dec.

1664. Upon visiting them, Scott announced that the king had granted Long Island to the Duke of York, who would soon make his intentions manifest. Heemstede, Gravesend, Flushing or Newarke, Middelburgh or Hastings, Jamaica or Crafford, and Oyster Bay or Folestone, therefore formed a "combination" to govern themselves independently of Connecticut, and empowered Scott "to act as their President until his Royal Highness the Duke of York or His Majesty should establish a government among them." After proclaiming the king, the new president, at the head of one hundred and seventy men, set out to reduce the neighboring Dutch villages. Coming to Breuckelen, he fruitlessly attempted to withdraw the inhabitants from their allegiance, and avenged himself by striking Captain Kregier's little son, who refused to take off his hat to the royal flag. Advancing to Midwout, Scott harangued the people "like a quacksalver," but could not shake their fidelity.

Visits the English villages.

4 Jan. "Combination" formed, and Scott elected President.

11 Jan.

Scott's conduct at the Dutch villages.

Amersfoort was equally loyal; and New Utrecht refused to recognize the king, though the English forces took possession of the block-house, and fired a royal salute.

The director immediately sent Secretary Van Ruyven, with Van Cortlandt, Kregier, and some others, to Jamaica, where a conditional arrangement was made with Scott, who, announcing that he would return in the spring, warned the Dutch delegates that the Duke of York was determined to possess himself not only of Long Island, but of the whole of New Netherland. Disorders, however, still continued; several Dutch families were obliged to abandon their dwellings; and the schout and magistrates of the "Five Dutch Towns," meeting at Midwout, drew up a spirited remonstrance to the Amsterdam Chamber.*

14 Jan. Conditional arrangement at Jamaica.

27 Feb. Remonstrance of the Dutch towns.

Stuyvesant now demanded the advice of the council and the municipal authorities of New Amsterdam. The burgomasters and schepens recommended that the capital, which "is adorned with so many noble buildings, at the expense of the good and faithful inhabitants, principally Netherlanders, that it nearly excels any other place in North America," should be completely fortified, and its military force be increased, so as to "instill fear into any envious neighbors," and protect the province, which would soon become "an emporium to Fatherland." For this purpose, the municipal government offered to appropriate all its revenue, and also raise a loan, if the excise should be given up to the city. This the director and council agreed to, upon condition that New Amsterdam should enlist two hundred militia-men, and also maintain one hundred and sixty regular soldiers. In a few days, a loan of nearly thirty thousand guilders was subscribed, at an interest of ten per centum; to secure which sealed letters surrendering the excise were handed to the burgomasters. While the city authorities thus took prompt measures for the safety of the metropolis, they held that the West India Com-

8 Feb. Recommendations of New Amsterdam.

22 Feb. Loan raised for fortifying the capital.

* Lond. Doc., i., 132; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 48; Hazard, ii., 498; Col. Rec. Conn., Towns and Lands. i., 21, 25, 30; Alb. Rec., xviii., 237, 242; xx., 374; xxii., 68, 69; Hol. Doc., xi., 253–259; xii., 303–327; xiii., 83; Bushwick Rec., 35–39; O'Call., ii., 498–502; Thompson's L. I., ii., 321; Riker's Newtown, 60–62.

CHAP. XX. 1664.

pany, which, instead of applying its revenue from New Netherland to the defense of the province, expended it in Holland, was chiefly responsible for the disorders on Long Island.

Opinions, however, differed respecting the course to be pursued respecting "the usurper," John Scott. At length, Stuyvesant, believing it best to ratify the conditional arrangement which had been made in January, went with a military escort to Heemstede, where he met the president and deputies of the English towns. Burgomaster Van Cortland, with Jacob Backer and John Lawrence, were appointed commissioners on the Dutch side, and Captain Underhill, with Daniel Denton and Adam Mott on the English, and a formal agreement was concluded. The English towns on Long Island were to remain, without molestation, under the King of England for twelve months, and until his majesty and the States General should settle "the whole difference about the said island and the places adjacent;" the Dutch towns were to remain for the same term under the States General, "his majestie's royalties excepted;" and the English were to have "free egress and regress" to and from New Amsterdam and all the Dutch towns, according to the arrangement in January, while the Dutch were to enjoy similar freedom in the English towns, "according to the laws of England."*

3 March. Agreement between Stuyvesant and Scott.

New Netherland now appeared to be in such jeopardy, that the schout, burgomasters, and schepens of the metropolis requested the director to summon another "Landtdag," to consider the state of the province; and Stuyvesant promptly assenting, sent letters to the several Dutch settlements, requiring each to depute two representatives to a General Provincial Assembly at New Amsterdam on the tenth of April. Elections were immediately held; and, at the appointed day, the delegates met at the City Hall. New Amsterdam was represented by Burgomaster Cornelis Steenwyck and Schepen Jacob Backer; Rensselaerswyck

18 March.

19 March. General Provincial Assembly called.

10 April. Delegates meet at New Amsterdam.

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 242; xxii., 138; Stuyvesant's Letters; Hol. Doc., xii., 230; New Amst. Rec., v., 410–429; O'Call., ii., 502–504, 578; Smith's N. Y., i., 26.

by Jeremias van Rensselaer, its director, and Dirck van Schelluyne, its secretary; Fort Orange by Jan Verbeck and Gerrit van Slechtenhorst; Breuckelen by William Bredenbent and Albert Cornelis Wantenaar; Midwout by Jan Strycker and William Guilliams; Amersfoort by Elbert Elbertsen and Coert Stevensen; New Utrecht by David Jochemsen and Cornelis Beeckman; Boswyck by Jan van Cleef and Gysbert Teunissen; New Haerlem by Daniel Terneur and Johannes Verveeler; Wiltwyck by Thomas Chambers and Gysbert van Imbroeck; Bergen by Engelbert Steenhuysen and Hermanus Smeeman; and Staten Island by David de Marest and Pierre Billou. As the metropolis, New Amsterdam claimed the honor of presiding; but Rensselaerswyck being the oldest "colonie," the chair was awarded to Van Rensselaer, "under protest." Presidency

The Landtdag at once called upon the provincial government to protect the inhabitants against the savages and the "malignant English." Stuyvesant replied that the director and council had even exceeded their powers in enlisting and maintaining soldiers, and asked the delegates to furnish supplies for a regular force, or else call out every third man, "as had more than once been done in the Fatherland." The Assembly now inquired whether it should address the company or the States General. The director insisted that the people of New Netherland had not contributed to its support and defense; that the company had expended on the province twelve hundred thousand guilders more than it had received; and required the advice of the delegates in regard to hostilities with the Indians and the English, the enrollment of two hundred militia, and the raising of means by taxation. The Assembly, however, declining to vote supplies, adjourned its session for a week.* The Assembly's demands. 11 April. Stuyvesant's propositions. 12 April. 15 April. Adjournment.

In the mean time, the West India directors, upon receiving the dispatches of November from New Netherland, had united with the burgomasters of Amsterdam in demanding of the States General aid against Connecticut; an act un- 21 Jan.

* New Amst. Rec., v., 429–431, 450; Alb. Rec., xviii., 237; xxii., 78–90, 105, 106, 145–182; Renss. MSS.; Kingston Rec.; O'Call., ii., 505–508; Bancroft, ii., 312.

CHAP. XX. 1664.

der the Great Seal, confirming the charter of the company; mandatory letters to the several towns on Long Island; and a prompt intervention with the King of England. The States General now took those steps which, if earlier adopted, might have prevented many unnecessary doubts, and have permanently secured New Netherland. The ambassadors at London were instructed to insist upon the ratification by the British government of the Hartford articles of 1650. An act was also passed under the Great Seal, declaring that the charter of the West India Company authorized it to plant colonies in any unoccupied parts of America, from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan, and particularly in New Netherland, the boundaries of which were defined to be those agreed upon at Hartford.

23 Jan. Action of the States General.

Charter of the W. I. Company.

Letters to the towns.

Letters, signed by the greffier of the States General, were likewise addressed to Oostdorp, Gravesend, Heemstede, Vlissingen, Middelburgh, Rustdorp, Amersfoort, Midwout, New Utrecht, Breuckelen, and Boswyck, charging them to remain in allegiance until the boundary question should be settled with the King of Great Britain. Hoping much from the "peaceable inclinations of Governor Winthrop," the directors sent these documents to Stuyvesant by Abraham Wilmerdonck, one of their colleagues, and ordered sixty additional soldiers to New Amsterdam. The provincial government was instructed to exterminate the Esopus Indians; to check the English, and reduce the revolted villages to allegiance; and to receive with favor a number of "Frenchmen of the Reformed Church at Rochelle," who now sought homes in New Netherland. Domine Samuel Megapolensis, having taken his university degrees, at the same time returned to New Amsterdam, on terms similar to those agreed upon with Blom and Selyns.*

1 Feb.

Return of Domine Samuel Megapolensis.

22 April. Opinion of the Assembly.

These dispatches were communicated to the Landtdag when it met again. After deliberating, the members considered it impossible to execute the company's orders re-

* Alb. Rec., iv., 449–465; viii., 380; xviii., 295; xxii., 182; Hol. Doc., ix., 302; x., 1–21; Groot Placaatboeck, ii., 3153; Aitzema, v., 64, 65; Holl. Merc., 1664, 10, 15; Hart. Rec. Col. Bound., ii., 11; O'Call., ii., 508, 509, 579, 580; Ebeling, iii., 31; Selyns to Classis, 9th June, 1664; *ante*, p. 643, 680, 723.

specting the English rebels, who were "as six to one, and, with aid from Hartford, would easily overcome and massacre the few Dutch soldiers that could be brought against them." As the Esopus Indians were now completely humbled, and all the Christian captives, except three, recovered; and as the Minquas, Mohawks, and river tribes were all urging peace, a general treaty was now thought advisable, especially as the Connecticut people had been discovered tampering with the Wappinger savages.

In a few days, chiefs from Esopus, the Wappingers, and other river tribes, and from Hackinsack, Staten Island, and Long Island, met Stuyvesant, who was assisted by Wilmerdonck and several of the most prominent citizens, in the council chamber of Fort Amsterdam. Sarah, the daughter of Annetje Jansen Bogardus, and wife of Surgeon Hans Kierstede, acted as interpreter. Calling on "Bachtamo," his God, Sewackenamo, chief of the Esopus Indians, gave the right hand of friendship to the director general; and the last treaty between the Hollanders and the Indians was signed the next day, under a salute from Fort Amsterdam. The Esopus country, including the two Shawangunk forts, now "conquered by the sword," was ceded to the Dutch. No savages were in future to approach the farms of the Christians; but they might come to trade at the Ronduit with three canoes at a time. Reciprocal presents were annually to ratify this treaty, for the faithful observance of which the Hackinsack and Staten Island sachems became bound. Thus ended the Esopus war; and Stuyvesant, partaking of the universal satisfaction, proclaimed a day of general thanksgiving to the Almighty.*

15 May. Sarah Kierstede interpreter.

16 May. Treaty of peace with the Esopus savages.

31 May. Thanksgiving.

Roelof Swartwout, the discharged schout of Wiltwyck, had, meanwhile, been reinstated, upon his asking pardon of the director. It was, however, thought proper to have a more immediate representative of the West India Company's interests there; and Willem Beeckman, whose employ-

14 Feb. Swartwout reinstated at Wiltwyck.

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 238–248, 259, 263; xxii., 119, 180, 214–227, 245, 275; Hol. Doc., xii., 234; O'Call., ii., 509–511. Mevrouw Kierstede, having often acted as Indian interpreter, was presented with a large tract of land, on the west side of the North River, by Oritany, the chief of Hackinsack and Tappan.

CHAP. XX. ment at the South River had ceased, was appointed commissary at Esopus and its dependencies. His jurisdiction extended from Katskill, where that of Fort Orange terminated, to the Dans-Kamer, just above the Highlands, which was the northern limit of that of Fort Amsterdam. The local court of Wiltwyck was to be in subordination to Beeckman, who, as commissary, had the right to summon and preside at its meetings.*

1664. 4 July. Beeckman appointed commissary at Esopus.

Settlement at Schaenhechstede.

The provincial government having, in the spring of 1662, confirmed Van Curler's purchase of Schonowe, upon condition that the frontier settlement of New Netherland should be wholly agricultural, a "concentration" soon arose at "Schaenhechstede." The West India directors, however, were desirous to obtain a cession of the Mohawks' lands, "by which our English neighbors would be prevented from dispossessing the company of that immense beaver trade which our nation is in possession of by the Seneca Indians." Stuyvesant accordingly refused to allow Cortelyou, the surveyor, to lay out the lands at Schaenhechstede, unless the inhabitants would promise to devote themselves to agriculture, and abstain from any traffic with the savages. Against this invidious system Van Curler remonstrated in vain. The fur trade must be retained at Beverwyck; and the Indians must not be tempted to repeat their attacks upon the wagons conveying merchandise across the plain. The schout of Fort Orange, of which the new settlement was a dependency, was directed to enforce these orders, and the survey of Schaenhechstede was not permitted until the spring of this year.†

Trade with the savages restricted.

May. Surveyed.

Hostilities between the Mohawks and Eastern tribes.

Notwithstanding the accommodation which Stuyvesant had arranged in 1662, the Mohawks had continued hostile to the Abenaquis, and had provoked the enmity of the Soquatucks, at the head of the Connecticut River, within the present State of New Hampshire. Upon the complaint of Colonel Temple, the authorities at Fort Orange held interviews with the Mohawks, and afterward dispatched Jan

19 May.

* Alb. Rec., xxii., 55, 56, 265–269; Acrelius, 425; *ante*, p. 302, 714, 718; App., Note R.

† Alb. Rec., iv., 416; xxi., 135–139; xxii., 169, 234; Schenec. Papers, in Albany Clerk's Office; O'Call., ii., 440–442; *ante*, p. 691.

1664.

Davits and Jacob Loockermans across the "Winterberg" or Green Mountains, to arrange a peace. At Narrington, an English settlement, they met delegates from the Eastern tribes, with whom a treaty was concluded. The next month, the Mohawk ambassadors, who came to "Fort Paconthetuck" with presents to confirm the peace, were murdered by some Abenaquis, who are said to have been instigated by the English. War now broke out again. The Mahicans attacked the Mohawks, destroyed cattle at Greenbush, burned the house of Abraham Staats at Claverack, and ravaged the whole country on the east side of the North River. Alarmed for their own safety, the officers and people at Fort Orange entreated Stuyvesant to come up to them at once.*

The Dutch arrange a peace.

24 May.

21 June.

11 July. Ravages of the Mahicans.

14 July.

In the mean time, the Hartford authorities, having sent Allen, their secretary, to confer with the delegates of the English towns at Heemstede, accepted them under the government of Connecticut; caused Scott to be imprisoned; and declared "that they claim Long Island for one of those adjoining islands expressed in the charter, except a precedent right doth appear, approved by his majesty." They also authorized Pell to buy all the land "between West Chester and Hudson's River (that makes Manhattoes an island), and lay it to West Chester." When the Dutch messengers came with the letters of the States General, and an address from Stuyvesant, the English either refused to receive them or sent them to Hartford. There they "caused not the smallest effect;" for the Connecticut men, finding them unanswerable, pretended that they had been forged, either by the company in Holland or by its officers at New Amsterdam. Soon afterward, Winthrop visited the Long Island towns, removed the officers appointed by Scott, and installed others. Stuyvesant immediately went to meet the Connecticut governor, and urged the Dutch title by discovery, purchase, and possession, as well as the obligations of the Hartford treaty. But all was unavailing.

22 May. Connecticut claims Long Island.

West Chester.

Treatment of the letters of the States General.

June. Winthrop's proceedings on Long Island.

* Alb. Rec., vii., 394–404, 423–431; Hol. Doc., xi., 236–241; Renss. MSS.; Relation, 1663–4, 162, 163; O'Call., ii., 518, 519; *ante*, p. 704.

CHAP. XX. 1664. Winthrop, throwing off any appearance of friendship, claimed the country as his king's, and insisted that the English title was unquestionable, "according to the proverb," wrote Stuyvesant, "Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas."*

Virginia and Maryland.

De Decker, who had been for some months in Virginia endeavoring to obtain the release of a Dutch ship with a cargo of slaves from Guinea, which had been captured by an English privateer and carried into the Chesapeake, now sent intelligence of the threatening attitude of Virginia and Maryland. Clouds seemed to gather all around New Netherland. Yet Stuyvesant was not discouraged. Agriculture had improved; the prospect of the harvest was good; and the French Huguenots from Rochelle, who had just come over from Amsterdam, were delighted with their new home on Staten Island. "It would, indeed, be highly desirable," wrote he to the West India directors, "that the yet waste lands, which might feed a hundred thousand inhabitants, should be settled and cultivated by the oppressed; on the one side, by the Roman Catholics in France, Savoy, Piedmont, and elsewhere, and on the other, by the Turks in Hungary and upon the confines of Germany."

10 June. Stuyvesant hopeful.

Population.

The population of the province was now "full ten thousand," while New Amsterdam contained fifteen hundred, and wore an air of great prosperity. Domine Warnerus Hadson, whom the Classis of Amsterdam had sent to the South River, died on his voyage out; and the Dutch colonists there, whose children had not been baptized since the death of Welius, and who held the Lutheran clergyman Lokenius in little esteem, anxiously desired another minister. The arrival of Domine Samuel Megapolensis, however, was joyfully hailed at New Amsterdam; and Selyns, whose place was supplied by the young graduate, received permission to revisit the Fatherland.†

17 July. Return of Domine Selyns.

English jealousy had, meanwhile, grown with the in-

* Juvenal wrote this line "Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas."—Sat. vi., 223.

† Alb. Rec., xviii., 256–289, 295; xxii., 290; New Amst. Rec., v., 568; Col. Rec. Conn., 418–431; Trumbull, i., 261; Thompson, i., 118; ii., 321, 322; O'Call., ii., 511–514; Bolton, ii., 20, 169, 170; Riker, 62; Selyns to Classis, 9th June, Drisius, 5th Aug., 1664; *ante*, p. 670, 674. Domine Selyns returned to New York in 1682, as minister of the Collegiate Church, and died here in 1701.

creasing commerce of Holland, and a rupture with the Dutch appeared to be near at hand. The East India directors complained of their formidable Batavian rivals. The African Company, of which the king's brother, James, Duke of York, was the governor, denounced the Dutch West India Company, which had striven to secure its territory on the Gold Coast from English intruders. James, who had been libelled in Holland, became the advocate of his African Company with the king and with Parliament; and Downing, the British ambassador at the Hague, having a personal interest, with menacing language pressed exorbitant demands for damages upon the States. An expedition, under Sir Robert Holmes, was secretly dispatched against the Dutch possessions in Africa; and aggressions, which Clarendon described as "without any shadow of justice," were committed in the midst of a covenanted peace.

England and Holland.

February. Holmes's African expedition.

A still more iniquitous measure was soon arranged. The farmers of the revenue had complained that traders to Virginia, New England, Maryland, and Long Island were constantly conveying great quantities of tobacco to the neighboring Dutch plantations, the customs on which "would amount to ten thousand pounds per annum or upward;" and the Plantation Board had taken measures to put the British Acts of Navigation and Trade "carefully in execution." The brother of Governor Berkeley, too, coveted New Jersey. To accomplish all objects at one blow, England now determined boldly to rob Holland of her American province. The king accordingly sealed a patent granting to the Duke of York and Albany a large territory in America, comprehending Long Island and the islands in its neighborhood—his title to which Lord Stirling had released—and all the lands and rivers from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. This sweeping grant included the whole of New Netherland, and a part of the territory of Connecticut, which, two years before, Charles had confirmed to Winthrop and his associates.

Complaints of the farmers of the revenue.

$\frac{1}{10}$ Feb.

$\frac{12}{22}$ March. Royal patent to the Duke of York.

The Duke of York lost no time in giving effect to his patent. As Lord High Admiral, he directed the fleet.

CHAP. XX. 1664.

Four ships, the Guinea, of thirty-six guns; the Elias, of thirty; the Martin, of sixteen; and the William and Nicholas, of ten, were detached for service against New Netherland, and about four hundred and fifty regular soldiers, with their officers, were embarked. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Colonel Richard Nicolls, a faithful Royalist, who had served under Turenne with James, and had been made one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Nicolls was also appointed to be the duke's deputy governor, after the Dutch possessions should have been reduced. With Nicolls were associated Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, as royal commissioners to visit the several colonies in New England. These commissioners were furnished with detailed instructions; and the New England governments were required by royal letters to "join and assist them vigorously" in reducing the Dutch to subjection. A month after the departure of the squadron, the Duke of York conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret all the territory between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, from Cape May north to forty-one degrees and forty minutes of latitude, and thence to the Hudson, in forty-one degrees of latitude, "hereafter to be called by the name or names of Nova Cæsarea or New Jersey.*

Squadron detached against New Netherland.

12 April. Nicolls appointed deputy governor.

25 April. 5 May. Royal commissioners.

24 June. Nova Cæsarea or New Jersey conveyed to Berkeley and Carteret.

Intelligence from Boston that an English expedition against New Netherland had sailed from Portsmouth was soon communicated to Stuyvesant by Captain Thomas Willett; and the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam were summoned to assist the council with their advice. The capital was ordered to be put in a state of defense; guards to be maintained; and schippers to be warned. As there was very little powder at Fort Amsterdam, a supply was demanded from New Amstel; and a loan of five or six thousand guilders was asked from Rensselaers-

8 July. Willett warns Stuyvesant.

Preparations at New Amsterdam.

* Lond. Doc., i., 130–180; iii., 99; xvi., 253; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 47–65, 105, 225; Alb. Rec., xviii., 259; Charter, in State Library; Patents, i., 109–121; Hazard, ii., 634–640; Trumbull, i., 522–524; Hutchinson, i., 459; Smith, i., 14–16; O'Call., ii., 517; Whitehead, 30–37; Let. d'Estrades, ii., 435–474; Lister's Clarendon, ii., 258, 328; Lingard, xii., 163–168; Davies, iii., 20, 21; Duer's Life of Stirling, 37. On the 30th of July, 1674, the Duke of York granted an annuity of £300, out of the revenue of his colony, to Henry, Earl of Stirling.

wyck. The ships about to sail for Curaçoa were stopped; agents were sent to purchase provisions at New Haven; and, as the enemy was expected to approach through Long Island Sound, spies were sent to obtain intelligence at West Chester and Milford. But at the moment when no precaution should have been relaxed, a dispatch from the West India directors, who appear to have been misled by advices from London, announced that no danger need be apprehended from the English expedition, as it was sent out by the king only to settle the affairs of his colonies, and establish Episcopacy, which would rather benefit the company's interests in New Netherland. Willett now retracting his previous statements, a perilous confidence returned. The Curaçoa ships were allowed to sail; and Stuyvesant, yielding to the solicitation of his council, went up the river to look after affairs at Fort Orange.*

CHAP. XX.

1664.

Dispatch from the W. I. Company.

6 August. Stuyvesant goes to Fort Orange.

The English squadron had been ordered to assemble at Gardiner's Island. But, parting company in a fog, the Guinea, with Nicolls and Cartwright on board, made Cape Cod, and went on to Boston, while the other ships put in at Piscataway. The commissioners immediately demanded the assistance of Massachusetts; but the people of the Bay, who feared, perhaps, that the king's success in reducing the Dutch would enable him the better to put down his enemies in New England, were full of excuses. Connecticut, however, showed sufficient alacrity; and Winthrop was desired to meet the squadron at the west end of Long Island, whither it would sail with the first fair wind.

May.

$\frac{13}{23}$ July.

27 July.

6 August. English commissioners at Boston.

29 July.

8 August.

When the truth of Willett's intelligence became confirmed, the council sent an express to recall Stuyvesant from Fort Orange. Hurrying back to the capital, the anxious director endeavored to redeem the time which had been lost. The municipal authorities ordered one third of the inhabitants, without exception, to labor every third day at

Stuyvesant returns to New Amsterdam.

25 August.

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 286, 298; xx., 377; xxii., 271–276; Hol. Doc., xi., 219–239; xii., 92–119; New Amst. Rec., v., 522–524; Smith, i., 16; O'Call., ii., 517, 518; Thompson, i., 121, 130; Let. d'Estrades, ii., 459; *ante*, p. 519. Willett, who had been one of Stuyvesant's arbitrators at Hartford in 1650, afterward became the first English mayor of New York, and was the ancestor of the late Colonel Marinus Willett.

CHAP. XX. 1664.

the fortifications; organized a permanent guard; forbade the brewers to malt any grain; and called on the provincial government for artillery and ammunition. Six pieces, besides the fourteen previously allotted, and a thousand pounds of powder, were accordingly granted to the city. The colonists around Fort Orange, pleading their own danger from the savages, could afford no help; but the soldiers at Esopus were ordered to come down, after leaving a small garrison at the Ronduit.

Arrangements for defense.

26 August.

29 August. Soldiers recalled from Esopus.

English squadron in Nyack Bay.

In the mean time, the English squadron had anchored just below the Narrows, in Nyack Bay, between New Utrecht and Coney Island. The mouth of the river was shut up; communication between Long Island and Manhattan, Bergen and Achter Cul, interrupted; several yachts, on their way to the South River, captured; and the block-house on the opposite shore of Staten Island seized. Stuyvesant now dispatched Counselor De Decker, Burgomaster Van der Grist, and the two Domines Megapolensis, with a letter to the English commanders, inquiring why they had come, and why they continued at Nyack without giving notice. The next morning, which was Saturday, Nicolls sent Colonel Cartwright, Captain Needham, Captain Groves, and Mr. Thomas Delavall up to Fort Amsterdam, with a summons for the surrender of "the town situate on the island commonly known by the name of Manhattoes, with all the forts thereunto belonging." This summons was accompanied by a proclamation declaring that all who would submit to his majesty's government should be protected "in his majesty's laws and justice," and peaceably enjoy their property. Stuyvesant immediately called together the council and the burgomasters, but would not allow the terms offered by Nicolls to be communicated to the people, lest they might insist on capitulating. In a short time, several of the burghers and city officers assembled at the Stadt-Huys. It was determined to prevent the enemy from surprising the town; but, as opinion was generally against protracted resistance, a copy of the English communication was asked from the director. On the following Monday,

$\frac{19}{29}$ August. Stuyvesant's message.

$\frac{20}{30}$ August. Manhattan summoned to surrender.

Terms offered by Nicolls.

1 Sept.

the burgomasters explained to a meeting of the citizens the terms offered by Nicolls. But this would not suffice; a copy of the paper itself must be exhibited. Stuyvesant then went in person to the meeting. "Such a course," said he, "would be disapproved of in the Fatherland—it would discourage the people." All his efforts, however, were vain; and the director, protesting that he should not be held answerable for "the calamitous consequences," was obliged to yield to the popular will.*

Stuyvesant endeavors to withhold them.

Nicolls now addressed a letter to Winthrop, who with other commissioners from New England had joined the squadron, authorizing him to assure Stuyvesant that, if Manhattan should be delivered up to the king, "any people from the Netherlands may freely come and plant there, or thereabouts; and such vessels of their own country may freely come thither, and any of them may as freely return home in vessels of their own country." Visiting the city under a flag of truce, Winthrop delivered this to Stuyvesant outside the fort, and urged him to surrender. The director declined; and, returning to the fort, he opened Nicolls' letter before the council and the burgomasters, who desired that it should be communicated, as "all which regarded the public welfare ought to be made public." Against this Stuyvesant earnestly remonstrated; and finding that the burgomasters continued firm, in a fit of passion he "tore the letter in pieces." The citizens, suddenly ceasing their work at the palisades, hurried to the Stadt-Huys, and sent three of their number to the fort to demand the letter. In vain the director hastened to pacify the burghers and urge them to go on with the fortifications. "Complaints and curses" were uttered on all sides against the company's misgovernment; resistance was declared to be idle; "the letter! the letter!" was the general cry. To avoid a mutiny, Stuyvesant yielded, and a copy, made out from the collected fragments, was handed to the burgomasters. In

2 Sept. Nicolls' letter to Winthrop.

Handed to Stuyvesant.

Stuyvesant tears Nicolls' letter.

* Lond. Doc., i., 181–187; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 65–67; New Amst. Rec., v., 552–554; Alb. Rec., xviii., 302–304, 312–315; xxii., 307, 385; Hol. Doc., xi., 242–244; xii., 98–103, 121, 143–153; xiii., 24, 50; Kingston Rec.; Oyster Bay Rec.; Smith, i., 17–20, 388; O'Call., ii., 520–523; Bancroft, ii., 314; Thompson, ii., 196.

CHAP. XX. answer, however, to Nicolls' summons, he submitted a long justification of the Dutch title; yet, while protesting against any breach of the peace between the king and the States General, "for the hinderance and prevention of all differences and the spilling of innocent blood, not only in these parts, but also in Europe," he offered to treat. "Long Island is gone and lost;" the capital "can not hold out long," was the last dispatch to the "Lords Majors" of New Netherland, which its director sent off that night "in silence through Hell-gate."

1664.

2 Sept. Replies to the summons.

Last dispatch to Amsterdam.

Observing Stuyvesant's reluctance to surrender, Nicolls directed Captain Hyde, who commanded the squadron, to reduce the fort. Two of the ships accordingly landed their troops just below Breuckelen, where volunteers from New England and the Long Island villages had already encamped. The other two, coming up with full sail, passed in front of Fort Amsterdam, and anchored between it and Nutten Island. Standing on one of the angles of the fortress—an artilleryman with a lighted match at his side—the director watched their approach. At this moment, the two Dominies Megapolensis, imploring him not to begin hostilities, led Stuyvesant from the rampart, who then, with a hundred of the garrison, went into the city to resist the landing of the English. Hoping on against hope, the director now sent Counselor De Decker, Secretary Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Steenwyck, and Schepen Cousseau, with a letter to Nicolls, stating that though he felt bound "to stand the storm," he desired, if possible, to arrange an accommodation. But the English commander merely declared, "To-morrow I will speak with you at Manhattan." "Friends," was the answer, "will be welcome, if they come in a friendly manner." "I shall come with ships and soldiers," replied Nicolls; "raise the white flag of peace at the fort, and then something may be considered."*

English ships anchor before Fort Amsterdam.

25 August.

4 Sept. Stuyvesant proposes an accommodation.

Reply of Nicolls.

When this imperious message became known, men,

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 302–304, 316–320; xxii., 314–318; Gen. Entries, i., 12–26; Hol. Doc., xii., 25, 145–163; xiii., 54, 55, 94; New Amst. Rec., v., 567; Drisius to Classis, 15th of September, 1664; Smith, i., 20–27; Bancroft, ii., 314; O'Call., ii., 523–527; Thompson, i., 128, 129.

1664.

women, and children flocked to the director, beseeching him to submit. His only answer was, "I would much rather be carried out dead." The next day, the city authorities, the clergymen, and the officers of the burgher guard, assembling at the Stadt-Huys, at the suggestion of Domine Megapolensis adopted a remonstrance to the director, exhibiting the hopeless situation of New Amsterdam, on all sides "encompassed and hemmed in by enemies," and protesting against any further opposition to the will of God. Besides the schout, burgomasters, and schepens, the remonstrance was signed by Wilmerdonck and eighty-five of the principal inhabitants, among whom was Stuyvesant's own son Balthazar. At last the director was obliged to yield. Although there were now fifteen hundred souls in New Amsterdam, there were not more than two hundred and fifty men able to bear arms, besides the one hundred and fifty regular soldiers. The people had at length refused to be called out, and the regular troops were already heard talking of "where booty is to be found, and where the young women live who wear gold chains." The city, entirely open along both rivers, was shut on the northern side by a breastwork and palisades, which, though sufficient to keep out the savages, afforded no defense against a military siege. There were scarcely six hundred pounds of serviceable powder in store. A council of war had reported Fort Amsterdam untenable; for though it mounted twenty-four guns, its single wall of earth, not more than ten feet high and four thick, was almost touched by the private dwellings clustered around, and was commanded, within a pistol-shot, by hills on the north, over which ran the "Heereweg" or Broadway.

5 Sept. Remonstrance of the citizens to Stuyvesant.

Condition of New Amsterdam.

Upon the faith of Nicolls' promise to deliver back the city and fort, "in case the difference of the limits of this province be agreed upon betwixt his majesty of England and the High and Mighty States General," Stuyvesant now commissioned Counselor John de Decker, Captain Nicholas Varlett, Doctor Samuel Megapolensis, Burgomaster Cornelis Steenwyck, old Burgomaster Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, and old Schepen Jacques Cousseau, to agree upon articles with

5 Sept. Dutch commissioners appointed.

CHAP. XX. 1664. English commissioners.

the English commander or his representatives. Nicolls, on his part, appointed Sir Robert Carr and Colonel George Cartwright, John Winthrop and Samuel Willys, of Connecticut, and Thomas Clarke and John Pynchon, of Massachusetts. "The reason why those of Boston and Connecticut were joined," afterward explained the royal commander, "was because those two colonies should hold themselves the more engaged with us, if the Dutch had been over-confident of their strength." At eight o'clock the next morning, which was Saturday, the commissioners on both sides met at Stuyvesant's "bouwery," and arranged the terms of capitulation. The only difference which arose was respecting the Dutch soldiers, whom the English refused to convey back to Holland. The articles of capitulation promised the Dutch security in their property, customs of inheritance, liberty of conscience, and church discipline. The municipal officers of Manhattan were to continue for the present unchanged, and the town was to be allowed to choose deputies, with "free voices in all public affairs." Owners of property in Fort Orange might, if they pleased, "slight the fortifications there," and enjoy their houses "as people do where there is no fort." For six months there was to be free intercourse with Holland. Public records were to be respected. The articles, consented to by Nicolls, were to be ratified by Stuyvesant the next Monday morning at eight o'clock, and within two hours afterward, the "fort and town called New Amsterdam, upon the Isle of Manhatoes," were to be delivered up, and the military officers and soldiers were to "march out with their arms, drums beating, and colors flying, and lighted matches."*

27 August.

6 Sept. Capitulation agreed to at Stuyvesant's bouwery.

8 Sept. Surrender of Fort Amsterdam.

On the following Monday morning at eight o'clock, Stuyvesant, at the head of the garrison, marched out of Fort Amsterdam with all the honors of war, and led his soldiers down the Beaver Lane to the water side, whence they were embarked for Holland. An English corporal's guard at the same time took possession of the fort; and Nicolls and Carr, with their two companies, about a hundred and seventy

Occupation of the city by the English.

* See articles at length in Appendix, note S.

strong, entered the city, while Cartwright took possession of the gates and the Stadt-Huys. The New England and Long Island volunteers, however, were prudently kept at the Breuckelen ferry, "as the citizens dreaded most being plundered by them." The English flag was hoisted on Fort Amsterdam, the name of which was immediately changed to "Fort James." Nicolls was now proclaimed by the burgomasters deputy governor for the Duke of York; in compliment to whom he directed that the city of New Amsterdam should thenceforth be known as "New York." To Nicolls' European eye the Dutch metropolis, with its earthen fort inclosing a wind-mill and high flag-staff, a prison and a governor's house, and a double-roofed church, above which loomed a square tower, its gallows and whipping-post at the river's side, and its rows of houses which hugged the citadel, presented but a mean appearance. Yet, before long, he described it to the duke as "the best of all his majesty's towns in America," and assured his royal highness that, with proper management, "within five years the staple of America will be drawn hither, of which the brethren of Boston are very sensible."*

Fort Amsterdam called Fort James.

City of New York.

Nicolls' opinion of the city.

The Dutch frontier posts were thought of next. Colonel Cartwright, with Captains Thomas Willett, John Manning, Thomas Breedon, and Daniel Brodhead, were sent to Fort Orange, as soon as possible, with a letter from Nicolls requiring La Montagne and the magistrates and inhabitants to aid in prosecuting his majesty's interest against all who should oppose a peaceable surrender. At the same time, Van Rensselaer was desired to bring down his patent and papers to the new governor, and likewise to observe Cartwright's directions. Counselor De Decker, however, travelling up to Fort Orange ahead of the English commissioners, endeavored, without avail, to excite the inhabitants to opposition; and his conduct being judged contrary to the

$\frac{10}{20}$ Sept. Surrender of Fort Orange.

* New Amst. Rec., v., 567–570; Alb. Rec., xviii., 321–334; Hol. Doc., x., 129–148; xi., 164–274; xii., 57–64, 104–290; xiii., 51, 53; Lond. Doc., ii., 53, 64; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 103, 106; Gen. Entries, i., 22–33; Bushwick Rec.; Smith, i., 27–32; O'Call., ii., 527–536; Bancroft, ii., 315; Drisius to Classis, 15th September, 1664; Montanus, in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 116; Heylin's Cosmography.

CHAP. XX. spirit of the capitulation which he had signed, he was soon afterward ordered out of Nicolls' government. The garrison quietly surrendered, and the name of Fort Orange was changed to that of "Fort Albany," after the second title of the Duke of York. A treaty was immediately signed between Cartwright and the sachems of the Iroquois, who were promised the same advantages "as heretofore they had from the Dutch;" and the alliance which was thus renewed continued unbroken until the beginning of the American Revolution.*

1664.

Fort Orange named Fort Albany. 24 Sept. Treaty with the savages.

3/13 Sept. Carr sent to the South River.

It only remained to reduce the South River; whither Sir Robert Carr was sent with the Guinea, the William and Nicholas, and "all the soldiers which are not in the fort." To the Dutch he was instructed to promise all their privileges, "only that they change their masters." To the Swedes he was to "remonstrate their happy return under a monarchical government." To Lord Baltimore's officers in Maryland he was to say, that their pretended rights being "a doubtful case," possession would be kept until his majesty "is informed and satisfied otherwise." A tedious voyage brought the expedition before New Amstel. The burghers and planters, "after almost three days' parley," agreed to Carr's demands, and Ffob Oothout, with five others, signed articles of capitulation which promised large privileges. But the governor and soldiery refusing the English propositions, the fort was stormed and plundered, three of the Dutch being killed and ten wounded. In violation of his promises, Carr now exhibited the most disgraceful rapacity; appropriated farms to himself, his brother, and Captains Hyde and Morley; stripped bare the inhabitants, and sent the Dutch soldiers to be "sold as slaves in Virginia." To complete the work, a boat was dispatched to the city's colony at the Horekill, which

30 Sept.

10 October. Reduction of New Amstel.

The colony at the Horekill.

* General Entries, i., 35–43; Lond. Doc., i., 188; ii., 84; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 67, 149; Renss. MSS.; Smith, i., 33; *ante*, p. 81. Captain Daniel Brodhead, one of the witnesses to this treaty, was a native of Yorkshire, in England, and accompanied Nicolls' expedition to America. Before he left England, he was married to Ann Tye, by whom he had three sons, Daniel, Charles, and Richard. On the 14th of September, 1665, Captain Brodhead was appointed by Governor Nicolls to command the soldiers at Esopus, where he remained until his death in 1670.—Patents, i., 159, 167, 172.

was seized and plundered of all its effects, and the marauding party even took "what belonged to the Quaking Society of Plockhoy, to a very naile."

The reduction of NEW NETHERLAND was now accomplished. All that could be further done was to change its name; and, to glorify one of the most bigoted princes in English history, the royal province was ordered to be called "NEW YORK." Ignorant of James' grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret, Nicolls gave to the region west of the Hudson the name of "Albania," and to Long Island that of "Yorkshire," so as "to comprehend all the titles" of the Duke of York. The flag of England was at length triumphantly displayed, where, for half a century, that of Holland had rightfully waved; and, from Virginia to Canada, the King of Great Britain was acknowledged as sovereign. Viewed in all its aspects, the event which gave to the whole of that country a unity in allegiance, and to which a misgoverned people complacently submitted, was as inevitable as it was momentous. But, whatever may have been its ultimate consequences, this treacherous and violent seizure of the territory and possessions of an unsuspecting ally was no less a breach of private justice than of public faith. It may, indeed, be affirmed that, among all the acts of selfish perfidy which royal ingratitude conceived and executed, there have been few more characteristic, and none more base.*

New York.

Albania and Yorkshire.

So passed away the Dutch dominion in North America. Step by step, we have traced the circumstances of the discovery and occupation of the Batavian province; the introduction of the religion, jurisprudence, and customs of the Fatherland; the establishment of its system of townships and municipal governments; the transfer of local names in the Old World, which the colonists of the New always remembered with affection; the intermingling of various creeds and races; the growth of foreign commerce;

* General Entries, i., 58, 59; Hol. Doc., xi., 230, 231; Lond. Doc., i, 196–206; ii., 1, 23, 61, 95; iv., 178–180; N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 70–74, 83, 92, 105, 115, 345, 346; O'Call., ii., 537, 538, 593, 594; B. F. Butler, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 27; *ante*, p. 701, 736.

CHAP. XX. 1664. and the development of principles of civil liberty under trying and adverse circumstances. We have noticed the origin of the feudal relation of patroons and colonists or tenants, and the predominance of the better class of independent freeholders. We have seen the aboriginal red man made a friend and an enemy; and we have observed the progress of foreign encroachment ending in the supremacy of foreign power.

It has been remarked that the system of political administration, which at first oppressed New Netherland, differed widely from that which the Dutch colonists enjoyed in the country of their birth. The province had been unwisely intrusted to the government of a close commercial corporation, than which no government can be less favorable to popular liberty. In its scheme of political administration, the West India Company exhibited too often a mercantile and selfish spirit; and, in encouraging commerce in negro slaves, it established an institution which subsisted many generations after its authority had ceased. Its provincial agents, burdened at length with the added care of Curaçoa, generally displayed more devotion to the interests of the directors in Holland than to those of the community over which they were placed. Nevertheless, the popular voice, coming far across the sea, was heard and respected in the palace at the Hague; and the grievances of the earnest remonstrants were, from time to time, abated by the interference of the States General. Against all the withering influences under which they laid the broad foundations of a mighty state, the colonists of New Netherland steadily achieved their own purposes, and, by degrees, won for themselves the franchises of their brethren who remained at home. In the end, happier principles of government prevailed; and the unnatural spirit of bigotry and persecution, which for a time blemished the administration of the province, yielded to the maxims of toleration and magnanimity which distinguished the people of the Netherlands.

Enjoying an admirable geographical position, New York possesses annals not surpassed by those of any other state

in the American Union in topics of varied character, romantic incident, and instructive lesson. Nor does her early history relate alone to those confines which now limit her territory. New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, either wholly or in part, were comprehended within her original boundaries, and they all partake, to a greater or less degree, in the interest of her peculiar story.

The pioneers of New York left their impress deep upon the state. Far-reaching commerce, which had made Old Amsterdam the Tyre of the seventeenth century, early provoked the envy of the colonial neighbors of New Amsterdam, and, in the end, made her the emporium of the Western World. Longer lines of barges than those which once crowded the Batavian canals are now drawn, from the great lakes to the ocean, through those magnificent channels which the experience of Holland suggested, and the enterprise of her children helped to construct. Buildings, as solid and as quaint as those which grace the "Heeren-Gracht," stood as monuments of the olden time, until necessity, the desire of gain, or a distaste for what is venerable, doomed them to destruction. Cherished holidays yet recall the memory of the genial anniversaries of the Fatherland; and year by year the people are invited to render thanks to their God, as their forefathers were invited, long before Manhattan was known, and while New England was yet a desert. Those forefathers humbly worshiped the King of kings, while they fearlessly rejected the kings of men. The children of such ancestors were well fitted to act an important part in the great work of opening the continent of America to the civilization of Europe. They added no ignoble ingredient to the Union's blended masses.

The emigrants who first explored the coasts and reclaimed the soil of New Netherland, and bore the flag of Holland to the wigwams of the Iroquois, were generally bluff, plain-spoken, earnest, yet unpresumptuous men, who spontaneously left their native land to better their condition,

CHAP. XX. 1664.

and bind another province to the United Netherlands. They brought over with them the liberal ideas, and honest maxims, and homely virtues of their country. They introduced their church and their schools, their Domines and their schoolmasters. They carried along with them their huge clasped Bibles, and left them heir-looms in their families. They gave the names which they had loved in their Lowland homes to the new abodes which they chose among the red men of the forest. They came with no loud-sounding pretensions to grandeur in purpose, eminence in holiness, or superiority in character. They were more accustomed to do than to boast; nor have their descendants been ambitious to invite and appropriate excessive praise for the services their ancestors rendered in extending the limits of Christendom, and in stamping upon America its distinguishing features of freedom in religion and liberality in political faith. Born in a land where the first lessons of childhood were lessons of self-reliance and unceasing toil, they brought into the wilderness their hereditary habits of industry and thrift, that they might win and enjoy the rewards of active labor. Benevolent and social, they desired to see all around them happy; the enfranchised African might, and did obtain a freehold; while the negro who remained under an institution of patriarchal simplicity, scarcely knowing he was in bondage, danced merrily as the best, in "kermis," at Christmas and Pinckster. Husbandmen and traders they chiefly were. Yet men of science and acquirement were not wanting among the fathers of New York. Van der Donck, Megapolensis, and De Vries published valuable materials for our early history; while the correspondence of Stuyvesant, Beeckman, and Van Rensselaer sufficiently attests their scholarship and capacity. The clergymen of the province were all men of thorough education; Van Dincklagen, Van Schelluyne, and De Sille were learned in the law; La Montagne, Staats, Kierstede, Van Imbroeck, Du Parck, Curtius, and Megapolensis were eminent as physicians and surgeons. In the annals of no other state are there names

more patriotic and honorable than those of Kuyter, Melyn, and Van Curler. CHAP. XX. 1664.

Although Hollanders formed the chief element in the population of New Netherland, a happy intermixture of other races contributed to insure the prosperity of the state. Venerating the liberal example of their ancestral land, the first occupants of the province looked upon commerce as the solvent of national antipathies; and, without requiring uniformity in doctrine, or a homogeneous lineage, they made the hearth-stone the test of citizenship, and demanded residence and loyalty as the only obligations of their multifarious associates. Thus Walloons, Waldenses, Huguenots, Swedes, Roman Catholics, German Lutherans, Anabaptists, and English Quakers all planted themselves beside the natives of Holland. The Dutch province always had both popular freedom and public spirit enough to attract within its borders voluntary immigrants from the neighboring British colonies. If the Fatherland gave an asylum to self-exiled Puritans of England, New Netherland as liberally sheltered refugees from the intolerant governments on her eastern frontier. And in the cordial welcome which her earliest burghers gave to all who sought permanent homes among them, may be traced the origin of that large and comprehensive spirit which has made the island of Manhattan the attractive metropolis of the Columbian World.

Much of what has been written of American history has been written by those who, from habit or prejudice, have been inclined to magnify the influence and extol the merit of the Anglo-Saxon race, at the expense of every other element which has assisted to form the national greatness. In no particular has this been more remarkable than in the unjust view which has so often been taken of the founders of New York. Holland has long been a theme for the ridicule of British writers; and, even in this country, the character and manners of the Dutch have been made the subjects of an unworthy depreciation, caused perhaps, in some instances, by too ready an imitation of those provin-

CHAP. XX. 1664.

cial chroniclers who could see little good in their "noxious neighbors" of New Netherland.

Yet, without undervaluing others, it may confidently be claimed that to no nation in the world is the Republic of the West more indebted than to the United Provinces, for the idea of the confederation of sovereign states; for noble principles of constitutional freedom; for magnanimous sentiments of religious toleration; for characteristic sympathy with the subjects of oppression; for liberal doctrines in trade and commerce; for illustrious patterns of private integrity and public virtue; and for generous and timely aid in the establishment of independence. Nowhere among the people of the United States can men be found excelling in honesty, industry, courtesy, or accomplishment the posterity of the early Dutch settlers in New Netherland. And, when the providence of God decreed that the rights of humanity were again to be maintained through long years of endurance and of war, the descendants of Hollanders nobly emulated the example of their forefathers; nor was their steadfast patriotism outdone by that of any of the heroes in the strife which made the blood-stained soil of New York and New Jersey THE NETHERLANDS OF AMERICA.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, CHAPTER I., PAGE 31–35.

THE following account of the first arrival of Europeans in New York is taken from a manuscript communicated by the Reverend John Heckewelder to the Reverend Doctor Miller, in 1801, and by him deposited in the library of the New York Historical Society. Mr. Heckewelder was a Moravian missionary among the Pennsylvania Indians; and he states that his account "is verbatim as it was related to me by aged and respected Delawares, Monseys, and Mahicanni (otherwise called Mohegans, Mahicanders) near forty years ago," or about 1760. "A long time ago, when there was no such thing known to the Indians as people with *a white skin* (their expression), some Indians who had been out a fishing, and where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large swimming or floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. They immediately, returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had seen, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. These together hurried out, and saw, to their great surprise, the phenomenon, but could not agree what it might be; some concluding it either to be an uncommon large fish or other animal, while others were of opinion it must be some very large house. It was at length agreed among those who were spectators that, as this phenomenon moved toward the land, whether or not it was an animal, or any thing that had life in it, it would be well to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly, they sent runners and watermen off to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that these might send off in every direction for the warriors to come in. These arriving in numbers, and themselves viewing the strange appearance, and that it was actually moving toward them (the entrance of the river or bay), concluded it to be a large canoe or house, in which the great *Manitto* (Great or Supreme Being) himself was, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs of the different tribes were assembled on York Island, and were counseling or deliberating on the manner they should receive their Manitto on his arrival. Every step had been taken to be well provided with a plenty of meat for a sacrifice; the women were accosted to prepare the best of victuals; idols or images were examined and put in order; and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Manitto, but it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute toward appeasing him, in case he was angry with them. The conjurors were also set to work to determine what the meaning of this phenomenon was, and what the result would be. Both to these, and to the chiefs and wise men of the nation, men, women, and children were looking up for advice and protection. Between hope and fear, and in confusion, a dance commenced. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive, declaring it to be a house of various colors, and crowded with living creatures. It now appears to be certain that it is the great Manitto, bringing them some kind of game such as they had not before. But other runners soon after arriving, declare it a large house of various colors, full of people, yet of quite a different color than they (the Indians) are of; that they were also dressed in a different manner from them; and that one, in particular, appeared altogether red, which must be the Manitto himself. They are soon hailed from the vessel, though in a language they do not understand, yet they shout (or yell) in their way. Many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offense to their visitor, who could find them out, and might destroy them. The house (or large canoe, as some will have it) stops, and a smaller canoe comes ashore with the red man and some others in it. Some stay by this canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men (or counselors) had composed a large circle into which the red-clothed man with two others approach. He salutes them with friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration both as to the color of the skin of these whites, as also to their manner of dress; yet most as to the habit of him who wore the red clothes, which shone with something [lace?] they could not account for. He must be the great Manitto (Supreme Being), they think; but why should he have a white skin? A large, elegant hock hack (a gourd or decanter) is brought forward by one of the supposed Manitto's servants, and from this a substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the

Manitto. The (expected) Manitto drinks, has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief next to him to drink. The chief receives the glass, but only smells at it, and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass thus passes through the circle without the contents being tasted by any one; and is on the point of being returned again to the red-clothed man, when one of their number, a spirited man and great warrior, jumps up, harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the glass with the contents in it; that the same was handed them by the Manitto in order that they should drink it, as he himself had done before them; that this would please him; but to return what he had given to them might provoke him, and be the cause of their being destroyed by him. And that since he believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drank, and as no one was willing to drink it, he would, let the consequence be what it would; and that it was better for one man to die than for a whole nation to be destroyed. He then took the glass, and, bidding the assembly a farewell, drank it off. Every eye was fixed on their resolute companion, to see what an effect this would have upon him; and he soon beginning to stagger about, and, at last dropping to the ground, they bemoan him. He falls into a sleep, and they view him as expiring. He awakes again, jumps up, and declares that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drank the cup. He wishes for more. His wish is granted; and the whole assembly soon join him, and become intoxicated. After this general intoxication had ceased (during which time the whites had confined themselves to their vessel), the man with the red clothes returned again to them, and distributed presents among them, to wit, beads, axes, hoes, stockings, &c. They say that they had become familiar to each other, and were made to understand by signs that they now would return home, but would visit them next year again, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them awhile; but that, as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land of them, to sow some seeds, in order to raise herbs to put in their broth."—Heckewelder, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 71–73; and in Moulton, 252–254. Thus Indian tradition confirms and amplifies the authentic accounts of the revel on board the Half Moon as she was exploring the Hudson River. The tradition, however, while it preserves and embellishes the main fact, erroneously fixes the scene of the event at Manhattan Island. Mr. Heckewelder adds, that the Delawares derive the name of the island from the "general intoxication" which, according to their tradition, occurred there. But the Albany Records (xviii., 348) authoritatively declare that it was so called "after the ancient name of the tribe of savages among whom the Dutch first settled themselves." Besides, it appears very clearly from Juet's journal of Hudson's voyage, that the scene of the revelry was *in the cabin of the Half Moon*, while she was at anchor near Albany. See also Schoolcraft, in N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, Appendix, 96, and North American Review, ix., 163–165.

NOTE B, CHAPTER I., PAGE 36.

"The country of which we propose to speak was first discovered, in the year of our Lord 1609, by the ship Half Moon, of which Henry Hudson was master and supercargo, at the expense of the chartered East India Company, though in search of a different object [a northwest passage to China]. It was subsequently called New Netherland by our people, and very justly, as it was first discovered and possessed by Netherlanders, and at their cost; so that even at the present day, those natives of the country who are so old as to recollect when the Dutch ships first came here, declare that when they saw them they did not know what to make of them, and could not comprehend whether they came down from heaven or were of the devil. Some of them, when the first one arrived, even imagined it to be a fish, or some monster of the sea, and accordingly a strange report of it spread over the whole land. We have also heard the Indians frequently say that they knew nothing of any other part of the world, or any other people than their own, before the arrival of the Netherlanders. For these reasons, therefore, and on account of the similarity of climate, situation, and fertility, this place is rightly called New Netherland."—Holland Documents, volume iv., page 71; Van der Donck's "Vertoogh van Nieuw Nederlandt," translated by Mr. Murphy, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 261, 262; *ante*, p. 512.

"That this country was first discovered by the Netherlanders is evident and clear from the fact that the Indians or natives of the land, many of whom are still living, and with whom I have conversed, declare freely that they are old enough to remember distinctly that before the arrival of our Netherland's ship the Half Moon, in the year 1609, they, the natives, did not know that there were any other people in the world than those who were like their neighbors round about them, much less any people who differed from them so much in race and fashion as we did. Their men were bare on the breast and about the mouth, and their women, like ours, very hairy; they were unclothed, and almost naked, especially in summer, and we were all the time clad and covered. When some of them first saw our ship approaching afar off, they did not know what to think about her, but stood in deep

and solemn amazement, wondering whether it was a spook or apparition, and whether it came from heaven or from hell. Others of them supposed that it might be a strange fish or sea monster. They supposed these on board to be rather devils than human beings. Thus they differed among each other in opinion. A strange report soon spread through their country about our visit, and created great talk and comment among all the Indians. This we have heard several Indians testify; which we hold to be a certain proof that the Dutch were the first discoverers and settlers of New Netherland. For there are Indians in the country who remember over one hundred years; and so, if there had been any other people there before us, they would have known something of them; and if they had not seen them themselves, they would at least have heard of them from their forefathers."—Van der Donck's Description of New Netherland, page 3, the first edition of which was published at Amsterdam in 1655; *ante*, p. 561, note. An imperfect translation is in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 137.

NOTE C, CHAPTER II., PAGE 44.

Heckewelder, in continuing his traditionary account, as given in note A, says: "The vessel arrived the season following [1610], and they were much rejoiced at seeing each other. But the whites laughed at them (the natives), seeing they knew not the use of the axes, hoes, &c., they had given them, they having had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings they had made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles or helves in the former, and cut trees down before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stockings. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained for so long a time ignorant of the use of so valuable implements, and had borne with the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for a *Manitto*, yet inferior and attendant to the *supreme Manitto*, to wit, to the one which wore the red and laced clothes."

"Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was brought forward and spread on the ground before them. That they readily granted this request; whereupon the whites took a knife, and, beginning at one place on this hide, cut it up into a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child, so that by the time this hide was cut up, there was a great heap. That this rope was drawn out to a great distance, and then brought round again, so that both ends might meet. That they carefully avoided its breaking, and that upon the whole it encompassed a large piece of ground. That they (the Indians) were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had enough. That they and the whites lived for a long time contentedly together; although these asked, from time to time, more land of them; and, proceeding higher up the Mahicanittuk [the place of the Mahicans, or the Hudson River], they believed they would soon want all their country."—Heckewelder, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 73, 74; Moulton, 254, 255. Mr. Heckewelder adds, with reference to this part of the tradition, that the Dutch turned their classical knowledge of Queen Dido to a profitable account; and the legend of the Delawares has furnished material for much mirthful remark. It appears, however, from the Holland Documents, i., 155, that, in the summer of 1626, Director Peter Minuit purchased the whole of Manhattan Island from its aboriginal owners for sixty guilders, or about twenty-four dollars of our present currency.—See *ante*, page 164.

NOTE D, CHAPTER II., PAGE 51; CHAPTER VIII., PAGE 227.

Almost every writer on American history that I have met with appears to have taken pains to perpetuate the stereotype error that "Lord Delawarr touched at this bay in his passage to Virginia in 1610." The earliest authority who seems to affirm this theory is Sir John Harvey, the governor of Virginia, who told De Vries, in 1633, that Lord Delawarr, "several years before," had been driven in there by foul weather, and had found it innavigable by reason of its being "full of banks."—*Ante*, page 227. But Harvey does not mention the particular year; and very probably he confounded Delawarr with Hudson, whose mate's journal, printed by Purchas in 1625, states it to be "full of shoals." On the other hand, Lord Delawarr himself, in his letter of the 7th of July, 1610, giving an account of his voyage to Virginia, not only makes no mention of that bay, or of his approaching it, but expressly speaks of his first reaching the American coast on "the 6th of June, at what time we made land *to the southward of our harbor*, the Chesiopiock Bay."—Mus. Brit. Har. MSS., 7009, p. 58; also recently published in the Introduction to Strachey's Virginia Britannia, p. xxiv. The first European who is really known to have entered the bay, after Hudson, was Captain Samuel Argall, who, after losing Sir George Somers in a fog, on the 28th of July, 1610, while on his way to Bermuda, ran

toward Cape Cod, whence he sailed southerly, until, on the evening of the 26th of August, he found himself twelve leagues from the Jersey coast. "The seven-and-twentieth by day, in the morning," says Argall in his journal, "I was faire aboard the shore, and by nine of the clocke I came to an anchor in nine fathoms, *in a very great bay*, where I found great store of people, which were very kind, and promised me that the next day in the morning they would bring me great store of corne. But, about nine of the clocke that night, the wind shifted from southwest to east northeast. So I weighed presently, and shaped my course to Cape Charles. This bay lyeth in westerly thirty leagues. And the southern cape of it lyeth S.S.E. and N.N.W., and in thirtie-eight degrees twentie minutes of northerly latitude. The eight-and-twentieth day, about four of the clocke in the afternoon, I fell among a great many of shoals about twelve leagues to the southward of *Cape La Warr*. * * * The one-and-thirtieth, about seven of the clocke at night, I came to an anchor under Cape Charles."—Argall's Journal, in Purchas, iv., p. 1762. Strachey, in his "Virginia Britannia," p. 43, states that Argall, "in the latitude of thirty-nine, *discovered another goodly bay*, into which fell many tayles of faire and large rivers, and which might make promise of some westerly passage; the Cape whereof, in thirty-eight and a half, he called Cape La Warr." This is nearly the latitude of Cape Hinlopen. As Argall remained at anchor during the single day he was at the Cape, he probably derived his information about the large rivers which emptied into the bay from the Indians who visited him. If Lord Delawarr had been there two months before, Argall would no doubt have so stated it.

The name of Lord Delawarr, however, seems to have been given to the bay soon afterward by the Virginians. Argall, in his letter to Nicholas Hawes, of June, 1613, in Purchas, iv., 1764, speaks of hoping to find "a cut out of the bottom of our bay [the Chesapeake] into the Delawarre Bay." Lord Delawarr then certainly did not himself enter the bay "on his passage to Virginia, in 1610;" and it would seem that he never did, either on his return to England in 1611, or on his second voyage in 1618. In "Royal and Noble Authors," ii., 180, quoted by Bancroft, i., 152, Lord Delawarr is said to have died at Wherwell, in Hampshire, June 7th, 1618. On the other hand, he is stated to have sailed a second time from England in April, 1618, in a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, for Virginia. At Saint Michael's he was "honorably feasted." "Departing from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, *in which time many fell sick, thirtie died, one of which was that honorable lord of noble memory*. The rest refreshed themselves on that coast of New England with fish, fowl, wood, and water; and, after sixteen weeks spent at sea, arrived in Virginia."—Purchas, iv., 1774; Smith, ii., 34.

NOTE E, CHAPTER II., PAGE 54; CHAPTER V., PAGE 140; CHAPTER XIV., PAGE 485.

Plantagenet's New Albion, Heylin's Cosmography, and Stith's History of Virginia, are the authorities for this story of Argall's visit to Manhattan. Plantagenet, after stating Argall's expedition against the French at Nova Scotia, adds that, on their return, they "landed at Manhatas Isle, in Hudson's River, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor under the West India Company of Amsterdam, share or part, who kept trading boats, and trucking with the Indians; but the said knights told him their commission was to expel him and all alien intruders on his majesty's dominions and territories—this being part of Virginia, and this river an English discovery of Hudson, an Englishman. The Dutchman contented them for their charge and voyage, and, by his letter sent to Virginia and recorded, submitted himself, company, and plantation, to his majesty and to the governor and government of Virginia."—In ii., N. Y. H. S. Collect., i., 334, Mr. Folsom seems satisfied of the truth of the story; while, in ii., N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 326, Mr. Murphy asserts that it is "a pure fiction, unsustained by any good authority—though some writers have heaped up citations on the subject—and is as fully susceptible of disproof as any statement of that character at that early period can be."

Singularly enough, the only authorities which affirm the fact of Argall's visit to Manhattan are printed English works. The earliest of these—from which the extract given above is taken—is the "New Albion" of "Beauchamp Plantagenet, Esqr.," published in 1648. This imposing pseudonym was assumed—probably by Sir Edmund Plowden, who, as grantee of the Irish patent for "New Albion" in 1634, had an obvious interest adverse to the Dutch title to New Netherland; *ante*, p. 381. Almost the whole of Plantagenet's work, in fact, is now generally held to be a mass of absurd and inconsistent errors. Heylin, in his "Cosmography," which was published in 1652, seems only to have adopted and embellished Plantagenet's fanciful account. Stith's History of Virginia was originally published at Williamsburg, in 1747. This author is said by Mr. Jefferson to have had access to the early records of Virginia, which were burned at Williamsburg. Stith also derived assistance from the MSS. of Sir John Randolph, and from the papers of the London Company, which were put into his hands by Colonel William Byrd, the president of the council. These papers, however, as Stith mentions in his preface, commence with 1619. If, instead of copying Heylin, as he does almost

word for word, Stith had published the submission of the Dutch at Manhattan, said to have been "sent to Virginia and recorded," he would have settled the question.

It is extraordinary that no English or Dutch State Paper corroborates the story. Smith, who speaks of Argall's foray against the French in Acadia, does not allude to his entering our harbor. Dermer, who came directly from Virginia to Manhattan in 1620 (*ante*, p. 93), does not allude to any previous visit of Argall, who, moreover, was not knighted until 1622. In the application made to King James I., in 1621, the Dutch are stated to have entered there "the year past," that is, in 1620 (*ante*, p. 140). As Argall was one of the parties to this application, had he found the Dutch seated at Manhattan in 1613, and had he enforced their submission, he would no doubt have stated those facts in it. Captain John Mason, in his letter to Sir John Coke, of the 12th of April, 1632 (*ante*, p. 215), states that Argall was "preparing to go and sit down in his lot of land upon the said Manahatta River at the same time when the Dutch intruded, which caused a demur in their proceeding," and induced the Privy Council's instructions to Carleton in 1621; but Mason seems to avoid stating that Argall was ever actually at Manhattan.– N. Y. Col. MSS., iii., 17. Bradford, in his correspondence in 1627, though he alludes to Argall's surprise of the French settlements in 1613, says nothing about his alleged visit to Manhattan (*ante*, p. 176). Neither does Harvey refer to the subject, in his conversations in 1633 with De Vries at Jamestown, where the submission of the Dutch is said to have been "recorded" (*ante*, p. 227). The silence of all these authorities upon this point is very significant, and, to me, conclusive against the truth of the story.

In fact, Dermer appears to have been the first Englishman that ever visited Manhattan (*ante*, p. 94); and it would seem that Plantagenet manufactured his statement of Argall's visit out of Dermer's authentic accounts. The original authority, which other writers have followed, is thus very suspicious; and the absence of official documentary evidence increases distrust to such a degree, that I can not help rejecting the whole story of Argall's proceedings at Manhattan as fabulous.

Note F, Chapter II., page 55.

Heylin's Cosmography, book iv., part ii., is the authority upon which Moulton, 344, and O'Callaghan, i., 77, make this statement. Heylin, however, seems merely to have taken and embellished his account from the fabulous "Beauchamp Plantagenet," whose worth as an authority has been considered in note E. Bancroft, ii., 272, is very cautious in his text, but is less guarded in his note, that "the records prove there was no fort at Albany till 1615." Father Isaac Jogues, who was at Manhattan in 1643 (*ante*, p. 374), says, in his letter of the 3d of August, 1646, that "the fort was begun in the year 1615."—Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 23. It would seem, however, that there was no fort or redoubt on Manhattan Island until after Dermer's visit in 1620, or, perhaps, until after Director Minuit's arrival in 1626. If there had been, Dermer would no doubt have stated the fact, which he does not. Neither De Laet nor Wassenaar, who speak of a fort up the river, say any thing about a fort or redoubt on Manhattan until 1626.—Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 27, 35, 42. There is no fort marked there upon the "Figurative Map" of 1614, which gives the dimensions of Fort Nassau on Castle Island; nor upon the paper map of 1616.—See notes G and I. Stuyvesant, in his letter to the government of Massachusetts, of the 20th of April, 1660 (Alb. Rec., xxiv., 167; *ante*, p. 673), while speaking of the building of the fort (Nassau) on Castle Island in 1614 (erroneously stated to have been in 1615), says nothing of any other fortification until after the West India Company took possession of New Netherland in 1623. In his letter to Colonel Nicolls, of the 2d of September, 1664 (Smith's New York, i., 22; *ante*, p. 740), he speaks only of "*a little fort*," which the Dutch built "up the North River, near Fort Orange."

On the other hand, in a memorial of the West India Company to the States General, on the 25th of October, 1634 (Hol. Doc., ii., 138), it is affirmed that, "before the year 1614, *one or two* small forts were built" on the North or Mauritius River. In another official report of the company, on the 15th of December, 1644 (Hol. Doc., ii., 368), it is stated that, *before* the 11th of October, 1614, "two small forts were thrown up there, *on the South and North Rivers*, against the roaming Indians." Both of these statements are careless, vague, and contradictory. The first does not mention that either of the "one or two" forts on the North River was at Manhattan; the second refers the position of one of them to the *South River*. That river, however, was not explored by the Dutch until 1616; and there does not appear to have been any fort there until 1623.

Note G, Chapter II., pages 59, 60; Chapter III., page 73.

A fac-simile of this parchment map, which I found in the archives at the Hague in 1841, is in the Secretary of State's office at Albany. It is the most ancient map extant of the State of New York.

and the neighboring territory to the north and east, and is probably the one to which De Laet (iii., cap. viii.) refers as the "chart of this quarter, made some years since." The sea-coasts between Sandy Hook and Penobscot are exhibited with great care and detail; and the portion north and east of Cape Cod will compare very favorably, in point of accuracy, with Smith's Map of New England, first published in 1616. Plymouth harbor is described by Block as "Crane Bay," and Boston harbor as "Fox Haven." Salem Bay, north of Marblehead, is laid down as "Count Hendrick's Bay." Westward of the "Vlacke Hoeck" or Cape Malebarre, the coast is delineated as explored by Block, and afterward described by De Laet. Nantucket is called "Vlieland," and Martha's Vineyard "Texel," between which and the main-land lies the "Zuyder Zee." South of the Texel is "Hendrick Christiaensen's Island," now called "No Man's Land." The western entrance to Narragansett Bay is marked as "Sloup Bay," and Point Judith as the "Wapanoos Point." To the southward are "Adriaen Block's Island" and the "Visscher's Hook," or Montauk Point, the eastern extremity of Long Island. The coasts and rivers of Connecticut are delineated with comparative accuracy. Manhattan is represented as an island *without any fort;* but at the upper part of the "River of the Prince Maurice" Fort Nassau is described and marked as upon an island. According to the reports of the Maquaas or Mohawks, the French are represented as coming with shallops to the upper part of their country "to trade with them." With regard to the parts south of "Sand Point" or Sandy Hook, and the "Round Hills" or Highlands of Nevesinck, the map is very imperfect. The Delaware is represented as a small river running due west into the land, at latitude 39° 30′; and neither Cape May nor Cape Hinlopen are named. That river was, in fact, first explored in 1616, by Cornelis Hendricksen, who seems to have presented to the States General, the same year, another map, which is considered in note I. At latitude 37°, "Cape Charles" and "Cape Henry" are laid down on the parchment map as defining "the Inlet of Chesapeake;" and "New Netherland" is represented as extending from Virginia to the Penobscot, east of which lies "a part of New France."

The original parchment map, which is executed in a very beautiful style of art, was found in the archives at the Hague, annexed to a memorial to the States General by the "Directors of New Netherland," on the 18th of August, 1616. I think, however, that it was actually prepared two years before, from the data furnished by Block immediately after his return to Holland, and that it was exhibited to their High Mightinesses *for the first time* on the 11th of October, 1614. The charter granted on that day to the directors of New Netherland expressly refers to a "Figurative map prepared (getransfigeert) by them," *which described the sea-coasts between the fortieth and the forty-fifth degrees of latitude.* This the parchment map clearly does. It, moreover, defines New Netherland as lying between New France and Virginia, according to the description in the charter. The map was probably presented *a second time* on the 18th of August, 1616, when the directors of New Netherland exhibited their memorial for a further charter, to which it was found attached; see note I.

NOTE H, CHAPTER III., PAGE 76; CHAPTER XX., PAGE 710.

According to Holland Document, xi., 86, the States General, on the 7th of February, 1665, declared that, "for more than fifty years," the Dutch had "had possession of Forts Orange and Esopus." From this it would seem that there was a Dutch fort at Esopus as early as 1614. Moulton, p. 347, remarks that, about 1617, some Hollanders are said to have "settled among the Esopus Indians." De Vries, however, who sailed up the river in 1640, was at Esopus twice, but he does not speak of any Dutch settlers, or of any Dutch fort having been there, which he would scarcely have omitted to state if the fact had been so (*ante*, p. 302, 306). No fort or settlement is represented there in Visscher's map of 1655, or Van der Donck's of 1656. In fact, no Europeans seem to have been settled at "Atkarkarton," or Esopus, until 1652; and it was not until 1658 that a village was palisaded and a bridge thrown over the Esopus Creek, at what is now Kingston (*ante*, p. 536, 649). The village was incorporated and named "Wiltwyck" or Wildwyck in 1661; and soon afterward a "Ronduit" or Redoubt was built upon the bank of another creek a few miles off, near its confluence with the river (*ante*, p. 690, 710; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 41, 45, 60, 74, 87). This creek, which is now known as the "Rondout," was originally called the "Esopus Kill." Upon Visscher's and Van der Donck's maps it is represented as the "Great Esopus River," communicating with the upper waters of the Delaware, and emptying into the North River by two mouths, the southernmost at Rondout, and the northernmost at Saugerties. This error would scarcely have occurred had that part of the country been then occupied by Dutch inhabitants. What is now called the "Esopus Creek" was formerly known as the "Sager's Kill" (*ante*, p. 714; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 48, 77, 81). It runs southeasterly from near Pine Hill, on the border of Delaware county, toward Marbletown in Ulster county, where it bends to the north, and, flowing past Kingston (at which point it approaches the Rondout within about three miles) through a picturesque valley, empties into the river at Saugerties. One of the branches of the Ron-

dout (which, above where it receives the Wallkill, is sometimes called the Rosendale) rises near the border of Sullivan county, whence it runs northeasterly, through Ulster county, to the North River. The Bashes' Kill, one of the tributaries of the Nevesinck River, rises near the same point, and flows southwesterly toward Port Jervis. The ancient Indian trail from the Minnisincks followed the course of these two streams; and, in selecting the route of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, the white man's science but availed itself of the red man's sagacity.

NOTE I, CHAPTER III., PAGES 73, 78, AND 80.

Besides the map on parchment, mentioned in note G, I found in the archives at the Hague a map on paper, a fac simile of which is also deposited in the office of the Secretary of State. For various reasons, some of which are given in N. Y. H. S. Proceedings for 1845, 182–192, I think that this paper map was first presented to the States General when Captain Hendricksen appeared before them, on the 18th and 19th of August, 1616, to solicit a new grant of trading privileges for his employers, the "directors of New Netherland." The map is about three feet long and one foot wide. It comprehends the sea-coast from the southern point of the Delaware Bay (neither of the capes of which are named), at latitude thirty-eight degrees, to the coast of Long Island, in latitude 40° 35′. "Eyer Haven," or Egg Harbor, is distinctly marked, and "Sand Hoeck" is laid down as in 40° 30′; its actual latitude being now ascertained to be 40° 28′. Within Sandy Hook the shores of New Jersey are represented as inhabited by the "Aquamachukes." North of these, about Newark Bay, are the "Sangicans," east of which, about Bergen Point and Jersey City, are the "Mechkentiwoom." Above the "Manhattes" (where there is no indication of a fort) are the "Wikagyl" tribe, opposite to which, on the west side, are the "Tappans." The country inland, to the northwest, is represented as "een effen velt," or a level field. Then comes a "rack" or reach in the river, marked "Haverstro," or Oat Straw, north of which is the "Seyl-maker's Rack." The bend at Caldwell's is marked as the "Cock's Rack," and that at West Point as the "Hoogh Rack." Next above is the "Vosse Rack," which extends to "Klinkersberg," or Butter Hill, the northernmost of the Highlands, on the west side of the river, opposite Pollepel's Island. Then follows the "Visscher's Rack," and on the east side of the river, about Fishkill, is marked the tribe of "Pachami." Above what is now Hyde Park, an island is laid down in the middle of the river, answering to the present "Esopus Island." On the west side of the river, about the present counties of Ulster and Orange, is the tribe of "Waronawanka," and on the opposite shore of Dutchess, which is marked "Esopus," that of the "Woranecks." Beyond Upper Red Hook is the "Backer Rack," and near Catskill "Jan Plesier's Rack." The flats and shallows in the river are distinctly marked. About Hudson is the "Klaver Rack" or Clover Reach, north of which is the "Ooster Hook." Then follow the "Hinne Hook," the "Herten Rack," and "Kinder Hook," or Children's Hook. The river above appears full of small islands as far as the "Steur Hook," or Sturgeon Hook, about Van Wies' Point. North of this is an island, marked "Nassou," meaning Fort Nassau, on Castle Island. The names of these reaches and points on the river seem to have been given after the building of Fort Nassau in 1614, as none of them are marked upon the parchment map. On the east side of the river are the "Mahicans;" inland on the west side, and on the banks of the Mohawk River, are the wigwams of the "Maquaas." South of the Maquaas are the "Canoomakers," represented as inhabiting the shores of a "Versch Water" or lake, from which a river appears to flow southerly, until it empties into the Delaware Bay, near its southern cape. Along the banks of this river are represented the several tribes of Senecas, Gachoos, Capitannasses, Jottecas, and Minquas. Upon the map is a memorandum to the following effect: "Of what Kleynties and his comrades have communicated to me respecting the locality of the rivers and the places of the tribes which they found in their expedition from the Maquaas into the interior, and along the New River downward to the Ogehage (to wit, the enemies of the aforesaid Northern tribes), I can not at present find any thing at hand, except two rough drafts of maps relating thereto, accurately drawn in parts. And in deliberating how I can best reconcile this one with the rough drafts of the informations, I find that the places of the tribes of Senecas, Gachoos, Capitinasses, and Jottecas should be marked down considerably further west into the country." The Delaware River appears to have been explored as far north as the Schuylkill, which is represented as flowing in from the west. On the Jersey shore, above the mouth of the river, is the "Sauwanew" tribe; above, and on both sides of the river, are the "Stankekans;" and inland, north of the Schuylkill, are the "Minquas."

Upon a comparison of this map with De Laet's description of the reaches of the North River, in chapter ix., there appears to be a remarkable harmony between them. De Laet's is a little more detailed respecting the upper part of the river; but I think that—besides the parchment map—he must have had this or one taken from it before him when he wrote, as he follows its error in representing Esopus on the east side, among the Waoranacks. The portion inland from Fort Nassau is of course

represented very inaccurately. Who was the author of the memorandum quoted above (which is written in the court hand of the time), and who "Kleynties and his comrades" were, there are no present means of ascertaining. Probably, however, the latter were the three traders of the company, who are stated, in Hol. Doc., i., 61, to have left their employment among the Mohawks and Mahicans at Fort Nassau, and set out thence on an "expedition into the interior, and along the *New River*, downward to the Ogehage," or the Minquas, by whom they were taken prisoners. These three persons, Hendricksen states in his report, he ransomed from the Minquas, "giving for them kettles, beads, and merchandise."

It seems to me that this paper map was meant to illustrate Hendricksen's exploration of the South or "New River," from its mouth up to the Minquas' country, where he ransomed the three captive servants of the company, of whom he speaks. When found in the archives at the Hague, the map had upon it no mark by which its date could be ascertained. A part of the upper corner was torn off. Appended to the memorial, which Hendricksen presented on the 18th of August, 1616, was found the parchment map, which, as explained in note G, was probably first presented by Block and his employers on the 11th of October, 1614. That map exhibited the extent of the Dutch discoveries up to that time, and represented New Netherland as extending from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude. After having served its purpose in explaining the original bounds of New Netherland, and in aiding the passage of the grant of the 11th of October, it was probably taken back to Amsterdam by the associated merchants who had caused it to be prepared. When Hendricksen arrived, in the summer of 1616, with intelligence of his new discoveries on the South River, his employers probably annexed this parchment map to their memorial of the 18th of August, so as to exhibit the extent of New Netherland at that time. It thus became a record of the States General. The company, however, wished to obtain another grant for the "lands, bay, and three rivers," which Hendricksen had just explored, "situated at the latitude of from thirty-eight to forty degrees;" and the paper map seems to exhibit these additional discoveries.

Note K, Chapter V., pages 150, 152, and 153.

Much embarrassment has been caused by confounding the Timmer Kill, or Timber Creek, with the Cooper's Creek, in the translation of De Vries, in i., N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 253. I am indebted to Mr. Edward Armstrong, the secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, for the communication of some recent investigations made on the spot, the result of which appears to leave little room to doubt that Fort Nassau was built upon the point of land at the junction of the Big and Little Timber Creeks, in Gloucester county, New Jersey. As Mr. Armstrong will probably favor the public with a paper on the subject, I abstain from any further remark.

The statement of Wassenaar, on page 152 of the text, respecting Fort Wilhelmus, "upon the Prince's Island, formerly called the Murderer's Island," is certainly very obscure. Not having been able to find any other mention of Prince's Island, or Murderer's Island, in the North River, I thought it might, perhaps, be what is now called Esopus Island, about three miles above Hyde Park landing. In the autumn of 1851, I accordingly visited that island with some friends, to see if we could find any indications of a fort, said to have been "garrisoned by sixteen men for the defense of the river below." We spent some very pleasant hours among its solitary rocks, but found no satisfactory evidence that a fort had ever been there, although we all agreed that it would be an admirable position for a work to command both channels of the river. It has since occurred to me, that what is now called Pollepel's Island, just above the Highlands, might have been the spot. I do not know that it was ever called "the Murderer's Island;" but as the "Murderer's Creek" empties into the river at Cornwall, in Orange county, nearly opposite, it may be that that name was also applied to Pollepel's Island.

Note L, Chapter VIII., page 263.

In this and in preceding chapters, I have traced thus minutely the circumstances of the early settlement of Connecticut by the English, because it is due to historical truth that the question of original Dutch title should be fairly stated. It has so happened that most of the histories which refer to this subject have been written by New England people, who seem to have been too much influenced by their Eastern prejudices. Perhaps one of the most remarkable examples occurs in the Reverend Doctor Trumbull's History of Connecticut, in which that venerable author asserts that "the Dutch were always mere intruders." A candid reviewer, in the year 1818, has so ably considered this point, that I make no apology for quoting a few sentences. "The conflicting claims of the two colonies were the occasion of a bitter controversy between them for the space of thirty years, and until New

Netherland was reduced to subjection to the British crown. Each party asserted its rights with obstinacy; and both suffered severely from the quarrel. It is not easy to discover on what ground the Dutch were regarded by the first settlers of Connecticut, or by their historian [Trumbull] at this day, as 'mere intruders.' They had made the first discovery of Hudson's River, and had established themselves upon its banks. They had obtained a patent from their government, who had as good a right to grant lands discovered by their subjects as any other state. This patent included the lands on Connecticut River, and this river was discovered by them before it was known by the English to exist, and before the grant of the New England patent. After trading with the Indians for several years, they purchased of them a tract of land, and built upon it a fort and trading-house before the country had been taken possession of by the English; and the people from the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, when they attempted to drive them from it, came without a shadow of title from the Plymouth Company, under whom they professed to claim."—North American Review, vol. viii., page 85.

NOTE M, CHAPTER IX., PAGE 275.

That the predecessors of Kieft had official minutes of their proceedings is evident from the allusions in Albany Records, ii., 50, and iii., 291, to "the records kept in Director Van Twiller's time." With the exception, however, of one volume of land patents, the earliest entry in which is dated 12th July, 1630, these records have disappeared. The colonial and provincial records from the time of Kieft, in 1638, were originally kept at New Amsterdam, or New York, whence they were removed to the office of the Secretary of State at Albany. Most of those which relate to the Dutch period—down to 1664—were translated in 1818, and compose a series of twenty-four volumes, quoted as the "Albany Records." A great number of Dutch and English records, however, extending from 1630 to the Revolution, remained, until a year or two ago, without having been catalogued or assorted for consultation, and almost inaccessible, in one of the store-rooms of the State Hall. These are now arranged and bound, and they form more than one hundred large volumes.

On the 2d of May, 1839, at the suggestion of the New York Historical Society, the Legislature passed an act for the appointment of an Agent to procure, in England, Holland, and France, the originals or copies "of all such documents and papers in the archives and offices of those governments, relating to, or in any way affecting the colonial or other history of this state, as he may deem important to illustrate that history." Having resided some time in Holland, I was unexpectedly honored with a commission as Agent under that act. To avoid, as far as possible, the inconvenience of obtaining duplicates, I then spent several weeks in as thorough and careful a re-examination as there was opportunity to make, of the principal Dutch and English records in the Secretary's office. Three years were subsequently occupied at the Hague, Amsterdam, London, and Paris, in searching their voluminous records; and early in 1845, eighty manuscript volumes, containing nearly five thousand separate documents, and comprising the official correspondence of our colonial governors and officers, were added to the archives of the state at Albany. Of these volumes there are three series. Sixteen, obtained in Holland, which relate to events between 1603 and 1678, are called "Holland Documents;" forty-seven, procured in England, beginning with 1614 and ending with 1782, are called "London Documents;" and seventeen, copied at Paris, referring to occurrences between 1631 and 1763, are called "Paris Documents." Catalogues of all these documents were appended to the Final Report of the Agent, and printed as Senate Document, Number 47, on the 26th of February, 1845. Among the Documents of the Agency are many of acknowledged importance, which were never before known to the historian. As the law, however, required the Agent to procure all papers in his judgment "relating to, or in any way affecting the colonial or other history of this state," several were obtained, which, at first sight, some might pronounce to be superfluous. The chief object of the agency—to render the archives of the state as complete and comprehensive as possible—was always kept in view; what was deemed to be a sound and wise discretion was exercised; and in many cases where doubts arose whether similar papers might not already exist at Albany, either in whole or in part, it was thought best to secure copies, even at the risk of apparent redundancy. Under an act passed on the 30th of March, 1849, all the documents procured in Europe are now in progress of publication, and will form ten quarto volumes, entitled "New York Colonial Manuscripts." Several of these documents have also been included in the miscellany called "Documentary History of New York," four volumes of which have been compiled and issued under the direction of the Secretary of State. It is greatly to be regretted that, in these volumes, proper references have not been made to the book and page, or to the particular place where the original of each document may be found, and that a chronological order, so desirable in the arrangement of materials for history, has not been observed.

Note N, Chapter IX., page 300.

The transcripts of Farrett's release to Howe on the 12th of June, and of Lord Stirling's confirmation on the 20th of August, in London Documents, i., 60–65, and in N. Y. Colonial MSS., iii., 21, 22, are both dated in 1639. It is difficult to account for these palpable anachronisms. The consideration stated in Farrett's release to Howe and his associates, "their being drove off by the Dutch," could only refer to the events at Schout's Bay, which the Albany Records fix, beyond dispute, as having happened in 1640. Winthrop, ii., page 4, also refers to the occurrence, under date of fourth month [June], 1640. It should be remembered, however, that neither Farrett's nor Lord Stirling's instruments, as they appear in the "London Documents," were transcribed from *originals*, but from *copies* among the Board of Trade Papers in the State Paper Office in London. The originals (if, indeed, they exist) were not exhibited.

Thompson, in his History of Long Island, ii., 53, has misapprehended the purport of Farrett's protest of the 28th of September, 1641, which is quoted at length from Savage's note to Winthrop, ii., page 5. That protest was not made to express Farrett's "disapprobation" of Howe's proceedings at Schout's Bay, which he had himself formally authorized, but to save Lord Stirling's rights against Tomlins, Knowles, and other English "intruders" upon Long Island, who had gone there without his permission. In vol. ii., page 52, Thompson states that Tomlins and Knowles were "principal men in the expedition" with Howe. These persons, however, seem to have had nothing to do at any time with Howe or his associates; their names do not even appear in the list of persons who afterward settled themselves at Southampton, as given in vol. i., p. 327, 328.

William Alexander, earl of Stirling, was born in Scotland about the year 1580, and soon became distinguished as a poet and dramatist. He was a favorite with James I., who knighted him in 1614, and in 1621 granted him the territory of Nova Scotia. In 1625, Sir William published a pamphlet, entitled "An Encouragement to Colonies," of which an improved edition was issued in 1630, under the title of "The Map and Delineation of New England," &c. He was appointed by Charles I., in 1626, to be Secretary of State for Scotland; and was created Earl of Stirling in 1633. Lord Stirling is generally stated to have died on the 12th of February, 1640; but, as the *Old Style* was then used in Great Britain, this means 1641 according to the present system of reckoning the year.

Note O, Chapter XII, page 418.

The following extract gives a curious picture of ecclesiastical affairs at Manhattan about the close of Kieft's administration. "What religion could men expect to find in a person [Kieft] who, from the 3d of January, 1644, to the 11th of May, 1647, would never hear God's word, nor partake of the Christian sacraments, doing all he could to estrange from the Church all those who depended upon him. His ungodly example was followed, in like manner, by his fiscal, Cornelis van der Hoyckens; his counselor, Jan de la Montaigne, who was formerly an elder; the ensign, Gysbert de Leeuw; his secretary, Cornelis van Tienhoven; Oloff Stevensen, deacon, and Gysbrecht van Dyck; besides various inferior officers and servants of the company, to the soldiers inclusive, who all not only no longer frequented the administration of the communion, but also the congregation to hear God's word. During the sermon he allowed the officers and soldiers to practice all kinds of noisy amusements near and about the church, such as nine-pins, bowls, dancing, singing, leaping, and all other profane exercises; yea, even to such an extent that the communicants, who came into the fort to celebrate the Lord's Supper, were scoffed at by these blackguards. * * * During the preparatory service (proef-pedicatie), the Director Kieft several times allowed the drum to be beat. The clergyman, Bogardus, having therefore requested that the drum might be beaten somewhat further off, so as not to disturb the hearers, was answered that the drummer must keep on there, as the director had given him orders. The cannon was discharged several times during the service, as if he had ordered it out a-Maying; so that, for the purpose of interrupting the audience, a wretched villainy happened against God's church. In the new church, which was built in the year 1642, by collections from the congregation, and the roof made tight in the year 1643, preaching was allowed during his time until the year 1647, when the Director Stuyvesant came."—Breeden Raedt, p. 22. The probable authorship of this work is suggested in an article in the International Magazine for December, 1851, page 597, and in a note, *ante*, page 509.

Note P, Chapter XIII., page 446.

The Dutch Declaration of Independence, on the 26th of July, 1581—the grandest State Paper of that age—abundantly establishes the title of Holland to be called "the mother of free states." The orig-

inal is given at length in the Groot Placaatbook, i., 26; and in Van Meteren, x., 209; Bor., ii., 277; and other Dutch histories. Not having met with an English version of this remarkable paper, and considering its great importance in developing the progress of human liberty, I venture to translate an extract.

"THE STATES GENERAL of the United Provinces of the Netherlands to all who shall see or read these presents, Greeting: WHEREAS, it is notorious to every one that the prince of a country is established by God as a sovereign chief of his subjects, to defend and preserve them from all injuries, oppressions, and violences, as a shepherd is ordained for the defense and protection of his flock; and that subjects are not created by God for the sake of the prince, to be obedient to him in all that he commands, whether it be pious or impious, just or unjust, and to serve him as his slaves, but that the prince is made for the subjects—without whom he can not be prince—in order to govern them according to right and reason, and maintain and love them as a father his children, or a shepherd his flock, who risks his person and life to defend and protect them: AND when he does not do this, but instead of defending his subjects, seeks to oppress them and deprive them of their privileges and ancient customs, and command them and use them as slaves, he ought not to be deemed a prince, but, a tyrant; and, as such, his subjects, according to right and reason, can no longer recognize him as their prince, especially when this is done with deliberation and by the authority of the states of the country, but they can abandon him, and, without any impropriety, choose another in his place as chief and lord to defend them." [The Declaration then recites the conditions upon which the Dutch had remained in allegiance, and the grievances they had suffered from the Spanish government.] "WE, THEREFORE, make it known that, from the foregoing considerations, and pressed by extreme necessity, as we have said, we have, with one accord, deliberation, and consent, Declared, and do Declare the King of Spain deposed, *ipso jure*, from his sovereignty, right, and heritage in these countries, and that we have no longer any intention of recognizing him in any thing touching the prince, or his sovereignty, jurisdiction, or domains in these Low Countries, and that we shall no longer use his name as sovereign, nor shall we permit any one thus to make use of it." * * * "For we have found this to be expedient for the good of the country. And to do this, and all that may result, we give to all those whom it may concern full power, authority, and special command. In witness whereof we have hereto set our seal. Given at the Hague, in our Assembly, the 26th day of July, 1581."

NOTE Q, CHAPTER XIV., PAGE 467, 488; CHAPTER XVI., PAGE 549.

The records of the city of New Amsterdam, which were kept in the Dutch language, have recently been translated, by order of the corporation of the city of New York. They form five manuscript volumes, which are referred to as "New Amsterdam Records," and consist chiefly of minutes of the legislative and judicial proceedings of the burgomasters and schepens. Extracts from them have been published by Mr. David T. Valentine, the present excellent Clerk of the Board of Aldermen, in the several annual volumes which he has prepared, under the title of "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York." These interesting records have been a great aid in the preparation of this volume. It is obvious, however, that in a general history of the state, many points of local interest must of necessity be rather glanced at than exhibited at length. A well-written history of the city is much desired; and it is to be hoped that some competent hand will undertake the grateful duty of giving it to the public.

NOTE R, CHAPTER XX., PAGE 732.

Willem Beeckman was born at Hasselt in Overyssel, in 1623, and is said to have come to New Netherland in the same ship with Stuyvesant in 1647. He had six children by his wife Catharine de Bough, one of whom married Nicholas William Stuyvesant, a son of the director. His descendants have, at various times, held responsible public trusts in this state, of which they now form one of the most respectable families. Beeckman remained at Esopus as sheriff until 1672. When the province was recovered by the Dutch in 1673, he returned to the city of New York, or "New Orange," of which he was chosen a schepen and burgomaster. In 1679 he was made alderman, in which post he remained until the division of the city into six wards, in 1683; after which he was elected several times, until 1696, when he retired. He died in 1707, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. "William" and "Beekman" Streets, in the city of New York, still preserve the name of one of its earliest and most faithful magistrates (*ante*, p. 548). His original commission as vice-director on the South River (*ante*, p. 652) is now in the possession of his descendant, James W. Beekman; and his dispatches to Stuyvesant, large numbers of which are in the Secretary of State's Office, exhibit him as a man of probity and liberal views, and a true friend of religion and education.

NOTE S, CHAPTER XX., PAGE 742.

"These articles following were consented to by the persons hereunder subscribed, at the governor's bouwery, August the 27th, Old Style [September 6th], 1664.

"I. We consent that the States General, or the West India Company, shall freely injoy all farms and houses (except such as are in the forts), and that within six months they shall have free liberty to transport all such arms and ammunition as now does belong to them, or else they shall be paid for them.

"II. All publique houses shall continue for the uses which they are for.

"III. All people shall still continue free denizens, and shall injoy their lands, houses, goods, wheresoever they are within this country, and dispose of them as they please.

"IV. If any inhabitant have a mind to remove himself, he shall have a year and six weeks from this day to remove himself, wife, children, servants, goods, and to dispose of his lands here.

"V. If any officer of state, or publique minister of state, have a mind to go for England, they shall be transported fraught free, in his majesty's frigotts, when these frigotts shall return thither.

"VI. It is consented to that any people may freely come from the Netherlands, and plant in this colony, and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort of merchandise home, in vessels of their own country.

"VII. All ships from the Netherlands, or any other place, and goods therein, shall be received here, and sent hence, after the manner which formerly they were before our coming hither, for six months next ensuing.

"VIII. The Dutch here shall injoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline.

"IX. No Dutchman here, or Dutch ship here, shall, upon any occasion, be pressed to serve in war against any nation whatsoever.

"X. That the townsmen of the Manhattans shall not have any soldiers quartered upon them without being satisfied and paid for them by their officers, and that, at this present, if the fort be not capable of lodging all the soldiers, then the burgomasters, by their officers, shall appoint some houses capable to receive them.

"XI. The Dutch here shall injoy their own customs concerning their inheritances.

"XII. All publique writings and records, which concern the inheritances of any people, or the reglement of the church or poor, or orphans, shall be carefully kept by those in whose hands now they are, and such writings as particularly concern the States General may at any time be sent to them.

"XIII. No judgment that has passed any judicature here shall be called in question; but if any conceive that he hath not had justice done him, if he apply himself to the States General, the other party shall be bound to answer for the supposed injury.

"XIV. If any Dutch living here shall at any time desire to travaile or traffique into England, or any place or plantation, in obedience to his majesty of England, or with the Indians, he shall have (upon his request to the governor) a certificate that he is a free denizen of this place, and liberty to do so.

"XV. If it do appeare that there is a publique engagement of debt by the town of the Manhatoes, and a way agreed on for the satisfying of that engagement, it is agreed that the same way proposed shall go on, and that the engagement shall be satisfied.

"XVI. All inferior civil officers and magistrates shall continue as now they are (if they please) till the customary time of new elections, and then new ones to be chosen by themselves, provided that such new chosen magistrates shall take the oath of allegiance to his majesty of England before they enter upon their office.

"XVII. All differences of contracts and bargains made before this day, by any in this country, shall be determined according to the manner of the Dutch.

"XVIII. If it do appeare that the West India Company of Amsterdam do really owe any sums of money to any persons here, it is agreed that recognition, and other duties payable by ships going for the Netherlands, be continued for six months longer.

"XIX. The officers military, and soldiers, shall march out with their arms, drums beating, and coulours flying, and lighted matches; and if any of them will plant, they shall have fifty acres of land set out for them; if any of them will serve as servants, they shall continue with all safety, and become free denizens afterwards.

"XX. If at any time hereafter the King of Great Britain and the States of the Netherland do agree that this place and country be redelivered into the hands of the said states, whensoever his majestie will send his commands to redeliver it, it shall immediately be done.

"XXI. That the town of Manhattans shall choose deputyes, and those deputyes shall have free voyces in all publique affairs as much as any other deputyes.

"XXII. Those who have any property in any houses in the fort of Aurania shall (if they please) slight the fortifications there, and then injoy all their houses as all people do where there is no fort.

"XXIII. If there be any soldiers that will go into Holland, and if the Company of West India in Amsterdam, or any private persons here, will transport them into Holland, then they shall have a safe passport from Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy governor under his royal highness, and the other commissioners, to defend the ships that shall transport such soldiers, and all the goods in them, from any surprizal or acts of hostility to be done by any of his majestie's ships or subjects. That the copies of the king's grant to his royal highness, and the copy of his royal highness's commission to Colonel Richard Nicolls, testified by two commissioners more and Mr. Winthrop, to be true copies, shall be delivered to the Honourable Mr. Stuyvesant, the present governor, on Monday next, by eight of the clock in the morning, at the Old Miln, and these articles consented to and signed by Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy governor to his royal highness, and that within two hours after, the fort and town called New Amsterdam, upon the isle of Manhatoes, shall be delivered into the hands of the said Colonel Richard Nicolls, by the service of such as shall be by him thereunto deputed by his hand and seal.

"JOHN DE DECKER,
NICHOLAS VARLETT,
SAMUEL MEGAPOLENSIS,
CORNELIS STEENWYCK,
JACQUES COUSSEAU,
OLOFF S. VAN CORTLANDT,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
JOHN WINTHROP,
SAMUEL WILLYS,
JOHN PYNCHON,
THOMAS CLARKE.

"I do consent to these articles,

"RICHARD NICOLLS."

GENERAL INDEX.

Abenaquis, attacked by the Mohawks, 704, 732, 733.

Academy contemplated at New Amsterdam, 516, 538; asked for by the people, 640, 641; established at New Amsterdam; Curtius rector of, 656; Luyck rector of, 694; its high reputation, 694; children sent to it from Fort Orange, South River, and Virginia, 694.

Achter Cul, or Achter Kol, 313; see Hackinsack.

Admiralty, the Dutch, 450.

Adquidnecke, 332; see Rhode Island.

Adriaensen, Maryn, at Rensselaerswyck, 244, 343; one of the Twelve Men, 317; counsels Kieft to attack the savages, 350; attacks savages at Corlaer's Hook, 351, 352; quarrels with Kieft, and is sent to Holland, 357; returns and settles at Weehaken, 357.

Africa, colonists allowed to trade to, 540, 656.

Agents, sent by the New England Commissioners to Manhattan, 551; their conduct there, 552, 554; on Long Island, 555.

Agency, New York Historical, 759.

Agheroense, Indian interpreter at Fort Orange, 408.

Agriculture, beginning of, by colonists in New Netherland, 150, 151.

Ahasimus, or Horsimus, purchase of, 202; land near sold to Planck, 279.

Ailleboust, Governor of Canada, imprisons Iroquois, 645; allows the Dutch commercial privileges, 646.

Albania, New Jersey so named, 745.

Albany, second title of Duke of York, 735; Fort Orange named, 744; the Half Moon near site of, 31; Treaty at, 81, 744.

Albany Records, 759.

Albert "the Trumpeter," sent to West Chester, 598.

Alckmaer, siege of, 442.

Alford, William, his deposition about Stuyvesant's declarations, 555.

Allegiance, oath of, required, 291; of colonists at Rensselaerswyck, 531.

Allerton, Isaac, at New Plymouth, 180; comes to Manhattan, 365; chosen one of the Eight Men, 365; sent to ask assistance from New Haven, 370; his house in New Amsterdam, 517; informs Stuyvesant of Cromwell's expedition, 583; complains of Jacquet, 633.

Alrichs, Jacob, Director of New Amstel, 631; wrecked near Fire Island, 632; at New Amstel, 632; Elder of church at, 633; rescues shipwrecked Englishmen, 651; death of wife of, 661; insists upon conditions, 662; complains of Stuyvesant, 663; interview with Utie, 664, 665; death of, 670.

Altona, Fort Christina so named, 631; Hudde commandant at, 633; Stuyvesant at, 651; Beeckman at, 663; Maryland Commissioners at, 697; condition of, 699; surrendered to the City of Amsterdam, 716; Charles Calvert at, 717; transferred to Hinoyossa, 717; surrender of, 744.

Amboy, or Ompoge, purchase of, 537.

America, name of, 3, note.

Amersfoort, or Flatlands, first purchases at, 265; represented in the Nine Men, 474; Flatbush near, 536; its incorporation proposed, 569; sends delegates to Convention, 571; delegates forbidden to appear again, 575; loyalty of, 579; municipal government of, 580; church service at, 581, 615; Hegeman schout of, 693; represented in Convention, 722; loyalty of, 727; represented in General Assembly, 729; letter of States General to, 730.

Amidas, Philip, in North Carolina, 5.

Amsterdam, City of, 20; Hudson sails from, 25; Trading Company formed at, 60; inhabitants of, 103; Chamber of West India Company at, 135; cosmopolitan, 147; classis of, 273; burghership in, 192, 453; Stadt Huys of, 457; bank of, 463; orphan-house of, 513; sides with West India Company, 539; New Amsterdam to resemble, 540, 541; colony of on South River, 629-633; children from orphan-house of, 653; alters conditions, 661; desires to retransfer New Amstel, 670, 682; appoints Hinoyossa director, 682; modifies its conditions, 697; encourages a Mennonist colony at the Horekill, 698, 699; obtains cession of the whole of the South River, 714, 715; government established there, 717; its colonists reduced by the English, 744.

Amsterdam, Chamber of West India Company, New Netherland assigned to its care, 148; see West India Company.

Amsterdam Fort, begun on Manhattan, 165, 166; see Fort Amsterdam.

Amsterdam Trading Company formed, 60; charter to from the States General, 62, 63; applies for further charter, 80, dissolved, 89.
Anchor Bay, 57.
Andiataroctè, Indian name of Lake George or Saint Sacrement, 422; see Saint Sacrement.
Annie's Hoeck, 334; settlement at, destroyed, 366.
Anthony, Allard, schepen of New Amsterdam, 548; signs letter to New England agents, 553; sent as agent to Holland, 559; a burgomaster of New Amsterdam, 597; sent as commissioner to English villages, 597.
Apokeepsing, aboriginal name of Pokeepsie, 75.
Apoquinimy Creek, treaty at, 697; chosen by Hinoyossa as the site for capital, 717.
Appeal, right of, denied by Kieft, 411, 417; by Stuyvesant, 472; granted by States General, 503.
Archipelago, 56, 296.
Archives of Holland, England, and France, documents obtained from, 759.
Aressick, purchase of, 202.
Argall, Captain Samuel, 17, 51; in Acadia, 52, 53; his alleged visit to Manhattan, 54, 754, 755; his complaint against the Dutch, 140; his designs on the South River, 249.
Argenson, Governor of Canada, executes Mohawks, 650.
Armenperal, on the Sprain River, 329.
Armenveruis purchased by Corssen, 232; purchase confirmed, 485.
Arminians, or Remonstrants, 104–111.
Arminius, 104–106.
Artists, eminent, in Holland, 460.
Ashford, on Long Island, 671, 703, 726; see Setauket.
Aspect of Holland, 456, 457.
Assembly, General Provincial, meets at New Amsterdam, 728; its proceedings, 729–731.
Assyreoni and Charistooni, the Dutch so called by the Mohawks, 376.
Atkarkarton, name of Esopus, 536.
Atonement, Indian, for blood, 316, 348.
Atotarho, chief of the Iroquois confederation, 84.
Atrocities against Indian prisoners, 389.

Baas, meaning of the Dutch phrase, 261, note.
Bachtamo, god of Esopus savages, 731.
Backer, Joost Teunissen de, his case, 490, 511.
Backer, Schepen Jacob, a commissioner at Heemstede, 728; a delegate from New Amsterdam to General Assembly, 728.
Backerus, Domine Johannes, succeeds Bogardus, 468; writes to fugitives at New Haven, 482; asks his dismission, 494; forbidden to read papers from pulpit, 504; sails for Holland, 507, 508, 512.
Bakers, regulations for, 517.
Baltimore, Cecilius Lord, his grant of Maryland, 252; sends colonists to, 253; his authority abrogated, 559; designs of, on the South River, 663; his title discussed, 666–669; his demands from the West India Company, 685; obtains a confirmation of his patent, 697; appeals to Charles II., 701; his son Charles visits New Amstel and Altona, 717; Nicolls' opinion of his right to South River, 744.
Baltimore, George Lord, visits Virginia, 251.
Baly, Mr., at Oost-dorp, 627.
Bank of Amsterdam, 463.
Baptism, number of children for, 508; difficulty respecting form of, in Liturgy, 642, 643, 656, 681.
Baptists persecuted at Flushing, 626.
Barlow, Arthur, in North Carolina, 5.
Barende-gat, or Barnegat, De Vries at, 228.
Barent, Govert, armorer at Fort Amsterdam, 490.
Barentsen, Peter, superintendent of Indian trade, 152; treats with Sequin chief, 168; returns to Holland, 169.
Barneveldt, John van Olden, advocate of Holland, 24, 39, 61, 105; takes part with the Remonstrants, 107; his death, 111.
Bassett, Robert, at Oost-dorp, 627.
Battery, the, commanding situation of, 165, 166, treaty at the, 409.
Baxter, George, appointed English secretary, 337, goes with expedition to Staten Island, 386; to West Chester, 387; one of the patentees of Gravesend, 411; sent with letter to Eaton, 428; continued as English secretary by Stuyvesant, 466; influences English at Gravesend to side with Stuyvesant, 509, 518; one of Stuyvesant's arbitrators at Hartford, 519, 521; arrests Van Dincklagen, 526; opposes Stuyvesant, 568; a delegate at New Amsterdam, 569, 571; draws up Remonstrance of Convention, 571–573; signs letter to Amsterdam, 566; removed from magistracy at Gravesend, 596; hoists British flag at, 597; is arrested and imprisoned at New Amsterdam, 598; escapes, 620; his fraudulent conduct at Gravesend, 620; goes to New England, 620; in London, 725.
Baxter, Thomas, contracts for palisades for New Amsterdam, 550; turns pirate, and is arrested in New England, 565.
Bayard, Anna, procures Hodgson's release, 637.
Bayard, Judith, Stuyvesant married to, 432.
Bayard, Nicholas, clerk, sent to Rustdorp, 689; marries Judith Varlett, 703.
Beaver Lane, near Fort Amsterdam, 389; garrison marches down, 742.
Beeck, Paulus van der, a delegate from Breucke len to the Convention at New Amsterdam, 571
Beeckman, Cornelis, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Beeckman, Willem, schepen of New Amsterdam, 548; signs letter to New England agents, 553; a delegate from Breuckelen to the Convention, 571; a schepen of New Amsterdam, 613; appointed Vice-director on South River, 652; purchases the Horekills, 663; his interview with

Utie, 664, 665; unpleasant relations with Hinoyossa, 682; receives Maryland commissioners, 697; his disagreements with Hinoyossa, 699; entertains Charles Calvert, 717; asks for employment on the North River, 718; is appointed commissary at Esopus, 732; notice of, 761.
Beer, excise on, enforced by Kieft, 394, 395.
Beeren Island, De Vries at, 302; Fort built at, 400.
Benevolence of the Dutch, 462.
Bennett, Richard, Governor of Virginia, Dutch agents sent to, 559.
Bentyn, Jacques, counsellor, 223; one of the Twelve Men, 317.
Bergen, purchased by Stuyvesant, 642; charter of, 691; church at, 692; represented in Convention, 722; represented in General Assembly, 729.
Berkeley, Lord, grant of New Jersey to, 736, 745.
Berkeley, Sir William, Governor of Virginia, 559, 683; agrees to a treaty, and sends Moody to New Amsterdam, 683; his correspondence with Stuyvesant, 684; sent as agent to England, 701; his ill success there, 702; his brother covets and obtains New Jersey, 735, 736.
Bermuda, Gates and Somers at, 50; Indian prisoners sent to governor of, 396.
Beversrede, Fort, 483; see Fort Beversrede.
Beverswyck, or Beverwyck, or the Fuyck, 244; progress of, 266; church planned at, 343; population and church at, 374; traders at, 376, 377; dispute about its jurisdiction, 491–494; company's orders respecting it, 521; first schoolmaster at, 522; bosch-loopers at, 523; colonists at, take oath, 531; further troubles at, 533, 534; declared to be independent of Rensselaerswyck, and annexed to Fort Orange, 535; its affairs considered in Holland, 562, 563; Father Poncet relieved at, 564; taxes at, 590, 591; excise of, farmed, 610; Father Le Moyne at, 611; Mohawks at, 611, 612; excise enforced at, 623; tapsters fined, 624; new church built at, 624, 625; question of excise settled at, 649; delegates from, at Caughnawaga, 659, 660; bosch-loopers at, 679; growth of church at, 681; occasional dearth at, 691; small-pox at, 710; plank fence at, 711; represented in General Assembly, 729; fur trade at, 732; surrender of, to the English, 744; see Fort Orange.
Bigotry and intolerance in New Netherland, 581, 582, 617, 626, 634–639, 643, 656, 681, 705; rebuked by the Company, and ended, 707.
Bikker, Gerrit, his pusillanimity at Fort Casimir, 593; is reported to Holland, 594; orders of West India Company respecting, 601.
Bill of exchange, Kieft's, dishonored by West India Company, 385, 393; Stuyvesant's, security required for, 720.
Billou, Pierre, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Bilt, Simon van der, killed at Paulus' Hook, 509.
Binnenhof, the, 61, 111, 449.
Blanck, Juriaen, schipper, 380, 424.
Blauvelt, Captain, of privateer La Garce, 393.
Blessing of the Bay, Winthrop's bark, at Manhattan, 239.
Bleecker, Jan Jansen, of Meppel, 625, note.
Bleeuw, François le, sent as agent to Holland, 576; his mission disapproved of there, 587, 590
Block, Adriaen, sails to Manhattan, 46; his ship burned, 48; builds yacht Restless, 55; explores Long Island Sound, &c., 56–58; discovers the Connecticut River, 57; at Block Island, 57; at Rhode Island and Massachusetts, 58; returns to Holland, 59; in the Arctic Ocean, 65.
Blom, Domine Hermanus, 657; settled at Esopus, 680; his success there, 710; courageous conduct of, 711.
Blommaert, Samuel, a member of the Amsterdam Chamber, 148; befriends De Rasieres, 164, 167; buys on the South River with Godyn, 200; a proprietor in Rensselaerswyck, 204.
Boats on North River attacked by Indians, 364.
Bogaerdt, Harman Mynderts van de, commissary at Fort Orange, 419; succeeded by Van Brugge, 491.
Bogaerdt, Joost de, on the South River, 320.
Bogardus, Domine Everardus, first clergyman in New Netherland, 223, 243; reprimands Van Twiller, 245; marries Annetje Bogardus, 266; complained of in Holland, 273; retained by Kieft, 278; his daughter married, 336; warns Kieft against his rashness, 350; denounces the director, 417; quarrels with Kieft, 418, 760; is succeeded by Domine Backerus, 468; sails for Europe and is drowned, 472, 473.
Books, publication of, in Holland, 459.
Boomtje's Hook, or Bombay Hook, lands near, purchased, 529; conveyed to city of Amsterdam, 630; called Canaresse, 632; lands near, ordered to be purchased, 652; purchase made, 663; transferred to city of Amsterdam, 716, 717.
Bosch-loopers, or runners in the woods, at Rensselaerswyck, 377, 523; irregularities of, 679; see Beverwyck and Fort Orange.
Boston Harbor, or Fox Haven, visited by Block, 58; English settlement at Shawmut, or Boston, 208; Connecticut sachem at, 210; Stuyvesant at, 718; see Massachusetts.
Boswell, Sir William, English minister at the Hague, his advice to the Connecticut people, 324.
Boswyck, or Bushwick, incorporated, 693; population of, 693; represented in Convention, 722; represented in General Assembly, 729; letter of States General to, 730.
Boundary line, settled at Hartford, 519, 520; objected to in Holland, 539; negotiations respecting, 544, 545, 601; confirmed by the States General, 621; denied by Massachusetts, 654, 672; further negotiations respecting, 685; repudiated by Connecticut, 720, 730; action of States General respecting, 730.
Bout, Jan Evertsen, at Pavonia, 351; one of the

Eight Men in place of Dam, 365; one of the Nine Men, 476; signs memorial to the States General, 505; appointed a delegate to Holland, 507; at the Hague, 511, 512; returns to New Netherland, 516.
Bouwery, Stuyvesant's, at Manhattan, 504; Domine Selyns at, 681; capitulation agreed to at, 742, 762.
Bowne, John, a farmer at Flushing, favors the Quakers, 705; is arrested and banished, 706; returns under favor, 707.
Bradford, Governor William, of New Plymouth, 171; his correspondence with the Dutch at Manhattan, 173–181; entertains De Rasieres, 178; contrasted with Governor Harvey of Virginia, 227; visits Boston, 238; in old age, 499.
Brandy first given to savages, 31; sale of, regulated, 277; use of, general, 307; distillery for, on Staten Island, 313; Indian chiefs opposed to sale of, 348; sale of, prohibited, 466, 488; regulations about, disobeyed, 657, 659.
Brazil conquered by West India Company, 185; trade to, 406, 629.
Bread, weight of, regulated, 517.
Bredenbent, William, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Breeden Raedt, 48, 413, 509, 760.
Breedon, Captain Thomas, Governor of Nova Scotia, at Fort Orange, 704; accompanies Cartwright to Fort Orange, 743; at treaty with the Iroquois, 744.
Bressani, Father Joseph, ransomed from the Mohawks, 402; relieved by the Dutch and sent back to Europe, 402.
Breuckelen, Walloons settle near, 154; Thomas Belcher settles at, 292; Indians near, attacked, 353, 354; obtains a municipal government, 421; is represented in the Nine Men, 474; is represented in Convention at New Amsterdam, 571; delegates forbidden to appear again, 575; ferry to, action about, of municipal government of New Amsterdam, 575; loyalty of, 579; municipal government of, 580; church service at, 581, 615; measures against sectarianism at, 639; Tonneman, schout of, transferred to New Amsterdam, 674; Domine Selyns settled at, 680; population of, 680; Hegeman, schout of, 693; represented in Convention, 722; Scott's violence at, 726; represented in General Assembly, 729; letter of States General to, 730; New England volunteers at, 743.
Brewers refuse to pay arbitrary excise, 395.
Brewster, Elder William, 115; emigrates with the Pilgrims, 127.
Brodhead, Captain Daniel, accompanies Cartwright to Fort Orange, 743; at treaty with the Iroquois, 744, note.
Broen, Thomas, injured by the Swedes. 485; opposed by Printz, 511.
Broer, Cornelis, 306; see Van Slyck.
Bronck, Jonas, buys Ranaque, in West Chester, 268, 296; treaty with the Weckquaesgeeks at his house, 330.
Bronx River, 268; treaty at, 330.
Brooklyn, name of, 154, note; see Breuckelen.
Brouwer, Jan Janssen, counsellor, 164, 201.
Brugge, Carl van, succeeds Van de Bogaerdt as commissary at Fort Orange, 491; his difficulties with Slechtenhorst, 492–494; is succeeded by Labbatie, 523; appointed provincial secretary, 532; superseded by appointment of Van Ruyven, 561; sent to arrange affairs at Oost-dorp, 626, 627.
Buren, Cornelis Maassen van, 244.
Burgher governments, rise of, in Holland, 192, 326; desired by commonalty in New Netherland, 327, 328; form of, in Holland, 453, 454; demanded for New Netherland, 505; proposed in Holland, 514; conceded, 540; established, 548, 549.
Burgher guard of New Amsterdam, 517.
Burgher right, great and small, at New Amsterdam, 627–629; modified, 639, 694.
Burgomasters in Holland, 453.
Burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, 548; prepare the city for defense, 549, 550; disagreement with Stuyvesant, 560; obtain concessions, 568; send delegates to Convention, 569; demand a Landtdag, 570; agree to a remonstrance, 571–573; letters of, to West India Company, demanding reforms, 575, 576; new members of Board, 578; patriotic conduct of, 584; Letter of West India Company to, 587, Reply of, 588; fresh difficulties with Stuyvesant, 589, 590; receive city seal and coat of arms, 596; new members, 597; appoint Schel luyne high constable, 597; Letter of West India Company to, 602; demand right to name their successors, 613; ask for a burgher schout, 623; demand burgher privileges, 628; obtain right of nomination, 639, 640; ask for a Latin schoolmaster from Holland, 641; arrangements of, for the Latin school, 656; cause map of New Amsterdam to be sent to Holland, 674; ask for a mint, 694; recommend fortification of the city, 727; raise a loan and receive excise, 727; request a Landtdag, 728; preparations of, for defense, 736, 738; require communication of Nicolls' terms, 739; oppose resistance, 741; proclaim Nicolls governor of New York, 743.
Bushwick incorporated, 693; see Boswyck.
Buzzard's Bay, Gosnold at, 7; Block at, 58; Dutch traders at Manomet, in, 145, 171; trading-house at, 177, 180.
Byvelt, Peter, counselor, 164.

Cabot's voyage, 2.
Cahohatatea, or North River, 72.
Calvert, Charles, visits New Amstel and Altona, 717.

Calvert, Leonard, in Maryland, 252; see Baltimore.
Calvert, Philip, secretary of Maryland, 663; interview of Dutch agents with, 666; made governor in place of Fendall, 697; makes a treaty with the Indians and an agreement with the Dutch, 697.
Calvinism prevails in Holland, 100–119; of the established clergy in New Netherland, 374, 614.
Campanius, the Reverend John, accompanies Printz to the South River, 379; visits Hudde, 424; returns to Sweden and translates Luther's Catechism, 484.
Canada, 2, 3, 16–18, 402, 646, 705; see French and Jesuits.
Canadian government, its gratitude for the kindness of the Dutch, 402.
Canals in Holland, 457, 747.
Cape Bevechier, Cape Cod so named by Block, 58.
Cape Charles named, 12; Argall at, 754.
Cape Cod discovered by Gosnold, 7; Hudson at, 26; called New Holland, 26; Block at, 58; named Cape Bevechier, 58; Pilgrims at, 130; boundary of New Netherland, 144, 479, 497.
Cape Cornelius, 79.
Cape Henry named, 12; Lord Delawarr at, 50, 753.
Cape Hinlopen, 79.
Cape Inloopen, meaning of name of, 79.
Cape Malebarre, 17; boundary of New Netherland, 35, note; or Vlacke Hoeck, Block at, 58, 756; the Mayflower at, 130; Dutch name for Cape Cod, 497.
Cape May, 65, 97.
Capellen, Baron Hendrick van de, sends colonists to Staten Island, 524; lands purchased for, 525; his purchase at Nevesinck declared void, 536; opposes Van Werckhoven's purchases, 537; his colonie laid waste, 607; sends out fresh colonists, 641; death of, and purchase of his estate on Staten Island, 692.
Capito, Matthys, provisional schout of Withvyck, 714.
Capitulation of Swedes on South River, 605; of New Netherland, 742; articles of, 762.
Capsey Hoeck, hand-board for vessels at, 467, 490, 500.
Carleton, Sir Dudley, English ambassador at the Hague, 108; his memorial respecting New Netherland, 140, 142; applied to by Walloons in Holland, 147.
Carr, Sir Robert, a royal commissioner, 736; at Nyack Bay, 738; a commissioner on the English side, 742; enters New Amsterdam, 743; reduces the Dutch on the South River, 744; his rapacious conduct, 744.
Carteret, Sir George, grant of New Jersey to, 736, 745.
Cartier in Canada, 3.
Cartwright, Colonel George, a royal commissioner, 736; at Boston, 737; sent by Nicolls to Fort Amsterdam, 738; a commissioner on the English side, 742; enters New Amsterdam, 743; reduces Fort Orange and makes treaty with the Iroquois, 743, 744.
Casimir, Fort, 529; see Fort Casimir.
Castateeuw, on Long Island, 265.
Castle Island, Fort Nassau built on, 55; fort destroyed, 81.
Catechism, the Heidelberg, 103, 105, 106, 110, 463.
Catholics, Roman, in Holland, 102, 458, 459; in Maryland, 253; in New Netherland, 345, 374, 402, 645, 749.
Catskill, Hudson at, 29, 32; see Katskill.
Cattle, first, sent to New Netherland, 158; landed at Nutten Island, 159; at Manhattan, 167, 184.
Caughnawaga, Father Jogues at, 423; Mohawk castle at, 659; conference at, 659, 660.
Cayugas, 83; desire religious instruction, 644.
Chalmers, George, his Political Annals, 42, 62.
Chambers, Thomas, settles at Esopus, 536; abandons it, 607; returns to it, 647; his imprudent conduct, 657; his courageous behavior, 711; a delegate to the General Provincial Assembly, 729.
Champlain, Samuel, in Canada, 16, 17; founds Quebec, 18; discovers Lake Champlain, 18, 35; at Onondaga, 68–71; his death, 344.
Characteristics of the Dutch, 461–464, 747–750.
Charles I., his accession, 161; his reply about New Netherland, 214; grants charter for Maryland, 252; establishes plantation board, 257; sets up his standard, 341; death of, 498.
Charles II. in Holland, 498; restoration of, 684; establishes council for foreign plantations, 686; effect of restoration, 687; confirms Lord Baltimore's patent, 697; sends Downing to Holland, 700; appealed to by Lord Baltimore and Lord Stirling, 701; forms alliance with the Dutch, 701; grants a charter to Connecticut, 702; patent from, to the Duke of York, 735; his authority established, 745.
Charlestown, settlement at, 189.
Chaumonot, Father Joseph, at Onondaga, 612; his knowledge of the Iroquois language, 644.
Children, Indian, to be instructed, 675.
Christiaensen, Hendrick, voyage to the West Indies and Manhattan, 45; brings out domestic animals, 47; builds Fort Nassau, 55; his death, 66
Christie, James, arrested at Gravesend, 719.
Christina, Fort, 284; see Fort Christina.
Church, established, of Holland, 100–111; of England, 112–119.
Church, first, at Manhattan, 165; at New Plymouth, 179; at Manhattan, 243; out of repair, 276; new one built, 335–337; at Beverwyck, 343, 374, 375; at Manhattan, unfinished, 410, 418, 760; repaired by Stuyvesant, 467; services regulated, 488; Nine Men's pew in, 518; maintenance of, 568; churches in New Netherland, 615, 616; new, at Beverwyck, 624, 625; organized at New Amstel, 633; at Esopus, 647, 657,

680; at Breuckelen, 680; at Bergen, 692; service at Staten Island, 692; service suspended on South River, 700; at Esopus, 710; at Jamaica, 724; at Breuckelen and on South River, 734.
City Hall, at New Amsterdam, asked for by burgomasters and schepens, 575; granted, 588; ordered to be repaired, 597.
Civil war, beginning of, in England, 341.
Clarke, Thomas, a commissioner on the English side, 742, 763.
Classes and synods in Holland, 104–118.
Classis of Amsterdam, 273; appealed to, 278; approves Domine Megapolensis' call, 342; endeavors to send out clergymen, 418; jurisdiction of, 468, 494, 507, 508; warns church of New Amsterdam, 516; declines to recommend Domine Grasmeer, 537; illiberality of, 582; its authority over New Netherland, 614; action of, respecting conventicles, 634, 635; report of clergy to, 643; West India Company in opposition to, 656, 681; instructions respecting the formulary of baptism, 680; sends clergymen to the South River, 734.
Claverack purchased by Van Rensselaer, 510; purchase declared void, 536; attacked by the savages, 733; meaning of name, 757.
Clayborne, William, his explorations, 250; at Kent Island, 250, 253; sent to England, 254, 668.
Cleef, Jan van, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Clergymen in New Netherland, 223, 281, 342, 468, 516, 537, 581, 615, 616; more required for, 681.
Clothing, troops supplied with, from Van Rensselaer's ship, 390.
Cock, Sergeant, at Staten Island, 386; at West Chester, 387.
Coe, John, of Middelburgh, proceedings of, 723.
Coe, Robert, magistrate at Middelburgh, 555; a delegate from, at Convention, 569, 571.
Coentie's (or Conrad's) Slip, 335.
Cogswell, Robert, goes from New Haven to the South River, 321, 322; breaks his promise to Kieft, 337.
Cohooes, falls of, 306.
Coins, first Dutch, 20, 439.
Coke, Sir Edward, on the New England patent, 139.
Coke, Sir John, secretary of state, 215, 217.
Colendonck, or Yonkers, acquired by Van der Donck, 421.
Colman, John, death and burial of, 28.
Colman's Point, 28.
Colonists, under patroons, 195, 199; new class of, established, 311, 313; to be armed, 406, 415.
Colonization more embarrassed in New Netherland than in New England, 198.
Combination of English towns on Long Island, 726.
Commerce of Holland, 19–24, 38, 60, 98, 134, 184, 457, 458.
Commerce of New Netherland, 67, 89, 97, 99, 138, 145, 155, 159, 168, 171, 182; opened with New Plymouth, 180; on South River, 170, 183; with New England, 269; regulations about, 277, 288, 312, 314, 328; new arrangements for, 406, 416; further regulations, 489, 490; to make Manhattan prosperous, 547; regulation of, 628, 629; opened with Canada, 646; foreign, 656, 714.
Commissioners of New England, 361 (see United Colonies); royal, to New England, 736.
Commonalty, the, summoned by Kieft, 317; choose Twelve Men, 317; demand reforms, 326–328; summoned again, and choose Eight Men, 364; choose Nine Men, 474; propose a delegation to Holland, 495; memorial and remonstrance of, 504–507, 512.
Communipa, settlement at, 642; Quakers at, 643; Esopus sachem at, 676; village formed back of, 691; see Bergen.
Conditions, new, offered by West India Company, 688, 707, 708.
Coney Island, derivation of name of, 412, note; salt-works on, 694.
Confederation, the Dutch, 19, 38, 445; the Iroquois, 83–87; of New England, 361, 362.
Connecticut River explored by Block, 56, 57; Dutch traders at, 145; Eelkens imprisons a chief at, 146; Dutch fort projected at, 153; Barentsen at, 168; no Dutch colonies established at, 207; visited by Winslow, 210; Lord Warwick's grant of, 211; called Connittecock, 232; no Dutch colonists on, 233; sachem visits Boston, 210, 233; Dutch fort Good Hope, built on, 235; Winthrop's bark at mouth of, 239; Wethersfield and Hartford settled, 257; John Winthrop governor of, 260; exterminates the Pequods, 270–273; progress of English settlements in, 293–295, 322–324, 339–341; commissioners of, 361; complaints of, 363; temper of, 370; correspondence of, with Kieft, 429–430; with Stuyvesant, 478–482, 496, 497, 499, 500; treaty at Hartford, 519, 520; expedition from, to South River, 527; feelings of, against the Dutch, 549, 550–555, 558, 559, 565, 566; sequesters Fort Good Hope, 583; raises forces, 585; unfriendliness of, 625; Quakers persecuted in, 635; annexes Long Island towns, 670, 671; encroachments of, 674; Winthrop agent of, 695; obtains a royal charter, 702; asserts its authority over part of New Netherland, 703; enforces it at West Chester, 709; non-intercourse regulations of, 710; Dutch commissioners at, 720, 721; appoints commissioners on Long Island, 726; disregards letters of States General, 733; part of, granted to Duke of York, 735; alacrity of, to assist against New Netherland, 737; commissioners from, 742; volunteers from, at Breuckelen ferry, 743; see Hartford and New Haven.
Conscience, freedom of, allowed, 101, 458, 688; enjoined, 707.

Consistory, in Holland, 104; at Manhattan, 273, 336, 467, 516.
Conventicles, proclamation against, unauthorized, 617; executed, 626, 635; new proclamation, 637; opposition of Rustdorp to, 689, 705; further proclamation against, 706; restraints disapproved of in Holland, 707.
Convention demanded and called, 570; proceedings of, 570–574; dissolved, 575; disapproved of in Holland, 587; another called, 722; remonstrance of, to Company, 722, 723; General Provincial, meets at New Amsterdam, 728; proceedings of, 729, 730, 731; see Landtdag.
Copper mine at Minnisinck, 662; see Minerals.
Corlaer "the Trumpeter," 264.
Corlaer's Hook, 279; Rockaway and Weckquaesgeek savages at, 349; attacked by Adriaensen, 351, 352.
Corlaer, Jacob, teacher at New Amsterdam, 640.
Cornelissen, Jan, schoolmaster at New Amsterdam, 516.
Cornelissen, Jan, magistrate of Boswyck, 693.
Corssen, Arendt, commissary on the South River, 232; succeeded by Jansen, 279; sails for Holland with specimens of minerals, 412; is lost at sea, 413.
Cortelyou, Jacques, declines to be schout of New Amsterdam, 588; surveys the city, 674; at New Utrecht, 693; sent to the Raritan, 724; lays out Schaenhechstede, 732.
Cortlandt, Oloff Stevensen van, commissary, 292; chosen one of the Nine Men, 495, note; signs memorial to States General, 505; appointed schepen of New Amsterdam, 578; burgomaster, sent on embassy to Hartford, 720, 721; meets Scott at Jamaica, 727; accompanies Stuyvesant to Hemstede, 728; a commissioner on the Dutch side, 741, 763.
Coster, Lawrence, inventor of printing, 461.
Council of State, the Dutch, 450.
Council at Plymouth, 95, 96; complains of Dutch in New Netherland, 140; dissolved, 259.
Council, Provincial, of New Netherland, Minuit's, 163, 164; Van Twiller's, 223; Kieft's, 275, 276; its organization complained of by the people, 327, 400; reorganization proposed, 405; new instructions for, 414, 415; Stuyvesant's, 466; Great Council called, 502; modification of, proposed, 514; government affairs left in charge of, 597.
Courts and Jurisprudence, 163; see Tribunals.
Cousseau, Schepen Jacques, sent with letter to Nicolls, 741; a commissioner on the Dutch side, 741, 763.
Coussen, Pieter, magistrate of New Haerlem, 674.
Couwenhoven, Jacob van, 223; one of the Nine Men, 475; signs memorial to States General, 505; appointed a delegate to Holland, 507; at the Hague, 511, 512; returns to New Netherland, 516.
Couwenhoven, Pieter Wolfertsen van, schepen of New Amsterdam, 548 signs letter to New England agents, 353; a delegate from Amersfoort to Convention at New Amsterdam, 571; serves in Esopus expedition, 712–714.
Coxackie, or Kuxakee, 76.
Crom Elbow, or Krom Elleboog, 75, note.
Cromwell, Oliver, 498; his jealousy of the Dutch, 499; letters from New Haven to, 566; protector of England, 582; sends expedition against New Netherland, 582, 583; makes a treaty with the Dutch and countermands hostilities, 586; his letter to Long Island towns, 634; death of, 653.
Cromwell's Bay, on Long Island, 671.
Croton, or Kitchawan, 74.
Curaçoa, supplies sent to, from New Netherland, 370; Stuyvesant, director of, sends soldiers from, 395; placed under director of New Netherland, 416, 432, 517; Indian prisoners at Esopus sent to, 676, 710.
Curler, Arendt van, commissary of Rensselaerswyck, 244, 266; his jurisdiction, 304–306; arranges a church and kerck-buurte, 343; visits the Mohawk country, 345, 346; prohibits illicit trading, 377; opposed by Van der Donck, 377; advises the patroon to act with a higher hand, 400; quarrels with Van der Donck, 419; goes to Holland, 420; revisits the Mohawks at Caughnawaga, 659, 660; at Esopus, 678; purchases great flat of Schonowe, 691; remonstrates against Stuyvesant's policy there, 732.
Curler, Commissary Jacob van, purchases lands on the Fresh or Connecticut River, 234; completes Fort Good Hope, 235; protests against Holmes, 241; punishes assassins of Stone, 242; buys lands on Long Island, 265; appointed tobacco inspector, 292; sent to Schout's Bay, 299.
Currency, Sewan the provincial, 172, 180, 314, 487, 694; reformed, 314, 328, 329, 517.
Curtius, Alexander Carolus, Latin schoolmaster at New Amsterdam, 656; succeeded by Luyck, 694.

Dablon, Father Claude, at Onondaga, 612; returns to Canada, 643; revisits Onondaga, 644; abandons it, 646.
Dam, Jan Janssen, 244; one of the Twelve Men, 317; a church-master, 336; urges Kieft to attack the savages, 349, 350; chosen one of the Eight Men and expelled, 365; church-master with Stuyvesant, 467; chosen one of the Nine Men, 475; required to come to the Hague, 514; father-in-law of Van Tienhoven, 524.
Dans-kamer, De Vries at the, 302, 306; southern limit of jurisdiction of Esopus, 732.
Davenport, John, of Rotterdam, 261; settles at New Haven, 293, 294.
Davis, William, sent as agent to New Amsterdam, 551–555.
Davits, Jan, visits Narrington, 733.
Decker, Johannes de, appointed to succeed Dyck-

man as vice-director at Fort Orange, 599; entertains Father Le Moyne, 611; publishes proclamation against conventicles, 617; confirmed as commissary, 622; arrests tapsters, 623; returns to Holland, 625; counselor of New Netherland, visits Fort Orange, 711; at Esopus, 712; at Virginia, 734; sent with message to Nicolls, 738; sent a second time, 740; a commissioner on the Dutch side, 741; signs capitulation, 742, 763; his conduct at Fort Orange, 743; is banished by Nicolls, 744.

Declaration of Independence, the Dutch, 446, 761.

Delavall, Thomas, sent by Nicolls to Fort Amsterdam, 738.

Delaware Bay discovered by Hudson, 26; Argall at, 51, 754; explored by Hendricksen, 79; called New Port May, 97; Godyn's Bay, 207; taken possession of by the Dutch, 150, 153; see Fort Nassau, South River, Swaanendael, New Sweden, Maryland.

Delawarr, Lord, 49, 50; not at Delaware Bay, 51; his death, 754.

Democracy, Holland a school of, 452.

Denton, Daniel, town clerk of Rustdorp, 619; draws up pledge against Quaker conventicles, 689; a commissioner at Heemstede, 728.

Denton, Nathaniel, informs against Quakers at Rustdorp, 689.

Denton, Richard, clergyman at Heemstede, 615, 619, 636.

Dermer, Captain Thomas, sails through Long Island Sound, 92; at Manhattan, 93; his letter to Gorges, 94, 133.

Deutel Bay, origin of the name, 292; a Dutchman murdered near, 316.

Dincklagen, Lubbertus van, appointed to succeed Notelman as schout-fiscal of New Netherland, 247; sent back to Holland by Van Twiller, 266; complaints of and against, in Holland, 273; appointed, provisionally, to succeed Kieft, 404; appointed vice-director under Stuyvesant, 414; commissioned and sworn, 432; a counselor, 466; presiding judge, 467; at the South River, 485; opposes Stuyvesant's treatment of Van der Donck, 502; acknowledges his error in Melyn's case, 503; writes to Holland in favor of the Nine Men, 507; protests against Stuyvesant's management, 517; is slighted by the Director, 521; buys Raritan lands for Van de Capellen, 525; is expelled from the council, 525; retires to Staten Island and writes to Holland, 526; repurchases lands for Van de Capellen, 641; purchase declared void, 642; death of, 642, note.

Dircksen, Barent, one of the Eight Men, 365; protests against Kieft, 397.

Dircksen, Gerrit, one of the Twelve Men, 317.

Director of New Netherland, powers and duties of, 154, 159, 163, 197, 222, 275, 312, 327, 399, 414, 432, 474, 504, 506.

Distillery established on Staten Island, 313.

Documentary history of New York, 759.

Domine, meaning of the term, in Holland, 243.

Donck, Adriaen van der, appointed schout-fiscal of Rensselaerswyck, 341; his instructions, 342; opposes Van Curler, 377; is prevented from acquiring Katskill, 378; assists Kieft at Fort Orange, 408; marries daughter of Doughty, 419; quarrels with Van Curler, 419; goes down to Manhattan, 420; purchases Colendonck or Yonkers, 421; chosen one of the Nine Men, 495, note; urges a delegation to Holland, 501; his journal seized by Stuyvesant, and harsh proceedings against, 502; signs memorial to the States General, 504, 505; draws up "Vertoogh," and is appointed a delegate to Holland, 507; at the Hague, 511, 512; arranges for more emigrants, 513; opposes Van Tienhoven at the Hague, 523; procures his arrest, 524; his faithfulness in Holland, 527; censures Stuyvesant's conduct again, 539; favored by the States General, 541; statement of his wife respecting the Mohawks, 555; made a doctor of laws at Leyden University, 560; returns to New Netherland, 561; publication of his "Description of New Netherland," 561, note.

Dordrecht, Synod of, 109, 110; conformity to, required, 312, 342, 609, 617.

Doughty, Francis, comes to Manhattan, 333; obtains patent for Mespath, 333; his settlement destroyed by the savages, 367; preaches at Manhattan, 368; his troubles at Mespath, 411; is fined by Kieft, 411; removes to Flushing, 411; his daughter married to Van der Donck, 419; his treatment by Stuyvesant, 472; his statements to the New England agents at Flushing, 555; goes to Virginia, 615; in Maryland, 666.

Downing, Sir George, British ambassador at the Hague, 700; his menacing language, 735

Drisius, Domine Samuel, becomes a colleague of Megapolensis at New Amsterdam, 537; sent on a mission to Virginia, 561; preaches at Staten Island, 615; jealous of the Lutherans, 616; complains of conventicles, 617; of Goetwater and the Lutherans, 635; recommends a Latin school at New Amsterdam, 640; explanations respecting religious affairs, 643; instructed by the Company to be more moderate, 656; success of his ministry, 681; baptizes at Rustdorp, 689; preaches at Staten Island, 692.

Dupuys, Sieur, at Onondaga, 644; abandons it, 646.

Dutch, the, name of, 19; maritime destiny, 20; early voyages, 21; in North America, 35; their independence, 38–42, 434–447; their established church, 99–111, 312, 342, 614; their naval successes, 39, 184, 447, 545; their political system, 191–193, 447–459; characteristics of, 460–464, 747–750.

Dutch ship, English subjects forbidden to go in, "to the Hollanders' Plantation in Hudson's River," 259.

Dutchman's Island, near the Pequod or Thames River, 268; post at, 270, 271.
Duties, high, at Manhattan, 312, 478, 480, 495, 497; reduced, 540.
Duyckingk, Evert, wounded at Fort Good Hope, 295.
Duyster, Dirck Cornelissen, under commissary at Fort Orange, 170.
Dyck, Gysbert op, commissary at Fort Good Hope, 295; obtains patent for Coney Island, 412, note.
Dyck, Ensign Hendrick van, commands expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks, 329, 330; wounded at Manhattan, 369; sent to Heemstede, 389; against Connecticut Indians, 390, 391; appointed fiscal in place of Van der Huygens, 414; embarks for New Netherland, 432; his treatment by Stuyvesant on the voyage, 433; in the council, 466; is slighted by the director, 521; joins in a protest against, 525; is superseded by Stuyvesant, and Van Tienhoven appointed in his place, 532; appeals to the States General, 533; kills a squaw, 606; is shot by an Indian, 607.
Dyckman, Johannes, appointed to be vice-director at Fort Orange in place of Labbatie, 530; his difficulties with the patroon's officers, 533, 534; endeavors to levy excises, 591; becomes insane, 598; is succeeded by De Decker, 599.
Dyer, William, commissioned by Rhode Island to act with Underhill against the Dutch, 557.

Earthquake and freshet at Fort Orange, 709.
Easthampton annexed to Connecticut, 670.
Eaton, Theophilus, 293; first governor of New Haven, 294; refuses to assist New Netherland, 370; his correspondence with Kieft, 428–431; protests against Stuyvesant, 479; writes him a sharp letter, 480; proposes prohibition of trade with the Dutch, 496; proposes a conference at Boston, 499; warned by Stuyvesant, 528; instigates Underhill, 555, 556; urges a war with the Dutch, 559.
Ebel, Sergeant Pieter, sent to Esopus, 712.
Economy of the Dutch, 461, 462.
Education, state of, 616; see Academy, Schools.
Eelkens, Jacob, at Fort Nassau, 55, 67; imprisons the Sequin chief, 146; dismissed by the Company, 152; returns in the English ship William, 229; damages the Dutch trade, 231, 246.
Eendragt, ship, 201; arrested at Plymouth, 214; released, 217.
"Eendragt maakt magt," motto of the Dutch republic, 445.
Egyptians, Dutch colonists called, by Puritans, 295.
Eight Men in Holland, 453.
Eight Men chosen by the commonalty, 364; authorize hostilities, 365; recommendations of, to Kieft, 370; letter of, to West India Company, 371–373; oppose an excise, 393, 394; represent the popular sentiment, 396; their memorial to the West India Company, 397–400; demand Kieft's recall, 400; members of, refuse to thank Kieft, 466; their memorial pronounced false by Kieft, 470, 471; succeeded by Nine Men, 474.
Elbertsen, Elbert, one of the Nine Men, signs memorial to the States General, 505; a delegate from Midwout, 571; a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Elizabeth, Queen, lays down the English law respecting colonial possessions, 4; Virginia named after, 5; her doctrine respecting possessions confirmed by Parliament, 143.
Elsland, Claes van, marshal, sent to West Chester, 598.
Elswyck, Hendrick van, Swedish factor, 594; his case, 595, 602, 605.
Emigrants, conditions offered to, 194, 288, 291, 312, 332, 388, 514, 630, 688, 696, 708.
Emigrations, large, from English colonies to New Netherland, 290, 291, 332, 334, 335, 366, 374, 488, 574, 595.
Endicott, John, a patentee of Massachusetts, 188; at Salem, 189, 190; complains against irregular traders, 209; leads expedition against Block Island, 270; asks Stuyvesant to deliver up regicides, 695.
England, Church of, 112–119.
English clergymen at Synod of Dort, 109, 117.
English claim to New Netherland, 5, 11, 93, 96, 138, 141, 156, 214, 257, 324, 340, 582, 621, 633, 725, 735; subjects forbidden to go in Dutch ship to the Hollanders' Plantation, 259; jealousy of the Dutch, 140, 156, 543, 582, 685, 687, 701, 734.
English at Manhattan, 291, 332; Baxter appointed secretary for, 337; enrollment of, 366; defection of, 495; threaten mutiny, 578.
Engravers, eminent, in Holland, 460.
Episcopacy in Holland, 118.
Episcopal Church, Protestant, its sympathy with the Reformed Dutch Church, 119.
Erasmus, 99, 100.
Esopus, 76, 145, 151; De Vries at, 302, 306; called Atkarkarton, Chambers settles at, 536; abandoned, 607; religious service at, 616; return of settlers to, 647; redoubt ordered to be built at, 647; Stuyvesant at, 647; village formed at, 648, 649; garrison at, 651; Domine Blom called to, 657; attacked by the savages, 658; expedition sent to, 660; mediation of Mohawks at, 661; garrison destroys Indian fort of Wiltmeet, 675; Swartwout commissioned as schout of, 677; treaty with savages at, 678, 679; Domine Blom settled at, 680; charter for Wiltwyck at, 690; new village and ronduit at, 710; outbreak of savages at, 711; savages defeated, 712–714, savages encamp among the Minnisincks, 717; treaty of peace with savages, 731; Beeckman commissary at, 732; soldiers ordered down from, 738; Sager's, or Esopus Kill, 756.

Everett, Richard, informs against Quakers at Rustdorp, 689.
Excise levied at New Amsterdam, 394, 467; disagreement about, 560, 567; conditionally surrendered to the city, 568; resumed by Stuyvesant, 590; at Fort Orange, 591; farming of, 610; question of, at Beverwyck settled, 649; surrendered to New Amsterdam, 727.
Eyer Haven, or Egg Harbor, De Vries at, 228.

Fairfield blockaded by the Dutch, 565.
Fairs established at Manhattan, 314, 489.
Farrett, James, agent for Lord Stirling, 297; disposes of lands on Long Island, 297–300, 760; arrested at Manhattan, 298.
Farrington, Edward, of Flushing, case of, 637.
Fasting and prayer, day of, proclaimed, 356, 639.
Fatherland, the, in Holland, 464.
Feake, Robert, settles at Greenwich, 294; required to submit to the Dutch, 296, 330.
Feake, Tobias, a delegate from Flushing, 569, 571; schout of, 637; fined and banished, 638.
Fence ordered to be built at Manhattan, 392; see New Amsterdam.
Fendall, Josias, Governor of Maryland, 663; letter of, to Alrichs, 664; his negotiations with Heermans and Waldron, 666–669; succeeded by Philip Calvert as governor, 697.
Fenn and Treat, of New Haven, visit New Amsterdam, 696; conditions demanded and offered to, as colonists, 696; concessions to, rejected, 708.
Ferry to Breuckelen, 422, 575; regulation of, 589; from New Haerlem to Long Island, 641.
Feudal system in Holland, 191–194; transferred to New Netherland, 198, 266, 305, 311, 531, 746.
Fire and light, traders required to keep, 489, 628.
Fire department in New Amsterdam, 487, 640.
Fire Island, shipwreck near, 632.
Firmness of the Dutch, 464.
Five Dutch towns, the, 580, 693; remonstrance of, at Midwout, 727.
Five Nations of Iroquois, 82–87; see Iroquois.
Flag, origin of the Dutch, 19; staff on Staten Island, 314; for burghers of New Amsterdam, 516, 517.
Flatbush, settlement at, 536; see Midwout.
Flatlands, 265; see Amersfoort.
Flushing, patent for, 410; Doughty removes to, 411; Forrester at, 477; New England agents at, 555; sedition at, 556; delegates from Gravesend, Heemstede, and Middelburgh at, 569; sends delegates to New Amsterdam, 569; represented in Convention, 571; Baptists at, persecuted, 626; remonstrates against persecution of Quakers, 637; charter of, modified, 638; orders of Connecticut to, 703; magistrates of, inform against Quakers, 705; case of John Bowne, 706, 707; Talcott and Christie at, 719; name of, changed, 723; party from, at the Raritan, 724; forms combination, 726; Letter of States General to, 730, 733.
Fordham, Robert, at Heemstede, 388; imprisons savages, 389.
Foreign residents at New Amsterdam, 291, 335, 374, 489, 578, 628, 640.
Foreigners attracted to Holland, 102, 459.
Forrester, Andrew, Lady Stirling's agent, arrested, 477, 480.
Fort Albany, Fort Orange so named, 744.
Fort Amsterdam commenced, 165; murder during its progress, 166; completed, 183; repaired, 243, condition of, 369, 373; Indian prisoners in, 389; Indian parties around, 397; Kieft constantly within, 399; proposed to be repaired, 405; general Indian treaty at, 409; propositions for repair of, 473, 476; no goats to be pastured near, 488; question about its repair, 549, 568; condition of, 741; surrendered to the English and called Fort James, 743; see Manhattan and New Amsterdam.
Fort Auranea, the English way of spelling Fort Orange, 583, note.
Fort Beversrede built on the Schuylkill, 483; Swedes oppose the Dutch at, 486, 487.
Fort Casimir built on the South River, 529; its building disapproved of by the Amsterdam directors, 538; embarrasses the Swedes, 576; captured by Rising, and called "Fort Trinity," 593; orders for recovery of, 601; recaptured by Stuyvesant, 604; made seat of the Dutch government, 609; religious service at, 616; Swedish ship at, 620; transferred to the city of Amsterdam, 630–632; named New Amstel, 632; see New Amstel.
Fort Christina built by Minuit, 284; situation of Swedes at, 319; relieved, 320; Printz at, 379; lands around purchased by the Dutch, 529; surrendered to the Dutch, 605; named Altona, 631, 633; see Altona.
Fort Cralo, at Greenbush, 711.
Fort Elsingburg, Dutch vessel stopped at, 380; in ruins and deserted by the Swedes, 604.
Fort Good Hope projected, 153, 234; built, 235; Op Dyck commissary at, 295; Roesen commissary at, 296; vexatious conduct of Hartford people at, 322, 328; Kieft offers to lease land around, 339; Provoost commissary at, 429; confirmed to the Dutch by the Hartford treaty, 520; seized by Underhill, 558; sequestrated by Hartford, 583; see Hartford and Connecticut.
Fort James, Fort Amsterdam so named, 743.
Fort Nassau built on Mauritius River, 55; destroyed, 81.
Fort Nassau built on South River, 153; position of, 758; its garrison withdrawn, 170, 183; De Vries at, 225, 226; seized by a Virginian party, 254; Jansen commissary at, 279, 337; revisited by De Vries, 380; Hudde commissary at, 424, 482; Dutch commissioners at, 485; lands

around purchased by the Dutch, 510, 511; Stuyvesant at, 525; demolished by Stuyvesant, 529.
Fort New Gottenburg, 379; see New Gottenburg.
Fort Orange projected and built on North River, 149, 151; Indians at, 152; affairs at, 168; colonists removed from, 170, 183; colonie of Rensselaerswyck established around, 201; trade at, 212; Eelkens returns to, with English ship, 229, 230; visited by De Vries, 302–306; condition of, described by Father Jogues, 374; Kieft's treaty with Indians at, 408; Stuyvesant's claim of jurisdiction at, 491–494; trade at, to be free, 521; Labbatie commissary at, 523; Dyckman vice-director at, 530; Beverwyck annexed to, 535; views of Company respecting, 562, 563; trading-house above, proposed, 563; Father Poncet at, 564; Cromwell's designs against, 583; excises at, 590, 591; De Decker vice-director at, 599; Mohawks at, 611, 612; new officers at, condition of, 625; Mohawks at, 650; English party at, 655; deserters from, murdered, 657; Mohawks again at, 658; Stuyvesant at, 676; conference with Senecas at, 679; Stuyvesant again at, 682; frontier post, 690; Captain Breedon at, 704; Canadian refugees at, 705; artillery at, 711; represented in General Assembly, 729; limit of its jurisdiction, 732; alarm at, 733; Stuyvesant at, 737; De Decker at, 743; surrender of, 744; name of, changed to Fort Albany, 744; treaty of English with Iroquois at, 744; see Beverwyck.
Fort Paconthetuck, Mohawks murdered at, 733.
Fort Trinity, Fort Casimir so named by Rising, 593; recaptured by Stuyvesant, 604.
Fort Wilhelmus, 152, 758.
Fox, George, disciples of, called Quakers, 635.
Fox Haven, or Boston Harbor, visited by Block, 58, 756.
Franchises, people demand, 326, 400, 505, 573.
Franeker, High School at, 413, 463.
Frankness of the Dutch, 461.
Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, succeeds Maurice, 160; death of, 434.
Frederÿcke, Krÿn, engineer of Fort Amsterdam, 165.
Free schools established in Holland, 462.
Free spirit of colonists at Manhattan, 325, 326, 400, 505, 573, 749.
Freedom of conscience in Holland, 101, 102, 103, 458, 614, 707.
Freedom of trade in Holland, 98, 456, 458; why not extended to colonies, 544, 545; concessions of, to New Netherland, 540, 656, 684.
French, their discoveries in North America, 2, 3, 16–18, 67–72; ship at North and South Rivers, 150, 153; their progress in Canada, 344–346; their gratitude toward the Dutch, 402; discover Lake Saint Sacrement, 422; call upon New England for aid, 564; among the Onondagas, 591, 612; new, viceroy of Canada, 705.
Frenchmen enrolled, 607; settle at Boswyck, 693; from Rochelle, on Staten Island, 692, 730, 734.
Fresh River discovered by Block, 56; see Connecticut River.
Fresh Water, 167; see Kolck.
Freshet destroys Fort Nassau, 80, 81; inundates Fort Orange, 302, 303; damages Beverwyck, 420, 709; at Katskill, 531.
Fries, Captain Jan de, arrives from Curaçoa, 395; dispatched on expedition to the North, 397.
Frobisher's voyages, 4.
Frontenac, Count, 69; Street's poem of, 87.
Frugality of the Dutch, 461, 462.
Fur trade, 44, 67, 99, 155, 159, 171, 183, 194, 218, 224, 231, 236, 248; regulated by Kieft, 277; on the South River, 284, 379; regulated by Stuyvesant, 467.

Gamoenepa, farmers at, 642; see Communipa.
Gardiner, Lion, builds fort at Saybrook, 261; attacked by the Pequods, 270; settles at Gardiner's Island, 298.
Gardiner's Island, or Manchonack, 297, 737.
Gates, Sir Thomas, 11, 49–53.
Gecommiteerde Raden, or councilmen of Holland, 452.
Genentaha Lake, in Onondaga, Jesuit chapel at, 612; Saint Mary's of, 644; abandoned, 646.
Gerritsen, Martin, counselor, 223, 244; Bay named after, 290, 388; see Heemstede.
Gerritsen, Wolfert, overseer at Rensselaerswyck, 201, 244; on Long Island, 265.
Gheel, Maximilian van, one of the first schepens of New Amsterdam, 548.
Ghent, meeting of States General at, 437; pacification of, 444.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, his patent, 4; at Newfoundland, 5.
Glen, Alexander, arrested at Fort Orange, 534.
Goats sent to Manhattan from Holland, 47; from Virginia, 228.
Godyn, Samuel, 59, 148; buys land on the South River, 200; obtains share in Rensselaerswyck, 204; dies, 249; his heirs surrender Swaanendael to the company, 249.
Goedenhuysen, case of, 479, 480; see Westerhouse.
Goetwater, John Ernestus, Lutheran clergyman, 634; at New Amsterdam, ordered to return, 635; views of W. I. Company respecting case of, 642.
Gold mine, supposed, near Fort Orange, 408, 412
Golden Fleece, the motto of the, 191.
Gomarists, or Contra-Remonstrants, 105–109.
Gomarus, of Leyden, 104–107.
Gonwarrowe, chief of the Mattinnecocks, 392.
Good Hope, Fort, 235; see Fort Good Hope.
Goodÿear, deputy governor of New Haven, Stuyvesant's letter to, 481.
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 9, 10, 90, 94–96, 140.
Gosnold, Bartholomew, his voyage, 6; at Cape Cod, 7.

Governor's Island, 267; see Nutten Island.
Gowanus, or Gujanes, Domine Selyns at, 681.
Grasmeer, Domine Wilhelmus, sails from Holland, 516; is suspended, 522; accompanies Stuyvesant to the South River, 528; returns to Holland, 537.
Gravesend, or Gravesande, Anthony Jansen at, 292; settlement at, attacked by the savages, 367; patent for, 411; letter from, to the West India Company in favor of Stuyvesant, 509; a second letter from, 518; third letter, 526; Stuyvesant's confidence in, 554; disaffection of English at, 568; delegates from, at Flushing, 568; sends delegates to New Amsterdam, 569; represented in Convention, 571; letter from, to Holland, 575, 576; disaffection at, 579; sedition at, 585; Stuyvesant at, 596; Fresh troubles at, 597; Baxter and Hubbard arrested, 598; tranquillity restored at, 599; attacked by savages, 607; Mennonists at, 616; memorial of, to Cromwell, 620; Grover arrested at, 634; Quakers at, 638; arrested at, 689; orders of Connecticut to, 703; persecution of Quakers at, 706; Talcott and Christie at, 719; surrendered to Connecticut, 723; party from, at the Raritan, 724; forms combination, 726; letter of States General to, 730, 733.
Great Charter of Holland, 437, 448.
Great Council called by Stuyvesant, 502.
Great Falls at Trenton, Hudde prevented from visiting, 425.
Green Mountains, called "Winterberg," 733.
Greenbush, colonists at, 343; alarm at, 711; cattle destroyed at, 733.
Greenwich, English settle at, 294; required to submit to the Dutch, 296; submission of, 331; Dutch expedition sent to, 386; murder of Captain Patrick of, 387; how affected by Hartford treaty, 519, 520; claimed by commissioners of the United Colonies, 626; declared annexed to Connecticut, 703.
Grievance, the New England patent a, 139; Kieft's council a, 327; the government of New Netherland a, 506.
Grist, Paulus Leendertsen van der, equipage master, 466; schepen of New Amsterdam, 548; signs letter to New England agents, 553; a delegate to the Convention, 569, 571; assaulted by a savage, 607; burgomaster, sent with message to Nicolls, 738.
Grotius, 24, 107, 192, 193, 443, 452, 543.
Grover, James, hoists British flag at Gravesend, 597; takes memorial from, to London, 620; is arrested at Gravesend, 633, 634.
Groves, Captain, sent by Nicolls to Fort Amsterdam, 738.
Guard of halberdiers, Stuyvesant's, 525, 607.
Gueux, origin of the, 440; capture the Brielle, 442.
Guilds in Holland, 453
Guilliams, William, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Gujanes, or Gowanus, Domine Selyns at, 681.
Guns, trade in, 89, 144, 169, 175, 188, 209, 212, 306, 349; regulated, 277, 293, 308, 376, 415, 478, 490, 492, 504, 562, 659, 680, 710.
Gustavus Adolphus favors a Swedish West India Company, 280.

Hackinsack, or Achter Cul, colonie at, 313; Van Voorst murdered at, 347, 348; Oritany, sachem, at, 359; attacked and ruined by the savages, 368; new purchases near, 537; block-house proposed to be built at, 610; court at Hospating, near, 642.
Hackingsacks, or Hackinsacks, position of the, 73; their village, 313; chiefs of, visit De Vries, 347; Kieft, 348; strength of, 349; refugees among, 349; enraged against the Dutch, 354; Oritany, chief of, 359; attack Achter Cul, 368; make a peace, 409; again at war, 606; Dutch prisoners among the, 608, 610; their rights to Staten Island purchased, 641; new treaty with, 675; mediation of, 676, 678; assist at last treaty at Fort Amsterdam, 731.
Hadson, Domine Warnerus, 734.
Haerlem, siege of, 442.
Haerlem, New, 641; see New Haerlem.
Hague, the, origin of its name, 61.
Hakluyt, Richard, 8, 10, 11.
Half Moon sails from Holland, 25; returns and is lost, 43.
Hall, Dean and Bishop, at Synod of Dort, 109, 117.
Hall, Thomas, 254; at New Amersfoort, 265; at Deutel Bay, on Manhattan, 292; one of the Eight Men, 365; insulted by Kieft, 394; protests against him, 397; one of the Nine Men, 476; a fire-warden at New Amsterdam, 487; informs against Van der Donck, 502; signs memorial to the States General, 505; his land on Manhattan, 517.
Hallett, William, sheriff of Flushing, fined and removed from office for holding conventicles, 626.
Hamel, Hendrick, 148; becomes a patroon, 205.
Hamel's Hooftden, or the Narrows, 202.
Hand-board at Capsey Hook, 467, 490; blown down, 500.
Hardenburg, Arnoldus van, denied right of appeal by Kieft, 417; threatened by Stuyvesant, 472; one of the Nine Men, 475; signs memorial and remonstrance to States General, 505, 507.
Harmenssen, Reynert, counselor, 164.
Hart, Edward, town clerk of Flushing, 637.
Hartford, settlement at, 257; expedition against the Pequods, 271; people of, commit aggressions around the Dutch fort, 295; continue to annoy the Dutch, 322; reproved by Massachusetts, 322; Hopkins and Haynes endeavor to arrange the differences with the Dutch, 323; commissions Peters to negotiate in Holland, 324; ad-

vice of Sir William Boswell to, 324; intercourse with, forbidden by Kieft, 338; sends agents to Manhattan, 339; accedes to confederation, 361; Miantonomoh in jail at, 363; complains of the Dutch, 429; treaty at, with the Dutch, 519, 520; Fort Good Hope at, seized, 558; urges Massachusetts to make war, 559; feeling at, against the Dutch, 565; sequesters Fort Good Hope, 583; zeal of, for war, 585; exploring party sails from, 655; petitions for a royal charter, and commissions Winthrop as agent, 695; obtains a charter, 702; proceedings of General Court at, 703, 709; Dutch commissioners at, 720, 721; see Connecticut.

Hartford treaty negotiated, 519, 520; ratified by the States General, 621; its ratification by England required, 730.

Hartgers, Joost, his Beschryvinge van Nieuw Nederlandt, 527.

Harvey, Sir John, Governor of Virginia, his friendly treatment of De Vries, 226, 227; sends goats to Manhattan, 228; commissions Clayborne, 250; is deposed and sent to England, 254; returns to Virginia, 279, 280; declines to allow the Swedes a free trade, 282.

Hattem, Arendt van, a patentee of Flatbush or Midwout, 536; burgomaster of New Amsterdam, 548; sent to Virginia, 559; to the Convention, 571.

Haverstraw, or Kumochenack, 29, 75, 302, 757.

Haynes, John, Governor of Connecticut, 295; his commission to Peters, 323; confers with New Haven about hostilities against the Dutch, 559.

Hazard, Thomas, a delegate from Middelburgh, 569, 571.

Heckewelder, his account of the first arrival of Europeans at New York, 751, 752, 753.

Heemstede, Kieft's patent for, 388; expedition sent to, 389; Forrester at, 477; John Moore preacher at, 527; letter from, to the West India Company, 527; disaffection at, 552; depositions against the Dutch procured at, 555; sedition at, 556; Thomas Baxter seizes vessel in harbor of, 565; delegates from, at Flushing, 568; sends delegates to New Amsterdam, 569; represented in Convention, 571; sedition at, 585; Richard Denton, clergyman at, 615; petition from, for a new village near, 619; Hodgson arrested at, 636; orders of Connecticut to, 703; Talcott and Christie at, 719; petitions Connecticut, 719; surrendered to Connecticut, 723; forms combination, 726; letter of States General to, 730, 733.

Heermans, Augustine, one of the Nine Men, 475; signs memorial to States General, 505; case of, 511; prosecuted by Stuyvesant, 526; purchases Raritan lands for Van Werckhoven, 537; sent by Stuyvesant to Boston, 554; draws view of New Amsterdam, 561, 674; on embassy to Maryland, 666–668; goes to Virginia, 669; his influence there, 683.

Hegeman, Adriaen, succeeds Tonneman as schout of Breuckelen, 580, 674, 693; schout of the "Five Dutch Towns," 693.

Heidelberg Catechism, 103, 105, 106, 110, 342, 463.

Hellekers, Jacob, magistrate of New Utrecht, 693.

Hell-gate, named by the Dutch, 56, 168, 231.

Hendricksen, Cornelis, 59; explores the "New" or Delaware River, 79; returns to Holland, 80

Hesse, Jacob Jansen, counselor, 223.

Heyes, Pieter, sails to South River, 205; establishes colony at Swaanendael, 206; buys Cape May for Godyn and Blommaert, 207.

Heyn, Peter Petersen, captures the Spanish silver fleet, 184; his magnanimity, 184, 464; his death and his monument, 185.

Hicks, John, a delegate from Flushing, 569, 571.

High School at Franeker, 413, 463; at New Amsterdam, 656; reputation of, 694; scholars from Virginia sent to it, 694.

Hinlopen, Thymen Jacobsen, 59; cape probably named after, 79.

Hinlopen, Cape, probable origin of name of, 79; the southern boundary of New Netherland, 479; lands near, ordered to be purchased, 652; purchase near, 663; ceded to city of Amsterdam, 715–717.

Hinoyossa, Alexander de, lieutenant of New Amstel, 631; wrecked near Fire Island, 632; assists Beeckman in purchasing the Horekills, 663; succeeds Alrichs, 670; his insolent demeanor, 682; meets Governor Calvert of Maryland, 697; his disagreements with Beeckman, 699; visits Holland, 700; his representations there, 715; returns to South River and organizes government, 717; opposes the English forces, 744.

Hobokan-Hacking purchased by Pauw, 202; laid waste by the savages, 607.

Hoboken, Harman van, schoolmaster at New Amsterdam, 623.

Hodenosaunee, or Iroquois, 82.

Hodgson, Robert, at Heemstede, 636; imprisoned at Fort Amsterdam, 636; discharged, 637.

Hoeks and Kabbeljaus in Holland, 461.

Holland, flag of, 19; first, on the North River, 36; provincial states of, 451; aspect of, 457; documents procured in, 759; see Dutch.

Hollændare, Peter, on the South River, 320, 321.

Holmes, George, seizes Fort Nassau, 254; taken prisoner, and sent back to Virginia, 255; at Deutel Bay, on Manhattan, 292.

Holmes, Lieutenant William, at Windsor, 240, 241

Honesty of the Dutch, 464.

Hooges, Anthonie de, secretary of Rensselaerswyck, 420.

Hoogh Moogende Heeren, the title of the States-General, 450.

Hoorn, Cape, name of, 47; discovered by Schouten, 80, note.

Hopkins, Edward, 293; governor of Connecticut, 295; goes to England, 324; returns with letter from Boswell, 339.

Horekill, Swaanendael on the, 206, 219, 228; purchased by the Dutch, 663; Dutch soldiers at, 663, 670; Mennonist colony at, 698, 699; plundered by the English, 744.
Horikans, the, 56, 77.
Horst, Myndert van der, establishes a colonie at Achter Cul, 313; thinks of the South River, 319; one of his colonists at Hackinsack murdered, 347; his colonie attacked and ruined by the savages, 368; written to by Melyn, 397.
Hospating, near Hackinsack, court at, 642.
Hospitality of the Dutch, 462.
Hossett, Gillis, purchases lands for Van Rensselaer, 201; at Swaanendael, 206; killed by the savages, 220.
Hotel at Manhattan for strangers, 335, 549.
Houten, Hans Jorissen, succeeds Krol at Fort Orange, 223; opposes Eelkens, 230; is succeeded by Van de Bogaerdt, 419.
Houtman, Cornelius, in the East Indies, 22.
Howe, Daniel, on Long Island, 298, 300, 760.
Howell, Edward, on Long Island, 298, 300.
Hubbard, Sergeant James, a patentee of Gravesend, 411; opposes Stuyvesant, 568; a delegate at New Amsterdam, 569, 571; removed from the magistracy, 596; hoists British flag at Gravesend, 597; is arrested, 598; released, 619; carries petition of English villages to Hartford, 719.
Hudde, Andries, counselor, 223; buys land on Long Island, 265; near Corlaer's Hook, 279; draws up memorial to West India Company, 398; succeeds Jansen as commissary on South River, 424; protests against Printz, 424; is prevented from visiting the "Great Falls" at Trenton, 425; purchases site of Philadelphia, 426; replies to Printz's protest, 427; is confirmed as commissary at the South River, 482; builds Fort Beversrede, 483; proposes further land purchases around Fort Nassau, 510, 511; secretary and surveyor on the South River, 609; commandant at Altona, 633; death of, 718, note.
Hudden, Hendrick, koopman of cargoes, 264.
Hudson, Henry, in the Arctic Ocean, 24; sails in the Half Moon from Holland, 25; at Cape Cod and Delaware Bay, 26; at Sandy Hook, 27; discovers the North River, 27–34; sails from England, 42; his death, 43.
Hudson's River, 93, 130, 227; see North River.
Huguenots in Holland, 459, 715, 730; on Staten Island, 692, 734, 749.
Hulft, Peter Evertsen, 148; sends colonists to New Netherland, 158.
Huntington, on Long Island, settled, 671; annexed to Connecticut, 703.
Hutchinson, Anne, banished from Massachusetts, 332; at Annie's Hoeck, in West Chester, 334; her settlement destroyed by the savages, 366; her captive grand-daughter recovered and restored by the Dutch, 409, 419.
Huyck, Jan, Krank-besoecker at Manhattan, 165.
Huygens, Cornelis van der, appointed schout-fiscal, 292; enjoined to diligence, 386; protests against Koorn, 401; succeeded by Van Dyck, 414, 466; sails for Holland and is drowned, 472, 473.
Huygens, Hendrick, Swedish commissary on South River, 424, 425; at Fort Beversrede, 483.
Hyde, Captain, commands English squadron, 740; his farm on the South River, 744.

Iconoclasts in Holland, 100, 440, 441.
Ihpetonga, or Brooklyn Heights, 73.
Illustrious men of Holland, 460.
Imbroeck, Surgeon Gysbert van, his wife guides expedition against Esopus savages, 712; a delegate to General Assembly at New Amsterdam, 729.
Independence, Dutch declaration of, 446, 761.
Indians, employment of, as servants, 307, 488; enslaved in New England, 429; see Savages.
Industry of the Dutch, 448, 452, 462.
Inloopen, Cape, meaning of name, 79.
Intoxication of savages on board of the Half Moon, 31, 752.
Iroquois, the, derivation of their name, 67, 82; their empire, 87; first treaty of the Dutch with, 88; supplied with fire-arms, 89, 169, 308; at war with the French, 345, 563, 647; Kieft's treaty with, 408, 409; Stuyvesant with the, 492; first treaty of English with, 81, 744; see Mohawks, Onondagas, Stuyvesant.

Jacobsen, Jan, of Wiringen, sent to New Plymouth, 175.
Jacobsen, Rutger, signs letter to New England agents, 553; lays corner-stone of church at Beverwyck, 624; his descendants, 625, note.
Jacquet, John Paul, vice-director on South River, 609; ordered to prevent landing of Swedes, 620; delivers Fort Casimir to Alrichs, 632; succeeded by Hudde, 633.
Jamaica incorporated, 619; see Rustdorp.
James I., his accession, 7; grants Virginia patent, 11, 15; dislikes the Dutch, 38, 39; grants New England patent, 95, 96; his bigotry, 106, 109, 115; his claim to New Netherland, 140–144; his death, 156, 161.
Jamestown founded, 12; May at, 97; De Vries at, 226.
Jan de Witt's Island, 54.
Jansen, Andries, schoolmaster at Beverwyck, 522.
Jansen, Annetje, her farm on Manhattan Island, 266; marries Domine Bogardus, 266, 472; her daughter Sarah, 731.
Jansen, Anthony, obtains land near Coney Island, 291.
Jansen, Hendrick, one of the Twelve Men, 317.
Jansen, Jan, of Ilpendam, commissary on the South River, 279; protests against Minuit, 283;

breaks up New Haven settlements, 338; complaints of English against, 383, note; forbids Boston adventurers to trade with the Indians, 384; superseded by Hudde's appointment and sent to Holland, 424.
Jansen, Michael, one of the Nine Men, 476; informs Stuyvesant of Van der Donck's journal, 592; signs memorial to States General, 505; a magistrate of Bergen, 691.
Jansen, Roelof, 244; his farm at Manhattan, 266; his widow marries Domine Bogardus, 266, 472.
Jesuits in Acadia, 52, 53, 67; in Canada, 344–346; in New Netherland, 373, 374, 402, 422, 423; at Onondaga, 564, 591, 592, 612, 644, 704.
Jews in Holland, 102, 459; in N. Netherland, 604.
Joachimi, Albert, Dutch ambassador at London, 214; action of, in the case of the "William," 245, 246; Lord Say's letter to, 340; dispatches to the States General, 341; ordered to leave London, 499.
Jochemsen, David, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Jogues, Father Isaac, captured by the Mohawks, 345; visited by the Dutch, 346; escapes and visits Manhattan, 373; embarks for Europe, 374; discovers Lake Saint Sacrement, 422; at Fort Orange, 422; at Caughnawaga, 423; his death, 423; his missal, &c., recovered, 645.
Joosten, Rutger, magistrate of New Utrecht, 693.
Joris, Adriaen, accompanies May, 150; at Fort Orange, 151, 152; returns, 155, 169, 182.
Jurisdiction of patroons, 194–199, 287, 304–306, 311, 312; see Beverwyck, Patroons.

Kabbeljaus and Hoeks in Holland, 461.
Kaghnuwagé, Mohawk castle at, 659; see Caughnawaga.
Kallebacker, Indian, with a gun, 306.
Katskill, or Catskill, derivation of name of, 76; De Vries at, 302; Van der Donck's views respecting, 377; Van Rensselaer's, 378; granted to Van Slyck, 421; purchased for Van Rensselaer, 510; his claim to, denied by the company, 522; farmers at, 531; purchases at, declared void, 536; savages at, suspected, 713.
Katskill Mountains, why so named, 76; proposed exploration of, 531.
Kattenberg, 631; see New Gottenburg.
Kekesick, purchase of, 290; see Yonkers.
Kermis, or Fair, at Manhattan, 314, 489, 748.
Keyser, Adriaen, commissary, 432; one of Stuyvesant's council, 466; a fire-warden, 487.
Kieft, William, appointed director general, 274; arrives at Manhattan and organizes his council, 275, 276; his new proclamations and regulations, 277, 278; protests against Minuit on the South River, 283; prohibits contraband trade, 293; resolves to demand tribute from the savages, 293; protests against English at Hartford, 295; purchases lands in West Chester, and requires Greenwich to submit, 296; secures Indian title to lands on Long Island, 297; arrests Farrett, 298; dislodges intruders at Schout's Bay, and writes to Boston, 299; exacts tribute from the Indians, 309; attacks the Raritans, 310; establishes a distillery and buckskin manufactory on Staten Island, 313; reforms the currency and establishes fairs, 314; outlaws the Raritans, 315; demands the Weckquaesgeek assassin, 316; summons a meeting of the commonalty, 317; stops New Haven expedition to South River, 321; orders force to Fort Good Hope, 322; convokes the Twelve Men, 325; makes concessions, 328; dissolves the Twelve Men, 329; sends expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks, 329; builds a stone hotel and a new church at Manhattan, 335–337; breaks up New Haven settlements on the South River, 337, 338; forbids intercourse with Hartford, 338; offers to lease the land at Hartford, 339; receives present from Van Rensselaer, 343; demands the murderer of Van Voorst, 348; resolves to attack the savages, 350; sends expeditions against them, 351, 352; congratulates the troops, 353; public clamor against, 356; his deposition proposed, 356; proclaims fast-day, 356; attacked by Adriaensen, 357; makes peace with Long Island and River savages, 359; attempts to bribe a chief, 360; opens correspondence with New England commissioners, 362, 363; draws bill on West India Company, 385; sends expeditions to Staten Island and Greenwich, 386; to West Chester, 387; grants patent for Heemstede, 388; witnesses atrocities against Indian prisoners at Manhattan, 389; seizes Van Rensselaer's ship, 390; proclaims day of thanksgiving, 391; makes peace with Eastern and Long Island savages, 392; his bill of exchange dishonored, 393; proposes an excise on liquors and beaver, 393; imposes excise on beer, 394; enforces it, and punishes the refractory brewers, 395, 396; his conduct reviewed by the Eight Men, 398, 399; his recall demanded, 400; relieves Father Bressani and sends him to Europe, 402; the West India Company resolve to recall him, 404; makes treaty with Long Island tribes, 407; with Iroquois and Mahicans at Fort Orange, 408; general treaty at Fort Amsterdam, 409; buys lands on Long Island, 410; grants patent to Flushing, 410; fines Doughty, 411; grants patent for Gravesend, 411; threatened by the people, 416; denounced for his tyranny, 417; quarrels with Domine Bogardus, 417, 418, 760; restores Anne Hutchinson's grand-daughter, 419; grants patents for Colendonck, 421; for Katskill, 421; incorporates Breuckelen, 421, 422; grants lands on South River, 425; directs purchase of the site of Philadelphia, 426; protests against the New Haven trading-house at Paugussett, 428; against the Hartford people and the commission-

ers at New Haven, 429, 430; instructed by the West India Company, 431; is succeeded by Stuyvesant, 433, 465; the people refuse to thank him, 466; his controversy with Kuyter and Melyn, 469–471; embarks for Holland in the Princess and is drowned, 472.
Kierstede, Surgeon Hans, 408, 731, 748.
Kierstede, Sarah, acts as Indian interpreter, 731.
Kievit's Hook purchased by the Dutch, 234; arms at, torn down, 260; see Saybrook.
Kills, the, 27, 28; origin of name of, 313, note.
Kinte-Kaeye, Indian dance, 389.
Kip, Hendrick, wishes to depose Kieft, 356, 409; opposes treaty at Fort Amsterdam, 409; one of the Nine Men, 475; signs memorial to States General, 505; one of the schepens of New Amsterdam, 613; Kip's Bay, 166.
Kip, Jacob, secretary of burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, 548; his salary, 578.
Kit Davit's Kill, savages attacked at, 676.
Klein, Elmerhuysen, counselor, on the South River, 609.
Kling, Mounce, damages Dutch post on the Schuylkill, 484.
Kolck, or Fresh Water, the, 166, 167, 315.
Koorn, Nicholas, at Rensselaerswyck, 378; wachtmeester at Beeren Island, 400; attempts to stop Loockermans, 401; protests against provincial government, 401, 402; succeeds Van der Donck as schout, 419.
Koninck, Frederick de, captain of flag-ship, 603; sent to West Chester, 618; surveys New Amsterdam, 623.
Konoshioni, or Iroquois, 67, 82.
Korte Verhael, publication of the, 699.
Kregier, Martin, a fire-warden at New Amsterdam, 487; captain lieutenant of the city, 527; burgomaster, 548; signs letter to New England agents, 553; a delegate to the Convention, 569, 571; signs letter to Amsterdam, 576; visits New Haven, 579; seal of New Amsterdam delivered to, 596; appointed captain, 631; wrecked near Fire Island, 632; sent with re-enforcements to the South River, 665; blamed by Alrichs, 670; commands Esopus expedition, 712–714; sent to the Raritan, 724; his son insulted by Scott at Breuckelen, 726; meets Scott at Jamaica, 727.
Krieckebeeck, Daniel van, commandant at Fort Orange, 152; is slain by the Mohawks, 169.
Krol, Sebastian Jansen, Krank-besoecker at Manhattan, 165; commissary at Fort Orange, 169, 183; buys land for Van Rensselaer, 201; vice-director, 212; succeeded by Houten, 223.
Kuyter, Jochem Pietersen, comes to New Netherland, 289; chosen one of the Twelve Men, 317; appointed a church-master, 336; chosen one of the Eight Men, 365; captain, sent to Staten Island, 386; at Heemstede, 389; insulted by Kieft, 394; refuses to thank him, 466; complains of his administration, 468, 469; proceedings against, 470; is convicted and banished, 471; sails in the "Princess," 472; escapes from her shipwreck, 473 (see Melyn); appointed schepen of New Amsterdam, 578; appointed schout of New Amsterdam, 587; murder of, 588.

Labbatie, Jan, 244; visits the Mohawk country, 345, 346; succeeds Van Brugge as commissary at Fort Orange, 493, 523; succeeded by Dyckman, 530.
Laet, John de, 148; his history, 157; becomes interested in Rensselaerswyck, 204; and Swaanendael, 205; proposes new articles for the government of New Netherland, 286.
Lake Champlain, discovery of, 18, 72; called Lake of the Iroquois, 77; Caniaderi-Guaruntè, Indian name of, see Map.
Lake Genentaha, Jesuit chapel at, 612, 644; see Lake Onondaga.
Lake George, why so called, 77, note; Andiataroctè, Indian name of, 422; named Saint Sacrement by Father Jogues, 422.
Lake Lyconnia, Boston expedition sent to, 383.
Lake Oneida, Champlain at, 69.
Lake Onondaga, Champlain at, 69, 72; Le Moyne at, 592; Jesuit chapel at, 612, 644, 646.
Lake Ontario, Champlain on, 68, 71; Father Poncet on, 564; Father Le Moyne on, 591, 592.
Lake Saint Sacrement, named by Jogues, 422.
Lamberton, George, sends expedition from New Haven to South River, 321, 322; arrested at Manhattan, 338; his treatment by Printz, 382; complaints to the commissioners, 383; case of, 519, 551.
Lampo, Jan, schout, 164; superseded, 213.
Landtdag, or Convention, at New Amsterdam, 570–575; another, 722; a third, 728–731.
Latin School at New Amsterdam, 656, 694; children sent to it from Virginia, &c., 694; see Academy.
Laud, Archbishop, his intolerance, 257, 258; his fall, 323; joy because of it in Massachusetts, 331.
Laurensen, Sergeant Andries, sent to enlist soldiers on the South River, 675.
Lawrence, John, one of the Dutch commissioners at Hartford, 720, 721; at Heemstede, 728.
Lenapees, 73, 87, 88.
Leveridge, William, settles at Oyster Bay, 595.
Leverett, Captain John, sent as agent to New Amsterdam, 551–555.
Leyden, siege of, 443; university of, founded, 443
Libel against the Dutch, publication of, in London, 566.
Liberality of Dutch government toward strangers, 291, 332, 335, 374, 388, 489, 573, 640, 688, 696, 749.
Licenses, patroon's trading, at Rensselaerswyck, 376, 377; disregarded by free traders, 400; abolished, 523.

Light and fire, the keeping of, a condition of burghership, 489, 628, 694.
Lindstrom, Peter, Swedish engineer on South River, 577; rebuilds Fort Casimir, or Trinity, 593.
Litschoe, Sergeant, at Beverwyck, 535.
Lokenius, Lawrence Charles, Lutheran clergyman at South River, 577; retained there, 606; conducts divine service, 609; leads a godless life, 616; held in little esteem, 734.
London Company, 11; documents, 759.
Long Island, Metowacks, or Sewan-hacky, its insularity discovered by Block, 57, 94; first settlers on, 154; chief manufactory of wampum, 172; conveyed to Lord Stirling, 259; progress of settlements on, 264, 290, 291; extent of Dutch jurisdiction over, 297; English settlements on, 298–301; how affected by Hartford treaty, 519; first Dutch church on, 581; named "Yorkshire" by Nicolls, 745.
Loockermans, Govert, 223; refuses to strike his flag at Rensselaer's Stein, 401; one of the Nine Men, 475; ship consigned to, seized, 490; signs memorial to States General, 505; prosecuted by Stuyvesant, 526; proposed as a commissioner, 552; accompanies Stuyvesant to Esopus, 647; sent to the Raritan, 724.
Loockermans, Jacob, visits Narrington, 733.
Lord, John, a magistrate of Oost-dorp, 619.
Lords Majors, Amsterdam directors so called, 402, 492, 740.
Lots, vacant, in New Amsterdam to be improved, 488.
Lubbertsen, Frederick, one of the Twelve Men, 317; a delegate from Breuckelen to the Convention, 571.
Lupold, Ulrich, appointed schout-fiscal, 266; continued by Kieft, 276; succeeded by Van der Huygens, 292.
Lutherans at New Amsterdam, 581; illiberal treatment of, 582; proclamation against conventicles of, 617; still oppressed, 626; Goetwater sent as clergyman to, 634; chief reason of their discontent, 642; moderation toward, enjoined, 656; number of, at Fort Orange, 681.
Luyck, Ægidius, succeeds Curtius as rector of Latin School at New Amsterdam, 694.
Lynn, in Massachusetts, intruders from, at Schout's Bay, 298; liberal conditions offered to emigrants from, 332.

Mackarel, Yacht, at the North River, 149, 158.
Magdalen Island, in North River, 54, 428, 712.
Mahicans, 54; or Mohegans, 72; treaty with, 88; at Fort Orange, 152; overcome by the Mohawks, 183, 212; in the valley of the Connecticut, 232; sachem of, visits Boston, 210, 233; Uncas, chief of, 271, 363; treaty at Fort Orange with, 408; sachems of, at Fort Amsterdam, 676; attack the Mohawks, 733.
Mamaranack, chief of the Croton savages, 392.
Manchonack, or Gardiner's Island, 297.
Manhattan, origin of name, 34, 73, 74, note; second ship sent to, 44; Christiaensen and Block at, 45, 46; condition of the island, 47; first cabins at, 48; alleged visit of Argall to, 54, 754; first vessel built at, 55, 65; name of, 74, 752; Dermer at, 93; no fort there, 55, 94, note, 755; West India Company takes possession of, 151; purchase of, from savages, 164; condition of, 165–168; Fort Amsterdam, built at, 165, 183; prosperity of, 183; the emporium of New Netherland, 194; great ship New Netherland built at, 212, 219, 286; goats sent to, 228; Winthrop's bark at, 239; condition of, 243; invested with "Staple right," 243; condition of, on Kieft's arrival, 276; multifarious population, 278; cherry and peach trees at, 290; foreigners at, 291; municipal regulations at, 292; De Vries' plantation at, 301; masts for shipwrights at, whence procured, 302; residents ordered to be armed, 309; commercial regulations, 312; Manhattan's sewan, 314; fair established at, 314; murder at, 316; reforms demanded at, 327; strangers at, 335; church at, 337; savages attacked at, 349, 352; ravaged by the Indians, 369; described by Father Jogues, 373, 374; military forces at, 385, 386; atrocities against Indian prisoners at, 389; condition of, described by the Eight Men, 398; Father Bressani at, 402; measures proposed in Holland respecting, 403–406; general treaty with Indians at, 409; depopulation of, 410, 465; municipal regulations by Stuyvesant, 467; represented in the Nine Men, 474; municipal affairs at, 487, 488; burgher government demanded for, 505; proposed in Holland, 514; burgher guard at, 517; political troubles at, 521, 525, 532; school at, 537, 538; concession of burgher government to, 540, 541; its maritime superiority predicted, 547; its population in 1652, 548; organization of a municipal government in, 549; see New Amsterdam.
Manna-hata, Hudson at, 34.
Manning, Captain John, trades between New Haven and Manhattan, 579; accompanies Cartwright to Fort Orange, 743; at treaty with Iroquois, 744.
Manomet, Dutch traders at, 145; trading-house at, 176; traffic at, 179, 180.
Mantes, or Red Hook, on the South River, 225; lands purchased at, 511.
Manufactures in Holland, 147, 192, 459; forbidden in New Netherland, 196; prohibition of, abolished, 312; on Staten Island, 313; on Coney Island, 694.
Manuscripts, New York Colonial, 759.
Maps found in archives at the Hague, 755, 757.
Maquaas, 54, 77; see Mohawks.
Marechkawieck, 292; see Breuckelen.
Marechkawiecks, near Breuckelen, attacked, 353, 354.

Marest, David de, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Marriages, ordinance respecting, in New Netherland, 639.
Martin Gerritsen's Bay, or Martinnehouck, 290, 388; see Heemstede.
Martin, Henry, accompanies Mohawks to Canada and is lost, 650.
Maryland, royal charter for, 252; colonists sent to, by Lord Baltimore, 253; commerce with the Dutch encouraged by Culvert, 280; side of, on Delaware Bay, 384; Lord Baltimore's authority abrogated in, 559; designs of, against the Dutch on South River, 663; Dutch agents at, discuss title of Lord Baltimore to, 666–669; Stuyvesant ordered to oppose encroachments of, 682; trade of, with Dutch on South River, 697; new treaty with the savages, 717; navigation law evaded in, 724; threatening attitude of, 734; tobacco trade in, 735; Lord Baltimore's rights in, considered doubtful by Nicolls, 744.
Mason, Captain John, complains of Dutch in New Netherland, 140; his letter to Sir John Coke, 142, 143, 215, 755.
Mason, Captain John, commander-in-chief against the Pequods, 271, 272; his proposed removal to the South River opposed by Connecticut, 530.
Massachusetts Bay visited by Block, 58, 59, 756; by Smith, 91; English grant of land on, 188; royal charter for, 189; intolerance in, 190; its religious government, 208; emigrations from, to Connecticut, 238, 255–257; feeling of, toward Maryland colonists, 253, note; religious intolerance of, and emigrations from, 331–335; commissioners of, 361; sends exploring expedition to the South River, 383; bond slavery in, 429, note; correspondence of Stuyvesant with, 478; advises New Haven, 480; Mohawks a terror to savages in, 496; death of Winthrop of, 499; assents to Hartford treaty, 519; at variance with the commissioners, 557; prevents a war with New Netherland, 558, 559; maintains her position, 564, 565; lukewarmness of, against the Dutch, 585; persecution of Quakers in, 635; territorial claims of, 654; an exploring party from, at Fort Orange, 655; complains to commissioners, 671; claims of, 672; asks Stuyvesant to deliver up regicides, 695; reluctance of, to assist royal commissioners, 737; commissioners from, at New Amsterdam, 742.
Massasoit, sachem of the Narragansetts, 171.
Masts for ships, where procured, 302.
Matouwacks, or Metowacks, on Long Island, 57, 73, 87.
Matteawan, 29, 75.
Maurice, John, sheriff of Gravesend, 596.
Maurice, Prince, of Nassau, 39, 45, 107–111; becomes Prince of Orange, 109, 124–126, 133, 160, 434, 446; see Orange, Prince of.
Mauritius River, 45, 214, 229, 756; see North River.
Maverick, Samuel, of Boston, in London, 725; a royal commissioner, 736.
May, Cornelis Jacobsen, 47; at Martha's Vineyard, 54; at the South River and Virginia, 97; returns to Holland, 97; returns to New Netherland, 150; first director of the province, 154; succeeded by William Verhulst, 159.
May-day sports in New Netherland prohibited, 611.
Mayano, chief of the Stamford Indians, 386.
Mayflower, 128; at Cape Cod, 129–133.
Mayo, Samuel, settles at Oyster Bay, 595.
Measures and weights of Amsterdam required to be used in New Netherland, 406, 412, 489.
Meautinay wins the Fresh River, 233.
Megapolensis, Domine Johannes, his agreement with Van Rensselaer, 342; arrives at Rensselaerswyck, 343; his influence there, 344; shows kindness to Father Jogues, 373; his zeal as a missionary, 375, 376; writes tract on Mohawk Indians, 306, 376; asks permission to return to Holland, 494; succeeds Backerus at New Amsterdam, 508; a patentee of Flatbush, 536; assists to organize a church at Midwout, 580, 581; illiberality toward the Lutherans, 582; accompanies Stuyvesant to the South River, 604; preaches to the troops, 605; thinks terms allowed the Swedes "too easy," 606; missionary spirit of, 615; jealous of the Lutherans, 616; complains of conventicles, 617; complains of Goetwater and the Lutherans, 635; explanations respecting religious affairs, 643; his intimacy with Father Le Moyne, 645; enjoined by the company to be more moderate, 656; success of his ministry, 681; sent to meet Nicolls, 738; leads Stuyvesant from rampart of Fort Amsterdam, 740; advises surrender, 741.
Megapolensis, Samuel, goes to Holland, 643; returns to New Netherland, 730; takes Selyns' place, 734; sent to meet Nicolls, 738; leads Stuyvesant from rampart of Fort Amsterdam, 740; a commissioner on the Dutch side, 741, 763.
Melyn, Cornelis, comes to New Netherland, 289, a patroon on Staten Island, 313, 314; chosen one of the Eight Men, 365; president of the Eight Men, 371; insulted by Kieft, 394; writes to the States General, 397; refuses to thank Kieft, 466; complains of Kieft's administration, 468, 469; proceedings against, 470; is convicted and sentenced to banishment, 471; sails in the "Princess," 472; escapes from the shipwreck, 473; obtains letters in Holland, 503; returns to Manhattan and is refused redress, 503; goes back to Holland, 508; his efforts there, 512, returns to Staten Island, 525; accused of inciting the savages, 525; goes to New Haven, 641; surrenders Staten Island and returns to New Amsterdam, 692.
Mennonists, Anabaptists so called, 374, 616, 749.

Mennonist colony at the Horekill, singular articles of association for, 698, 699; plundered by the English, 745.
Mercier, Father Le, at Onondaga, 644.
Merry Mount, or Mount Wollaston, 188.
Mespath purchased by Kieft, 297; patent for, 333; destroyed by the savages, 367; savages surprised at, 389; Doughty's troubles at, 411; new settlement near, 536; see Middelburgh or Newtown.
Mespath Kill, family murdered at, 657.
Messenger, Andrew, magistrate of Rustdorp, 689.
Mey, Peter, assistant commissary on South River, 279, 282.
Miantonomoh assists the English against the Pequods, 271; accused by Uncas, 330; visits the neighborhood of Greenwich, 347; invades the Mahicans, 363; is put to death, 364.
Middelburgh, or Newtown, settlement at, 536; depositions against the Dutch taken at, 555; delegates from, at Flushing, 568; sends delegates to New Amsterdam, 569; represented in Convention, 571; sedition at, 585; John Moore the preacher at, 615; asks for minister in place of, 690; orders of Connecticut to, 703; petition from, to Connecticut, 719; name of, changed, 723; forms combination, 726; letter of States General to, 730, 733.
Midwout, or Flatbush, settlement at, 536; represented in Convention at New Amsterdam, 571; delegates from, forbidden to appear again, 575; loyalty of, 579; municipal government of, 580; church at, 581, 615; Hegeman schout of, 693; represented in Convention, 722; Scott at, 726; remonstrance of Five Dutch towns at, 727; represented in General Assembly, 729; letter of States General to, 730.
Militia, 312, 327, 328, 351, 365, 453; to be armed, 406, 415; enrollment of, in Dutch villages, 579.
Military force asked for from Holland, 181; sent, 223.
Mills, Richard, of West Chester, imprisoned, 709.
Minerals, 33, 34; near Fort Orange, 408; near Nevesinck, 412; explorations for, encouraged, 431; found at Minnisinck, 662.
Minnahonnonck Island, in Hell-gate River, 267.
Minnewit's Island, vessel to be stationed at, 579.
Minnisinck, minerals found at, 662.
Minnisincks, 76; Esopus savages among the, 714, 717; trail of the, 757.
Minquas, 73, 78, 226, 232, 424, 482, 680, 716, 757.
Minquas' Kill, Minuit at, 282; named Christina Creek, 284; within New Sweden, 378; called Settoensoene, 529; and Suspencough, 632.
Mint, contemplated, at New Amsterdam, 694.
Minuit, Peter, appointed director general of New Netherland, 162; arrives at Manhattan, 163; purchases the island from the Indians, 164; his correspondence with Bradford, 173–181; asks soldiers from Holland, 181; is recalled, 213; at Plymouth, 213; goes to Sweden and conducts expedition to South River, 281; at Jamestown, 282; arrives with Swedes at South River, and purchases land, 282, 699; Kieft's protest against, 283; builds Fort Christina, 284; death of, 321
Minute-men enrolled in Dutch villages, 579.
Mission of the Martyrs, 423.
Missionary zeal of Megapolensis, 375.
Moderation, religious, enjoined, 642, 643.
Mohawk River, 83; beautiful land on, 346.
Mohawks, 54, 77; called Kayingehaga, 82; their pre-eminence, 86; treaty with, 88; at Fort Orange, 152; subdue the Mahicans, 183, 212, 232; De Vries among the, 306; supplied with fire-arms, 308; capture Father Jogues, 345; visited by Dutch from Beverwyck, 346; attack the River Indians, 349; preached to by Megapolensis, 375; capture Father Bressani, 402; treaty with, at Fort Orange, 408; at Fort Amsterdam, 409; murder Jogues, 423; "Wooden Leg," 493; a "terror" to the New England Indians, 496; alliance with, renewed, 522, 523; trading-house among, proposed by the Dutch, 563; again at war with the French, 564; capture Father Poncet, 564; jealous of the Onondagas, 592; Father Le Moyne among, 611; new alliance with the Dutch, 611, 612; unfriendly to the French, 644; visit Fort Orange, 650; desire a Dutch interpreter to go with them to Canada, 650; again at Fort Orange, 658; visited by delegates from Beverwyck, 659; promise assistance against Esopus savages, 660; mediation of, 661; employment of, opposed by Stuyvesant, 677; at Esopus treaty, 678; complain of bosch-loopers, 679; hostile to the Kennebeck savages, 682; sell Schenectady flats, 691; attack English on the Kennebeck, 704; threaten Montreal, 705; obtain release of Dutch captives at Esopus, 712; complained of by Temple, 732; attacked by the Mahicans, 733; first treaty of English with, 744.
Mohegans, 72; see Mahicans.
Molemaecker, François, at Manhattan, 165.
Molenaar, Abram, one of the Twelve Men, 317.
Monemins Castle, at mouth of the Mohawk, 201.
Montagne, Johannes la, physician and counselor, 275; his farm on Manhattan 279; ordered to Fort Good Hope, 322; warns Kieft against his rashness, 350, 351; commands expedition to Staten Island, 386; sent to Heemstede, 389; argues in favor of Kieft, 399; goes with Kieft to Fort Orange, 408; analyzes minerals there, 408, note; retained as counselor by Stuyvesant, 466; visits the South River, 485; appointed schoolmaster, 538; a delegate at New Amsterdam, 569; appointed vice-director at Fort Orange, 625; writes to La Potherie, 650; entertains exploring party from Massachusetts, 655; arrests bosch-loopers, 679; attests purchase of Schenectady flats, 691; his daughter Rachel, wife of

Surgeon Gysbert van Imbroeck, 712; required by Nicolls to surrender to Cartwright, 743.
Montagne, Rachel la, guides expedition, 712.
Montauk Point, or Visscher's Hoeck, Block at, 57.
Monts, the Sieur de, his patent, 16; at Saint Croix, 17; at Port Royal, 17.
Moody, Lady Deborah, settles at Gravesend and is attacked by the savages, 367; obtains a patent, 411; Stuyvesant a guest of, 596; allowed to nominate magistrates, 599; her house again attacked, 607.
Moody, Sir Henry, a patentee of Gravesend, 411; favors disaffection there, 579; procures release of Hubbard, 619; visits New Amsterdam as ambassador from Virginia, 683, 684.
Moore, John, English preacher at Heemstede, 527; at Middelburgh, 615; death of, 690.
Morley, Captain, obtains a farm on the South River, 744.
Morton, Nathaniel, his calumny respecting the Dutch, 129, 130.
Mott, Adam, a commissioner at Heemstede, 728.
Moucheron, Balthazar, favors voyages to North, 22; opposes Hudson, 24.
Mountains, River of the, 35, 44.
Moyne, Father Simon le, visits the Onondaga country, 591; discovers salt springs at, 592; visits Beverwyck, 611; among the Mohawks, 611, 645; visits New Amsterdam, 645; his intimacy with Megapolensis, 645; obtains commercial favors for the Dutch from the Governor of Canada, 646; revisits the Iroquois, 704.
Municipal governments promised, 312.
Municipal system of Holland desired for New Netherland, 326–328; demanded by the colonists, 400; effects of, in Holland, 453–456; again demanded, 505; conceded, 540, 548.
Munster, treaty of, 435.
Murderer's Island, 152, 758.

Nainde Nummerus, chief of the Rockaways, 349.
Narragansett Bay, Block in, 57, 58; Dutch traders in, 145, 171, 174; island of Quotenis, in, bought by the Dutch, 268; boundary of New Netherland, 209, 479, 497.
Narratikon, or Raccoon Creek, lands bought at, 511; lands near, purchased, 529
Narrington, treaty at, 733.
Narrows, the, in N. York harbor, 2, 16, 28, 35, 202.
Nassau Bay, Narragansett Bay so called, 57.
Nassau, Fort, 55, 81, 153; see Fort Nassau.
Nations, law of, respecting title to unowned territory, 143.
Naval war between Dutch and English, 545, 586.
Navigation, English Act of, 543; revised and extended, 685; its effects, 687, 701; unpopular in Virginia, 701, 702; observed in New England, 719; enforcement of, enjoined, 724, 725, 735.
Neale, Captain James, Lord Baltimore's agent, demands surrender of the South River, 685.
Needham, Captain, sent by Nicolls to Fort Amsterdam, 738.
Negroes, colonists promised to be supplied with, 196, 197, 312; on Staten Island, 309; further arrangements respecting, 406, 415; more, asked for by Gravesend, 526; colonists allowed to procure, from Africa, 540, 656; trade in, 697; condition of, in New Netherland, 746, 748.
Netherlands, United Provinces of the, 19, 42, 445.
Nevesincks, or Navisincks, 73; attack the Dutch, 368; minerals found in country of the, 412; lands purchased by the Dutch, 724.
Nevius, Johannes, schepen of New Amsterdam, 597.
New Albion, patent for, 381; see Plowden.
New Amersfoort founded, 265; see Amersfoort.
New Amstel, colony of the city of Amsterdam, on the South River, 630; Fort Casimir so named, 632; church at, 633; prosperity of, 651; smuggling at, 651; sickness and scarcity at, 652; population of, 653; distress at, 661; desertions from, 662; alarm at, about designs of Maryland, 663; Utie at, 664, 665; disastrous condition of, 670; troubles at, 682; Charles Calvert at, 717; powder demanded from, for New Amsterdam, 736; surrendered to the English, 744.
New Amsterdam, Manhattan so called, 467, 488; municipal regulations of, 467, 487, 488; popular discontent at, 495; burgher government demanded, 505; public school, 506; burgher government proposed for, in Holland, 514, 515; burgher guard, 517; concessions of Amsterdam Chamber to, 540, 541; population of, 548; organization of municipal government of, 548, 549; preparations for defense of, 549; first public debt of, 550; New England agents at, 552; municipal affairs of, 559, 560, 567, 568; represented in Convention, 569, 571; agrees to a remonstrance, 571–573; more power asked for, 575, 576; affairs of, 578; military preparations in, 579; Lutherans at, 581, 582; Cromwell's designs against, 583; put in a state of defense, 584; Kuyter appointed schout of, 587; City Hall and seal of, 588; ferry regulated, 589; excise resumed by Stuyvesant, 590; city seal and coat of arms, 596, 597; new burgomaster and schepen, 597; City Hall ordered to be repaired, 597; invaded by savages, 607; measures for its defense, 608; contribution assessed, 608; excise of, farmed, 610; affairs of, 613; survey and population of, 623; great and small burgher right in, 628, 629; its privileges enlarged, 640; municipal affairs at, 640, 641; Father Le Moyne at, 645; commerce opened with Canada, 646; foreign trade of, 656; Latin schoolmaster at, 656; volunteers at, for Esopus expedition, 660; Tonneman schout of, 674; burgher right extended, 674; second survey and map of, 674; treaty with savages at, 675; prosperity of church at, 681; ambassador from Virginia at, 683; burgher

right, stone wall, mint, and Latin school, in, 694; Winthrop at, 695; New Haven agents at, 696; Canadian refugees at, 705; Bowne imprisoned at, 706; expedition from, to Esopus, 712; Convention at, 722; loan raised at, for defenses, 727; excise at, surrendered by Stuyvesant, 727; General Provincial Assembly at, 728–731; population of, 734; preparations for defense of, 736; further preparations, 738; summoned to surrender, 738; discontent of citizens, 739, 740; condition of, 741; surrender of, 742; named New York, 743; Nicolls' opinion of, 743; see Burgomasters and schepens.

New Amsterdam records, 467, 488, 549, 761.

New England, Block in, 58, 59, 756; Smith in, 64, 91; named, 91; patent for, 95, 96, 138; complained of in Parliament, 139; progress of colonization of, 188; arrival of Winthrop, 207; encroachments of, on New Netherland, 255–262; patent surrendered, 259; scarcity in, 269; the Pequods in, 270–273; emigrations from, to New Netherland, 291; encroachments of, 293–300; designs of, on South River, 321; agents sent to England, 323; advice of Boswell to, 324; religious intolerance in, 331–334; emigrations from, to New Netherland, 334, 335; temper of friends of, in England, 340; colonies in, form a union, 361, 362; see United Colonies.

New Gottenburg, fort built by Printz at Tinicum, 379; De Vries at, 380; destroyed by fire, 423, 424; Printz's conduct at, 427; called Kattenberg by the Dutch, 631.

New Haerlem, village formed at, 641; incorporated, 674; represented in Convention, 722; represented in General Assembly, 729.

New Haven founded, 294; obtains Yennecock, on Long Island, 300; attempts a plantation on the Delaware, 321; protests against Kieft's proceedings, 338; commissioners of, 361; complains of the Dutch and Swedes on South River, 363; refuses to assist New Netherland, 370; builds trading-house at Paugussett, 428; first meeting of commissioners at, 430; ship seized at, by Stuyvesant, 479; correspondence of Stuyvesant with, 480, 481, 496, 500, 519; another expedition of, to South River defeated by Stuyvesant, 527; complains to the commissioners, 530; agent of, sent to New Amsterdam, 551; urges a war, 559; feeling at, against the Dutch, 565, 566; zeal of, against the Dutch, 585; colonists from, at West Chester, 595; persecution of Quakers in, 636; Melyn in, 641; regicides sheltered at, 695; magistrates of, visit New Amsterdam, 696; conditions required by, and offered to, as colonists, 696; protests against Connecticut, 709; endeavors to engage Scott, 725.

New Holland, Cape Cod so named by Hudson, 26; Block at, 58.

New Jersey, grant of, to Berkeley and Carteret, 736; named Albania by Nicolls, 745.

New Netherland named by the States General, 62, 63, 91; included within charter of West India Company, 136; English complain of Dutch possession of, 140; Dutch title to, 144; made a Dutch province, 148; taken possession of by the West India Company, 149; cost of, 186; commissaries of, 187; charter for patroons in, 187; provisions of its charter, 194–198; encroachments of English, 255–262; of Swedes, 282–284; the West India Company declines to surrender it to the States General, 285; trade in, made more free, 288; prosperity of, 290; further encroachments of the English, 293–301; new charter for patroons in, 311; Reformed Dutch Church established in, 312; Swedes in, 319, 320; English views respecting, 323, 324; political affairs of, 327; emigrations from New England to, 331–335; Jesuits in, 346, 374, 402; ravaged by the Indians, 354, 364–372, 397–400; its affairs considered in Holland, 403; cost of, 405; condition of, at end of Kieft's war, 410; new arrangements for, agreed upon, 413–416; "Mission of the Martyrs" in, 423; condition of, on Stuyvesant's arrival, 465; its claims defended by Stuyvesant, 479, 497; memorial and remonstrance of commonalty of, 504–507; provisional order for government of, 513–516; treaty of, with New England, 519; maritime superiority of, predicted, 547; critical condition of, 557, 578, 582–585; hostilities against, relinquished, 586; religious affairs in, 614–618; English claim of title to, 633, 634; foreign trade of, 656; negotiations of, with Maryland, 666–669; with Massachusetts, 673; treaty of, with Virginia, 683; new conditions offered to emigrants to, 688, 696; part of its territory included in Connecticut charter, 702; action of Connecticut respecting, 703; persecution ceases in, 707; trade and commerce of, 715; Dutch title to, denied by Connecticut, 720; confirmed and asserted by the States General, 730; letter of States General to towns in, 730; population of, 734; granted by Charles II. to the Duke of York, 735; capitulation of, 742; re-named by Nicolls, 745; articles of capitulation, 762.

New Netherland, ship, 150, 153; great ship, built at Manhattan, 212, 215, 219; its cost complained of, 286.

New Plymouth, or Crane Bay, Block at, 58, 59, 756; Smith and Dermer at, 133; landing of Pilgrims at, 133; progress of, 145, 171; correspondence of, with New Netherland, 173–181; De Rasieres at, 177; description of, 178; patent for, 208, 209; commences a settlement on the Connecticut, 238, 240, 241; troubled by Massachusetts emigrants, 260; assists Connecticut, 271; called the "Old Colony," 130, 361, 530; commissioners of, 361; assents to the Hartford treaty, 519; declines to assist New Haven against the Dutch, 530; commissions Standish

and Willett to act against them, 585; persecution of Quakers in, 635.
New Port May, 97.
New style introduced into Holland, 443, note; use of, enjoined in New Netherland, 412.
New Sweden, colony of, established on South River, 281–284; progress of, 319–321; new arrangements for government of, 378–380; ships from, arrested in Holland, 385; progress of, 424–428; officers of, oppose the Dutch, 482–487, 510, 511; visited by Stuyvesant, 528–530; new arrangements for government of, 577; hostile proceedings of officers of, 593, 594; ordered to be reduced under the Dutch, 601; expedition from New Amsterdam against, 603, 604; reduction of, 605, 606; Dutch title to, maintained, 621, 622.
New Utrecht, lands purchased at, 537; one of the Five Dutch Towns, 580, note; settlement of, 693; charter for, 693; represented in Convention, 722; Scott at, 727; represented in General Assembly, 729; letter of States General to, 730; English squadron at, 738.
New Year, sports at, prohibited, 611.
New York harbor visited by Verazzano, 2; city of, named, 743; Nicolls' opinion of, 743.
New York colonial manuscripts, 759.
New York, Province of, named, 745.
New World, papal donation of the, to Spain, 1.
Newark Bay visited by Colman, 28; called Achter Cul, 313; see Hackinsack.
Newfoundland discovered by Cabot, 2; visited by Gilbert, 5.
Newman, Francis, sent as agent to New Amsterdam, 551–555.
Newman, Thomas, a magistrate of Oost-dorp, 619.
Newton, Captain Bryan, one of Stuyvesant's counselors, 466; arrests Van Dincklagen, 526; signs letter to New England agents, 553; sent to West Chester, 618; sent to Oost-dorp, 625, 626; goes to Virginia and negotiates a treaty of trade, 683.
Newtown, 297, 333, 367, 389, 411, 536; see Mespath and Middelburgh.
Nicolls, Colonel Richard, appointed deputy governor for the Duke of York, 736; a royal commissioner, 736; at Boston, 737; at Nyack Bay, 738; summons Manhattan to surrender, 738; terms offered by, 739; reply of, to Dutch messengers, 740; appoints commissioners and agrees to articles, 742; enters New Amsterdam, and is proclaimed governor, 743; his opinion of the city, 743; re-names New Netherland, 745.
Niessen, Ensign Christiaen, sent to Wiltwyck, 712; left in charge of garrison at, 714.
Nine Men in Holland, 453; chosen in New Netherland, 474; their duties and term of office, 474, 475; first meeting and action of, 476; propose measures of reform, 488, 489; suggest a delegation to Holland, 495; new election of, 495; consult the commonalty, 501; their memorial to the States General, 504; reforms demanded by, 505; "Vertoogh" or remonstrance of, 506, 507; proceedings in Holland respecting, 514, 515; write again to Holland, 518; complain again, 521; not consulted on Van Dyck's supersedure, 532.
Nineteen, College of the, in the West India Company, 135, 414.
Ninigret, his account of Stuyvesant's treatment of him, 551; Stuyvesant's statement about, 554.
Noble, William, of Flushing, case of, 637.
Noblemen, the Dutch, 192, 193, 439, 440, 451, 454, 455, 461.
Norman's Kill, near Albany, origin of name of the, 81; on Long Island, 693.
North River, Verazzano at the mouth of, 2; exploration of, by Hudson, 27–34; called River of the Mountains, 35; Mauritius River, 45, 229; Cahohatatea and Shatemuc, 72; called North River, 79; De Vries' opinion of, 307; declared to be free, 521; English refused the right of free navigation of, 655, 673; reaches or racks in, 757.
Northern Company, the Dutch, 59, 65.
Northern passage, attempts of the Dutch to explore, 22, 24, 45.
Norwalk, settlement at, 294, 296.
Notelman, Conrad, appointed schout, 213; his conduct, 236; succeeded by Van Dincklagen, 247.
Nutten, or Governor's Island, cattle landed at, 159; purchased by Van Twiller, 267; savages at, 607; English squadron at, 740.
Nyack, near Gravesend, lands purchased at, 537; English squadron anchors at bay of, 738.

Ogden, John, builds church at Manhattan, 336; a patentee of Heemstede, 387, 388.
Ogden, Richard, builds church at Manhattan, 336.
Ogehage, or Minquas, 73, 78, 757.
Oiogué, Indian name for the Mauritius River, 422.
Old Colony of New England, New Plymouth called the, 130, 189, 361, 530.
Old Dominion, Virginia the, of United States, 12.
Oldham, John, goes from Boston overland to the Connecticut, 239; is murdered by the Pequods, 269.
Olfertsen, Jacob, accompanies De Vries to Rockaway, 358.
Ompoge, or Amboy, purchase of, 537.
Oneidas, 69, 83; desire religious instruction, 644; see Iroquois.
Oneugiouré, or Caughnawaga, Father Jogues at, 423; see Caughnawaga.
Onondagas, Champlain among, 69–71; Atotarho, chief of, 83, 84; friendly toward the French, 591; visited by Father Le Moyne, 592; salt springs discovered, 592; Chaumonot and Dablon among, 612; mission at, 643–645; abandoned, 646; revisited by Father Le Moyne, 704.

Ontario, Lake, Champlain on, 68, 71; Father Poncet on, 564; Father Le Moyne on, 591; Chaumonot and Dablon on, 612, 644, 646.
Oost-dorp incorporated, 619; affairs at, 626, 627; declared to be annexed to Connecticut, 703; authority of Connecticut enforced, 709; surrendered by Stuyvesant, 723, 724; letter of States General to, 730, 733; see West Chester.
Oothout, Ffob, signs capitulation of New Amstel to the English, 744.
Orange, William I., Prince of Nassau and, 19, 101, 440, 442, 444, 445; assassination of, 446; monument to, 185; Philip, Prince of, 109; Maurice, Prince of, 39, 107–111, 446; memorial of Puritans to, 124–126, 133; death of, 160, 434; Frederick Henry, Prince of, stadtholder, 160; death of, 434; William II., Prince of, 434; brother-in-law of Charles II., 498; death of, 542; William III., Prince of, 543; King of England, 446.
Orange, Fort, built, 149, 151; see Fort Orange.
Orange Tree, ship, 148; arrested at Plymouth, 156.
Ordinance, general, for the encouragement of Dutch discovery, 60.
Oritany, chief of the Hackinsacks, 359, 608; mediates with the Esopus Indians, 677; gives land to Mevrouw Kierstede, 731, note.
Orson and Valentine, 46, 66.
Oswego River, or Osh-wah-kee, 83, 564.
Oxenstierna, Axel, Count of, publishes charter of Swedish West India Company, 284; signs commissions for New Sweden, 319; death of, 622.
Oyster Bay, on Long Island, limit of Dutch settlements, 297; declared to be the boundary, 519; English settlement at, 595; protest of the Dutch against, 598; fort ordered to be built at, 622; annexed to Connecticut, 703; name of, changed, 723; in combination with English villages, 726.

Paanpaack, or Troy, purchase of, 534.
Pacham, chief of the Haverstraws, at Manhattan, 315; required to surrender the murderer of Van Voorst, 348; incites the River Indians against the Dutch, 364; his surrender demanded, 392.
Pachami, tribe of, 74, 757.
Paconthetuck, Fort, Mohawks murdered at, 733.
Painters, eminent, in Holland, 460.
Panhoosic, purchase of, 534.
Panton, Richard, threatens Midwout, 719, 720.
Papal donation of New World to Spain, 1, 4, 240.
Papequanaehen, Esopus chief, killed, 713.
Paper, manufacture of, in Holland, 459.
Papirinemin, or Spyt den Duyvel, 421.
Pappegoya, John, temporary commander of New Sweden, 577; relieved by Rising, 593; his conduct on the South River, 620.
Parchment figurative map, 755, 756.
Paris documents, 759.
Passachynon, great chief of the Nevesincks, 724.
Passayunk sachems invite the Dutch, 482.
Patrick, Captain Daniel, assists in the Pequod war, 272; settles at Greenwich, 294; required to submit to the Dutch, 296; submits, 331; demands protection against the savages, 386; is murdered by a Dutch soldier, 387.
Patriotism of the Dutch, 464.
Patroons, charter of privileges for, 187, 194–199; buy lands in New Netherland, 200–205; at variance with the directors, 213; their "claim and demand," 247; South River, surrender Swaanendael, 249; Pauw surrenders Pavonia and Staten Island, 268; consequences of patroons' charter, 286; demand new privileges, 287; jurisdiction of, 304, 305; new charter for, 311, 312; consequences of, 313; orders of, for Rensselaerswyck, 341; mercantile policy of, 376, 377, 390; claim staple right, 400–402, 419; quarrels between officers of, and provincial government, 491–494, 510, 522, 528, 531; further disagreements, 533–536; complaints of, to the States General, 562; grant licenses to sail to Florida, &c., 563; further disagreements, 623, 624; arrangement of difficulty, 649; the company tired of, 692; see Beverwyck, Fort Orange, Rensselaerswyck.
Paugussett, New Haven trading-house at, 428, 480.
Paulusen, Michael, commissary at Pavonia, 223, 236.
Paulus' Hook, 203, 223; conveyed to the company, 268; Planck buys land at, 279; Van der Bilt killed at, 509; see Pavonia.
Pauw, Michael, 148; buys Pavonia and Staten Island, 202, 203; Paulusen his commissary at Pavonia, 223, 236; sends out Van Voorst, 263; conveys his rights to Staten Island and Pavonia to the company, 268.
Pavonia purchased by Pauw, 203; officers at, 223, 236, 263; conveyed to the company, 268; Planck at, 279; Bout at, 351; massacre of savages at, 352, 353; surprised by the savages, 368; represented in the Nine Men, 474; laid waste by the savages, 607.
Peddlers, or Scotch merchants, 489, 628.
Peelen, Brandt, 244; large crops raised on his island, 302, 341.
Pelagius, opposes Saint Augustine, 99.
Pell, Thomas, at West Chester, 595, 618; his disagreement with the savages, 627; authorized by Connecticut to buy land, 733.
Pels, Evert, magistrate of Wiltwyck, 690.
Pemmenatta, chief on the South River, 529.
Penobscot, 8, 13; Hudson at, 26; Mohawks at, and on the Kennebeck, 87, 704, 733.
Pensionary, Grand, of Holland, 449, 451, 452.
Pequods convey land to the Dutch, 235; treaty with Massachusetts, 242, 256; exasperated, attack Saybrook and Wethersfield, 270; attacked and exterminated by the English, 271, 272.
Persecution, religious, 614, 617, 626, 635–639, 689, 705; ceases, 707.

Peters, Hugh, of Rotterdam, at Boston, 260, 261; goes to England, 323; commissioned to negotiate with Dutch West India Company, 324, 340; executed, 702.
Petuquapaen, 296; see Greenwich.
Philadelphia, site of, occupied by the Dutch, 426; difficulties with the Swedes in consequence, 427, 428.
Philip, Prince of Orange, 109; see Spain.
Pietersen, Abraham, one of the Eight Men, 365.
Pietersen, Evert, Ziecken-trooster at New Amstel, 631; deacon of church at, 633.
Pietersen, Jan, magistrate of New Haerlem, 675.
Pilgrims, the, sail from Plymouth, 128; their destination, 129; at Cape Cod, 130; compact on board the Mayflower, 131, 132; land at New Plymouth, 133; see Puritans.
Pirates, English, in Long Island Sound, 565, 578; measures against, 579.
Plancius, Peter, of Amsterdam, 23, 45, 138.
Planck, or Verplanck, Abram, buys land at Pavonia, 279; one of the Twelve Men, 317; signs petition to Kieft urging war, 350; buys land on South River, 425; to be sent to the Hague, 514.
Planck, Jacob Albertsen, schout of Rensselaerswyck, 244.
Plantagenet's "New Albion," 140, 382, 485, 754.
Plantations, council for, at London, 257, 686; instructions of, respecting colonial trade, 702; views of, respecting the Dutch province, 725; directs enforcement of Navigation Law, 735.
Plockhoy, Pieter Cornelis, leader of the Mennonist colony on the Horekill, 698, 699; colony of, plundered by the English, 745.
Plowden, Sir Edmund, his patent for New Albion, 381; visits the South River and Manhattan, 381, 382; again at Manhattan, 484; publication of Plantagenet's "New Albion," 485, 754.
Plymouth Company, 11–15, 91; New, 95, 96, 127, 138, 140, 188, 208, 211; dissolved, 259.
Point Judith, or Wapanoos' Point, Block at, 58, 756; called Cape Cod by Stuyvesant, 497.
Pokeepsie, origin of its name, 75.
Polhemus, Domine Johannes Theodorus, at Midwout, Breuckelen, and Amersfoort, 581, 615; succeeded at Breuckelen by Selyns, 681.
Police regulations, Kieft's, 277, 278, 292, 314, 335, 386, 392; Stuyvesant's, 466, 487–490, 517, 548; see New Amsterdam.
Pollepel's Island, 75, 758.
Poncet, Father Joseph, captured by the Mohawks, and relieved by the Dutch, 564; at Onondaga, 564.
Pont Gravé in Canada, 16; at Port Royal, 17.
Popham, Chief Justice, 10, 12; his death, 14.
Popham, George, at Sagadahoc, 13; his death, 14.
Popular spirit of the Twelve Men, 326; of the Eight Men, 396; of the Nine Men, 501, 505; of the conventions, 573, 575, 722, 729.
Population of Holland, 19, 456, 457.
Population of Manhattan, 150, 151, 159, 170, 183; of New Plymouth, 208; of Manhattan, 373; of Beverwyck, 374; of New England, 407; of Manhattan, 410; of New Netherland, 465; of New Amsterdam, 548, 623; of Staten Island, 607; of New Amstel, 653; of Breuckelen, 680; of Staten Island, 692; of Boswyck, 693; of New Amsterdam, 734; of New Netherland, 734.
Pory, John, his explorations, 249.
Pos, Adriaen, superintendent at Staten Island, 525; captured and released, 607, 608.
Pos, Simon Dircksen, counselor, 164.
Possession, actual, the English doctrine, 4, 5, 141, 143, 144.
Poutrincourt at Port Royal, 16, 17.
Powelson, Jacob, at the South River, 319, 320.
President of Long Island towns, John Scott chosen, 726.
Press, liberty of the, in Holland, 459.
Preummaker, Esopus chief, killed, 676.
Princess, loss of the ship, 472, 473.
Pring, Martin, on coasts of Maine, 8.
Printing, invention of, in Holland, 461.
Printz, John, appointed governor of New Sweden, 378; arrives at Fort Christina, 379; entertains De Vries, 380; his treatment of Plowden, 381; of Lamberton, 382, 383; of the English adventurers from Boston, 384; his good management of the fur trade, 423; his negotiations with Hudde, 424; endeavors to set the Indians against the Dutch, 425; protests against Hudde's purchase of the site of Philadelphia, 426; his brutal conduct, 427; continues to annoy the Dutch, 482–487; opposes their purchases of lands, 510, 512; is visited by Stuyvesant, 528; intrigues with the savages, 529; protests against building of Fort Casimir, 529; returns to Sweden, 576, 577.
Prisoners, Indian, enslaved in New England, 272; taken by the Dutch, 387; atrocities against, 389; sent to Bermuda, 396; Dutch, taken by the savages, at Staten Island, 607, 608; at Esopus, 658; release of some of, 661; taken by the Dutch at Esopus, 675; sent to Curaçoa, 677; remembered by their brethren, 710; Dutch taken by Esopus savages, 711; recovered, 713, 714, 731.
Privileges, charter of, 194, 311; see Patroons.
Privy Council, letter of, to Carleton, 140, 141, 216; arrests Dutch ship, 156; committees of, for foreign plantations, 257, 259, 686, 702, 725, 735.
Proclamations, translation of, into French and English, 640.
Prosperity of the Dutch, 456.
Protestant Episcopal Church in America, 119.
Protestant Reformed Dutch Church in America, 119, 312, 374, 535, 609, 614, 617, 706, 748.
Provisional order for the government of New Netherland proposed, 513, 514; opposed by the Amsterdam Chamber, 515; disregarded by Stuy-

vesant, 517; continued opposition to, of Amsterdam Chamber, 539; assented to, 540.
Provoost, David, tobacco inspector at Manhattan, 292; commissary at Fort Good Hope, 363; his conduct at, complained of by the commissioners of New England, 429; defended by Kieft, 430; proposed as a commissioner with agents, 552; first schout of Breuckelen, 580; succeeded by Tonneman, 580, note.
Provoost, Johannes, secretary at Fort Orange, 625.
Purchas, Samuel, his "Pilgrims," 157.
Puritans, English, 112–114; in Holland, 115, 116; dissatisfied there, 120; resolve to emigrate, 121; their patent from the Virginia Company, 122; propose to go to New Netherland, 123, 124; application to Dutch government, 125, 126; leave Leyden, 127; sail from Plymouth, 128; their destination, 129; at Cape Cod, 130; compact on board the Mayflower, 131, 132; land at New Plymouth, 133; settlers at, 145; first intercourse of, with the Dutch, 171–181; at Salem, 188–190; at Boston, 208; in Connecticut, 241; at New Haven, 294; in New Netherland, 334, 388, 411, 505, 553, 573, 595, 615, 627; conditions offered to, 688, 696, 708; see New Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Hartford, New Haven.
Pynchon, John, a commissioner on the English side, 742, 763.
Pynchon, William, settles at Springfield, 261, 262; his opinion of the Mohawks, 496.
Pye Bay, or Nahant Bay, the northern limit of New Netherland, 58, 59.

Quakers, people called, in England, 635; persecuted in New England, 635; come to New Amsterdam, 636; proclamation against, 637; on Long Island, 637, 639; at Communipa, 643; persecuted again, 689; progress of, on Long Island, 705; persecution of, ceases, 707.
Quarantine regulations of Connecticut, 710.
Quebec founded, 18; missionary college at, 344.
Quillipeage River, 293; see New Haven.
Quotenis, Island, in Narragansett Bay, 268.

Raccoon Creek, lands near, purchased, 511, 529.
Racks, or reaches, in North River, 759.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, his patent, 5; his execution, 6; his observations on the Dutch, 98, 458.
Raleigh, city of, founded, 6.
Rancocus Creek, lands purchased at, 511.
Rapelje, Joris, or George, at the Waal-bogt, 154, 267, 268; one of the Twelve Men, 317.
Rapelje, Sarah, first child born in New Netherland, 154, 268.
Raritan, minerals found at the, 412, 431; great meadows bought, 537; proposed Puritan colony at the, 696, 707, 708; English party at the, 724.
Raritan savages, 73; hostile to the Dutch, 245; accused of excesses, 309; expedition against, 310; attack Staten Island, 315; rewards offered for heads of, 315; at war with the Dutch, 354; minerals found near, 412, 431; lands bought from, for Van de Capellen, 525; by Van Werckhoven, 537; murder a family at Mespath Kill, 657; colony near, proposed, 707.
Rasieres, Isaac de, provincial secretary, 164; writes to Bradford, 173; visits New Plymouth, 176–180; returns to Holland and writes letter to Blommaert, 186, 200.
Rattle watch at New Amsterdam, 640.
Reaches, or racks, in the North River, 759.
Records, Albany colonial, 275, 759.
Records of New Amsterdam, 488, 549, 761.
Red Mount, or New Haven, first meeting of commissioners at, 430.
Reformation, the, in Holland and England, 99–119.
Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 100–119; established in New Netherland, 312, 374, 535, 609, 614, 617, 706, 748.
Regicides, Stuyvesant asked to deliver them up, 695.
Reintsen, Jacob, his case, 490.
Rekenkamer, the Dutch National, 450.
Rekenkamer, or Bureau of Accounts, report of the West India Company's, on New Netherland affairs, 404–406.
Religions and languages, diversity of, in New Netherland, 374, 749.
Remonstrance, or Vertoogh, of New Netherland, 506, 507, 512.
Remund, Jan van, succeeds De Rasieres as provincial secretary, 212, 223, 236; succeeded by Van Tienhoven, 276.
Rensselaer, Jeremias van, director of Rensselaerswyck, 649; a delegate to the General Provincial Assembly, 729; required by Nicolls to produce his papers and obey Cartwright, 743.
Rensselaer, Johannes van, patroon, 420, 491; acquires Katskill and Claverack, 510; his claims denied by the company, 521; trading licenses of, 523; more land purchased for, 534; commissions Swart as schout, 535.
Rensselaer, John Baptist van, takes burgher's oath at Beverwyck, 531; succeeds Van Slechtenhorst as director, 535; signs letter to New England agents, 553; opposes Stuyvesant, 591; protests against Stuyvesant's conduct, 623; is fined, 624; succeeded by his brother Jeremias, 649.
Rensselaer, Kiliaen van, 148; obtains land at Fort Orange, 201; shares his estate with other directors, 204; buys more land, 267; commissions Van der Donck, 341; agrees with Megapolensis, 342; sends present to Kieft, 343; his mercantile system, 376, 377; anxious to acquire Katskill, 378; his ship seized at Manhattan by Kieft, 390; claims staple right for Rensselaer's Stein, 400; his claim denied, 401; death of, 420; succeeded by his son Johannes, 420.

Rensselaer's Stein, 400; claim of staple right denied to, 401, 402, 510, 521.
Rensselaerswyck, first colonists sent to, 201; its extent, 202; estate divided, 204; progress of, 266; addition to, 267; slow progress of, 279; abundance in, 303; government and jurisprudence of, 304, 305; colonists supply Mohawks with fire-arms, 308; church planned at, 343; built, 374; patroons trading licenses, 376, 377; ship for, seized, 390; free traders at, 400; staple right claimed for, and denied, 401, 402; escapes the effects of war, 410; new patroon of, 420; trade in fire-arms at, 491; dispute about jurisdiction of, 492–494; pretensions of patroons rebuked by West India Company, 521, 522; Beverwyck declared independent of, 535; John Baptist van Rensselaer director, and Gerrit Swart schout, 535; Reformed religion to be maintained in, 535; represented at Manhattan, 552, 553; affairs of, considered in Holland, 562, 563; excises at, 591, 610, 623, 624; Jeremias van Rensselaer director of, 649; jurisdiction of West India Company over, 679; delegates from, at General Assembly, 729; surrender of, 743, 744; see Fort Orange and Beverwyck.
Representation, principle of, 132, 326, 473, 474.
Republic, the Dutch, 435–447; its system of administration, 448–455; results of system, 455–464, 750.
Requesens introduces the new style in Holland, 443.
Residence required from citizens, 489, 628, 694, 749.
Restless, yacht, built at Manhattan, 55; explores Long Island Sound, 56–59; in the Delaware, 78, 79, 758.
Revenue of New Netherland, 186, 218, 224, 231; regulations respecting, 196, 213, 218, 236, 277, 288, 293, 312; not equal to expenditures, 405, 685, 729; new regulations, 406, 416, 466, 467, 479, 490, 540, 656, 694.
Rhode Island, the Dutch at, 58; their trade at, 145, 171, 174, 209; Dutch post at, 268; founded by Roger Williams, 332; Anne Hutchinson removes from, 334; not included in New England confederation, 361; claimed as part of New Netherland, 479, 497; Underhill at, 556; commissions Dyer and Underhill to act against the Dutch, 557; refuses to persecute Quakers, 636.
Rising, John, appointed deputy governor of New Sweden, 577; at the South River, 593; captures Fort Casimir, 593; declines to visit Stuyvesant at New Amsterdam, 594; surrenders Fort Christina, 605; at New Amsterdam, 608; returns to Europe, 609.
River of the Mountains, 35, 37, 44.
River Indians, the, 72–77; offended at the Dutch, 308, 309; refuse to pay tribute to, 310; attacked by the Mohawks, 349; by the Dutch, 352; aroused to vengeance, 354; attack Dutch boats, 364; continued hostility of, 393; peace with, 408, 409; invade New Amsterdam, 606–610; see Esopus.
Roberval in Canada, 3.
Robinson, John, 115; his application to the Dutch, 125; remains at Leyden, 127.
Rochelle, Frenchmen from, come to New Netherland, 730; settle on Staten Island, 734.
Rockaway, or Rechqua-akie, savages from, on Manhattan, 349; De Vries and Olfertsen at, 358; treaty with savages of, 359, 407, 408.
Rodolf, Sergeant, ordered to attack savages at Pavonia, 351; executes his orders, 352.
Roelandsen, Adam, first schoolmaster, 223.
Roelof Jansen's Kill, 77, 266, note.
Roesen, Jan Hendricksen, commissary at Fort Good Hope, 296.
Roman Catholics in Holland, 101, 102, 458; motives for their emigration from England, 251; in Maryland, 253; in New Netherland, 345, 374, 402, 423, 564, 592, 612, 616, 644–647, 749.
Rondout, or Ronduit, 76, 302, 306, 647, 710, 756; arrangement for trade at, 731; garrison left at, 738.
Roodenberg, 56, 294; see New Haven.
Roose, Elbert Heymans, magistrate of Wiltwyck, 690.
Root, Simon, at Mast-maker's Point, 486; at Rancocus, 511.
Royal commissioners to New England, 736.
Royalists, intolerance of, at restoration, 687.
Russia, trade of the Dutch with, 43, 99.
Rustdorp, or Jamaica, incorporated, 619; Quakers at, 637, 638, 689; new magistrates for, 689; Domine Drisius at, 689; orders of Connecticut to, 703; Talcott and Christie at, 719; petitions Connecticut, 719; name of, changed, 723; meeting-house at, 724; party from, at the Raritan, 724; forms combination, 726; conditional arrangement at, 727; letter of States General to, 730, 733.
Ruyter, Admiral Michael de, 546.
Ruyter, Kloes de, about a copper mine at Minnisinck, 662; Indian interpreter, 677.
Ruytergeld, or militia rate in Holland, 436.
Ruyven, Cornelis van, appointed provincial secretary, 561; sent to arrange affairs at Oostdorp, 626, 627; on the South River, 666; blamed by Alrichs, 670; sent on embassy to Hartford, 720, 721; meets Scott at Jamaica, 729; sent with letter to Nicolls, 740.

Sabbath breaking forbidden, 466.
Sachem's Head, origin of name of, 272.
Sagadahoc, or Kennebeck, Weymouth at the, 9; colony at, 12; vessel built at, 14; abandoned, 15, 64, 90, 144; Mohawks at, 682, 704.
Sager's Kill, 756; party sent to, 713, 714.
Saint Augustine, 99.
Saint Beninio, seizure of ship, 478, 479, 496, 500, 519.

Saint Lawrence discovered and named by Cartier, 3; French on the, 18, 345, 756; vessel from New Amsterdam wrecked in the, 646.
Saint Mary's of Genentaha, 644.
Saint Mary's, in Maryland, 253.
Saint Sacrement, Lac du, 18, 77; named by Father Jogues, 422.
Salem founded, 188, 189; intolerance at, 190.
Salt springs at Onondaga discovered by Father Le Moyne, 592, 612, 644, 645.
Salt works on Coney Island, 694.
Sandy Hook, Hudson at, 27; called Colman's Point, 28; plum-trees on, 237, note.
Sanhikans, or Sangicans, 74, 757.
Sankikans, or Stankekans, 73, 378, 425, 757.
Santickan, or Sankikan, 282, 378, 425.
Sassacus, his scalp sent to Boston, 272.
Savages, tribes of, in New Netherland, 72–78, 81–88; intercourse with, 168, 169, 170, 232, 307; supplied with fire-arms, 306, 308, 345, 349; general rising of, against the Dutch near Manhattan, 354, 369; number of, killed, 409; no fire-arms to be sold to, 293, 406, 415, 490, 492; nor liquors, 466, 488; to be sparingly supplied with arms, 503, 562; employment of, suggested, 547, 555, 677; invade New Amsterdam, 607; lay waste Dutch settlements, 607, 608; Long Island, profess friendship, 610; outrages of, at Esopus, 647; of the Dutch against, 658; agree that the Dutch should instruct their children, 675; prisoners taken at Esopus sent to Curaçoa, 676; see Esopus, Mohawks.
Say and Seal, Lord, a grantee of Connecticut, 211, 259, 261; his letter to Joachimi, 340; on Plantation Committee, 686.
Saybrook, fort built at, 261; attacked by the Pequods, 270; fort completed, 294; Lion Gardiner removes from, 297.
Sayre, Job, 298, 299, 300.
Schaats, Domine Gideon, clergyman at Rensselaerswyck, 538, 615; new church built for, 624, 625; annoyed by Lutherans, 681.
Schaenhechstede, or Schenectady, purchase of, 691; surveyed, 732.
Schaick, Colonel Van, his expedition to Onondaga, 69, note.
Schelluyne, Dirck van, notary public, 516; oppressed by Stuyvesant, 526; appointed high constable of New Amsterdam, 597; secretary of Rensselaerswyck, 729; a delegate to General Assembly at New Amsterdam, 729.
Schepens in Holland, 327, 453; desired for New Netherland, 327, 400, 505; granted, 514, 540, 541, 548; see Burgomasters.
Schermerhorn, Jacob, his case, 490.
Scheyichbi, Indian name for New Jersey, 89.
Schonowe, great flat of, 660, 691.
Schools, public, established in Holland, 462, 463; in New Netherland, 196, 223, 313, 476, 506, 508, 514, 516, 538, 616, 632, 640, 641, 656, 694, 748.
Schout in Holland, 453, 454.
Schout in New Netherland, 163, 213, 236, 266, 292, 414, 532, 541, 622.
Schout of New Amsterdam, instructions for, 541 Van Tienhoven appointed as, 548; burghers demand right to choose, 567; Kuyter appointed, 587; Van Tienhoven continued as, 588; De Sille appointed as, 623; continued as, 640; Tonneman appointed, 674.
Schout's Bay, or Cow Bay, lands near, purchased, 290; emigrants from Lynn at, 298, 299; expedition sent to, 389; sachem of, at Manhattan, 392.
Schute, Swen, conduct of, at the Schuylkill, 486; Swedish commandant at Fort Trinity, 593; surrenders to Stuyvesant, 604.
Schuyler, Philip Pietersen, threatened by Dyckman at Beverwyck, 533.
Schuylkill, Hendricksen at the, 78, 757; Armenveruis, on, purchased by Dutch, 232, 485; English settlement at, 322; broken up, 338; further purchase at, 426; the Dutch invited to, 482; Fort Beversrede built at, 483, 485, 487; Mastmaker's Point, on the, 486.
Scotch merchants, or peddlers, at New Amsterdam, 489, 628.
Scott, John, arrested and examined, 579; his conduct on Long Island, 671; at London, 725; returns to Long Island, 726; president of combined towns, 726; makes conditional arrangement at Jamaica, 727; his agreement at Heemstede with Stuyvesant, 728; imprisoned by Connecticut, 733.
Scott, Joseph, of Heemstede, case of, 639.
Seal, provincial, of New Netherland, 148; and coat of arms of New Amsterdam, 596, 597.
Sectarianism dreaded by Dutch clergy, 643; new proclamation against, 706; rebuked, 707.
Self-government, principle of, in Holland, 192, 326, 447–456.
Selyns, Domine Henricus, installed at Breuckelen, 680; at the director's bouwery, 681; revisits Holland, 734; returns to N. York, 734, 119, note.
Senecas, tribe of the, 82, 83; Chaumonot among the, 644; conference of, with Stuyvesant, 679, 680; beaver trade of the Dutch with, 732.
Sentences of provincial courts not to be executed in Holland, 478.
Sequeen, chief of Pyquaug, or Wethersfield, 233; assents to sale of land to the Dutch, 235.
Sequins visited by Block, 56, chief of the, imprisoned by Eelkens, 146, 152, 168.
Setauket, on Long Island, settled, 671; annexed to Connecticut, 703; Scott a commissioner at, 726.
Sewackenamo, chief of Esopus savages, 731.
Sewan, or wampum, 172, 180; its value fixed and regulated, 314, 328, 329, 517.
Sewan-hacky, 73, 172; see Long Island.
Shackamaxon, Penn's treaty at, 164.
Shatemuc, Mahican name for North River, 72, note.

Shawan-gunk, mountains, 75, note; Indian forts at, destroyed, 712, 713; ceded to the Dutch, 731.
Shawmut, Indian name of Boston, 208.
Ship, great, built at Manhattan, 212, 215, 219, 286.
Sicktew-hacky, or Fire Island Bay, 290; shipwreck at, 632.
Sille, Nicasius de, appointed first counselor of New Netherland, 561; superintends expedition for the South River, 603; accompanies Stuyvesant thither, 604; appointed schout-fiscal in place of Van Tienhoven, 622; made city schout, 623; continued as, 640; succeeded by Tonneman, 674; a proprietary of New Utrecht, 693; sent to protect the Dutch villages, 723.
Silver fleet, Spanish, taken by Heyn, 184.
Silver mine supposed to be at Hoboken, 34, note; in Katskill Mountains, 531.
Sint-Sings, 74; treaty with, 409.
Skanektadé, or Albany, 81.
Slavery in New Netherland, 196, 197, 312, 396, 406, 415, 540, 656, 697, 746, 748; in New England, Virginia, and Maryland, 272, 362, 429.
Slechtenhorst, Brandt van, appointed commissary of Rensselaerswyck, 420; stubbornness of, 491; his difficulties with Stuyvesant, 491–494; acquires Katskill and Claverack for his patroon, 510; explains, 522; is arrested and detained at New Amsterdam, 528; escapes, 531; sends to explore Katskill Mountains, 531; purchases Paanpaack and Panhoosic, 534; is succeeded by John Baptist van Rensselaer, 535.
Slechtenhorst, Gerrit van, his adventures at Katskill, 531; is assaulted at Beverwyck, 533; a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Sleght, Cornelis Barentsen, magistrate of Wiltwyck, 690.
Sloup Bay, the western entrance of Narragansett, or Nassau Bay, 57; Magaritinne, chief of, 235; Miantonomoh, great sachem of, 347.
Sluys, Hans den, purchases the Kievit's Hook for the Dutch, 234.
Slyck, Cornelis Antonissen van, 306; obtains patent for Katskill, 421.
Small-pox at Beverwyck, 710.
Smeeman, Hermanus, magistrate of Bergen, 691; a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Smid's, or Smit's Vleye, ships repaired at, 263; hand-board for vessels at, 490.
Smit, Ensign Dirck, summons Swedes to surrender, 604; left in command on South River, 606; sent again with re-enforcement, 621; in command of garrison at Esopus, 651; his authority disregarded, 658; captures Indian Fort Wiltmeet, 675; defeats savages at Kit Davit's Kill, 676.
Smith, Richard, an associate with Doughty at Mespath, 333; complains of him, 411.
Smith, Captain John, in Virginia, 12, 24; returns to England, 49; in New England, 64, 91; his book and map, 92.
Smits, Claes (the wheel-wright), murdered at Deutel Bay, 316.
Snedekor, Jan, a patentee of Flatbush, 536.
Soldiers asked for from Holland, 181; first sent to New Netherland, 223.
Somers, John, a delegate from Heemstede, 571.
Soquatucks, at the head of the Connecticut, 732.
South, or Delaware Bay, Hudson at, 26; Argall at, 51, 754; Hendricksen at, 79; May at, 97; called New Port May, 97.
South River explored by Hendricksen, 79, 757, 758; May at, 97; Dutch colonists sent to, 153; mode of communication with, 170; colonists removed from, 170, 183; lands bought on, 200; Swaanendael established, 206, 207; De Vries at, 219; whale-fishery at, 225; Corssen commissary on, 232; Virginian party at, 254; Jansen commissary on, 279; Swedes on, 282, 283; see Fort Nassau, Fort Christina, New Sweden, Fort Casimir, New Amstel, Altona.
Southampton, treaty of, 161; its provisions extended, 182.
Southampton, on Long Island, settlement at, 300; annexed to Connecticut, 670; Scott at, 671.
Southold, settlement at, 300, 301; John Young chosen deputy from, to Hartford, 703.
Sovereignty in the people of Holland, 452.
Spain, papal donation of New World to, 1; revolt of the United Provinces from, 21, 38–42, 101, 438–448, 761; recognizes the independence and sovereignty of the Dutch, 40, 42, 435.
Spicer, Michael, a quaker of Gravesend, banished, 706.
Spicer, Samuel, of Gravesend, case of, 689; ordered to leave the province, 706.
Spicer, Thomas, a delegate from Midwout to Convention, 571.
Springfield, John Oldham in neighborhood of, 239; settlement at, by Pynchon, 261, 262; commands the Connecticut trade, 428; Mohawks a terror to savages near, 496.
Spyt den Duyvel, or Papirinemin, 421.
Staats, Abraham, at South River, 530, note; his house at Claverack destroyed, 733.
Stadt Huys of city of Amsterdam, 457.
Stadt Huys, or City Hall, of New Amsterdam, the City Tavern so called, 549; delegates meet at, 569, 571; asked for, 575; granted, 588; ordered to be repaired, 597.
Stadtholder, powers and duties of, 450; William I., Prince of Nassau and Orange, chosen to be, 19, 439, 442; Maurice, 39, 160, 446; Frederick Henry, 160, 434; William II., 434, 498, 542; William III., 446, 450, 542.
Stamford, English settlement at, 294; Dutch expedition against Indians near, 390, 391.
Standish, Captain Miles, appointed by New Plymouth to command forces against the Dutch, 585.
Stankekans, or Sankikans, 73, 225, 378, 425, 757.
Staple right established at Manhattan, 243; claim-

ed for Rensselaerswyck, 400; denied, 401, 510, 521.
State Rights, doctrine of, in Holland and in New England, 362, 455.
Staten Island, called Monacknong, or Eghquaous, 73; purchased by Pauw, 203; De Vries enters land on, 265; surrendered by Pauw, 268; De Vries' colonie at, 289, 301; Raritans charged with misconduct at, 309; distillery and buckskin manufactory on, 313; redoubt and flagstaff at, 314; attacked by the savages, 315; mines on, 431; colonists sent to, by Van de Capellen, 524; Melyn at, 525; Van Dincklagen at, 526; laid waste by the savages, 607, 608; fresh colonists sent to, 641; repurchased by the West India Company, 692; Waldenses and Huguenots at, 692; village at, where Domine Drisius preaches, 692; is represented in General Assembly, 729; Huguenots from Rochelle at, 730, 734; block-house at, seized by the English, 738.
States General, the, its character and functions, 437, 449, 454; incorporates the East India Company, 23; postpones incorporating a West India Company, 24; proclaims a fast-day, 41; ordinance of, for encouragement of discoveries, 60; its palace of the Binnenhof, 61, 111, 449; grants New Netherland charter, 63–65, 80, 91; refuses application for the Puritans, 125, 126; charters the West India Company, 134–137; knows little about New Netherland, 142; interferes for De Vries, 155; makes treaty with Charles I., 161; maintains right of the West India Company in New Netherland, 216; action of, respecting English complaints in case of the William, 245, 246; respecting the patroons, 247, 248; commissions Kieft, 274; inquires into condition of New Netherland, 285; instructs its deputies to arrange the company's difficulties, 311; action of, respecting Joachimi's dispatches, 341; letter of the Eight Men to, 372; complained to, by the Swedish minister, 385; again appealed to from New Netherland, 397; approves Stuyvesant's commission, 432; receives Spanish ambassador, 435; refuses audience to parliamentary minister, 498; suspends Stuyvesant's sentence against Melyn, 503; memorial and remonstrance of New Netherland to, 504–507; action of, on Vertoogh, 511, 515; orders Van Tienhoven and Dam to come to the Hague, 523, 524; requires opinion of the company on the provisional order, 539; recalls Stuyvesant, 541; revokes his recall, 542; negotiations of, with England, 542–544; instructs company to defend New Netherland, 547; postpones boundary question, 567; makes treaty of peace with England, 586; negotiates respecting the boundary, 600, 601; ratifies Hartford treaty, 621; entertains Charles II., 684; action of, respecting settlement of boundary, 686; approves new conditions offered by West India Company, 688; makes a convention with England, 701; confirms and explains charter of West India Company, 730; addresses letters to towns in New Netherland, 730.
Steen, Corporal Hans, sent to Pavonia, 350.
Steenhuysen, Engelbert, a delegate to General Assembly at New Amsterdam, 729.
Steenwyck, Burgomaster Cornelis, a delegate from New Amsterdam to General Assembly, 728; sent with letter to Nicolls, 740; a commissioner on the Dutch side, 741, 763.
Stevensen, Coert, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Steynmets, Casparus, a magistrate of Bergen, 691.
Stillwell, Lieutenant Nicholas, sent to Esopus, 712; arrests Christie at Gravesend, 719.
Stirling, Henry, Earl of, petitions Charles II., 701; part of his claimed territory included in Connecticut, 702; his claim referred to Plantation Board, 725; releases his title to the Duke of York, 735, 736.
Stirling, William Alexander, Earl of, 250, 259, 760; Long Island conveyed to, 259; gives power of attorney to James Farrett, 297; his claims disregarded by the Dutch, 298–300; death of, 760.
Stirling, Dowager Countess of, her agent Andrew Forrester arrested and banished, 477, 480.
Stoep, or steps, in front of houses, 533.
Stoffelsen, Jacob, of Pavonia, one of the Twelve Men, 317; marries widow of Cornelis Van Voorst of Pavonia, 368; his house attacked, 368.
Stol, Jacob Jansen, of Esopus, church held at his house, 647; attacks the savages, 658.
Stone, Captain, at Manhattan, 237; murdered by the Pequods, 242.
Stone wall proposed at New Amsterdam, 694.
Stoughton, Captain, at Saybrook, 272; praises the superiority of Connecticut, 293.
Straatmaker, Dirck, killed at Pavonia, 353.
Strangers attracted to New Netherland, 289; obligations required from, 291; liberality of Dutch toward, 332, 335; hotel for, built at Manhattan, 335; numbers of, at New Amsterdam, 374, 488, 489, 579, 628, 640, 692, 734, 749.
Stratford, settlement of, 294.
Street, A. B., his poem of Frontenac, 87.
Strickland's Plain, inaccurate accounts of battle on, 391, note.
Strycker, Jan, a delegate from Amersfoort to Convention at New Amsterdam, 571; to General Assembly, 729.
Stuyvesant, Peter, director at Curaçoa, 395; returns to Holland, 413; his early life, 413; appointed director of New Netherland, 414; his departure delayed, 416; his instructions and commission approved by the States General, 432; sails from the Texel, 432; incidents on his voyage, 433; arrives at Manhattan, 433; assumes the government, 465; his haughtiness, 465; occurrences at his inauguration, 466; or-

ganizes his council, 466; regulates the court of justice and the Church, 467; sides with Kieft, 469; his severe proceedings against Kuyter and Melyn, 470–472; denies the right of appeal, 472; organizes board of Nine Men, 474–476; arrests Forrester, Lady Stirling's agent, 477; correspondence with Winthrop, 478; seizes ship at New Haven, 479; justifies his conduct, 480; retaliates, 481; revokes his proclamation, 482; negotiates with Printz, 485; regulates municipal affairs at New Amsterdam, 487–490; endeavors to repress contraband trade, 490; visits Fort Orange, 491; his difficulties with Slechtenhorst, 491–494; called "Wooden Leg" by the Mohawks, 493; asks for another clergyman from Holland, 494; his correspondence with New England, 496; explanation of the Dutch claims, 497; proposes a conference with the commissioners and with Eaton, 499–500; opposes the Nine Men, 501; calls a great council, and oppresses Van der Donck, 502; action in Melyn's case, 503; in affair of Vastrick, 503; his "Bouwery," 504; forbids Domine Backerus to read papers from the pulpit, 504; asks for a schoolmaster, 508; sends Van Tienhoven to represent him in Holland, 509; disregards the "Provisional Order," 517; deprives the Nine Men of their pew in the church, 518; goes to Hartford and negotiates a treaty, 519, 520; omits to send papers to Holland, 520; prohibits settlements at Katskill under patroon, 522; his body-guard, 525; arrests Van Dincklagen, 526; defeats another expedition to the South River from New Haven, 527; arrests Van Slechtenhorst, 528; visits South River, 528; buys more territory, 529; demolishes Fort Nassau and builds Fort Casimir, 529; appoints Dyckman vice-director at Fort Orange, 530; revisits Fort Orange, and annexes Beverwyck to its jurisdiction, 535; declares void sales at Katskill and elsewhere, 536; grants patents for Middelburgh or Newtown, and Midwout or Flatbush, 536; postpones half the public payments, 539; recalled by the States General, 541; his recall revoked, 542; organizes municipal government of New Amsterdam, 548; writes to New England and Virginia, 549; denies charges of the New England commissioners, 551; his overtures to the New England agents, 553; answers the New England declaration, 554; his declarations about employing Indians, 555; banishes Underhill, 556; sends agents to Virginia, 559; disagreement with burgomasters of New Amsterdam, 560; sends Domine Drisius to Virginia, 561; blockades Onkeway, or Fairfield, 565; makes concessions to New Amsterdam, 567, 568; conduct toward delegates at New Amsterdam, 569; calls Landtdag, or Convention, 570; his answer to its remonstrance, 573, 574; orders it to disperse, 575; receives overtures from the Swedes, 576; gives a letter to Printz on his return, 577; appoints new city officers, 578; takes measures against pirates, 579; incorporates Dutch villages on Long Island, 580; encourages a church at Midwout, 581; his illiberal treatment of the Lutherans, 581; precautions against the English, 584; proclaims thanksgiving for peace, 587; reproved by the company, 587; offers to make Cortelyou city schout, 588; regulates ferry at New Amsterdam, 589; difficulties with municipal authorities, 589; resumes excise, 590; at Fort Orange, 590, 591; reports the capture of Fort Casimir, 594; seizes Swedish ship, 595; protests against English intruders at West Chester and Oyster Bay, 595; visits Gravesend, 596; sails for the West Indies, 597; returns to New Amsterdam, 603; commands expedition against South River, 604; captures Fort Casimir and Fort Christina, 604, 605; establishes the Dutch power on the South River, 606; returns to New Amsterdam and takes measures for its defense, 608; ransoms prisoners, 608; organizes government on South River, 609; proposes an increase of taxes, 610; prohibits New Year and May-day sports, 611; proclamation to form villages, 613; appoints new schepens, 613; his proclamation against conventicles, 617; rebuked by the company, 618; reduces the English at West Chester, 619; incorporates Oost-dorp and Rustdorp, 619; secures Swedish vessel on South River, 620, 621; appoints De Sille city schout, 623; fines Van Rensselaer, 624; correspondence of, with commissioners, 625; enforces ordinance against conventicles, 626; regulates affairs at Oost-dorp, 627; establishes great and small burgherships at New Amsterdam, 628, 629; transfers Fort Casimir to Alrichs, 632; appoints Hudde commandant at Altona, 633; sends Cromwell's letter to West India Company, 634; orders Goetwater back to Holland, 635; his severity toward Hodgson, 636; issues proclamation against Quakers, 637; punishes Flushing magistrates, 638; proclaims fast-day on account of Quakers, 639; allows nomination of magistrates to New Amsterdam, 640; purchases Bergen, 642; refuses to send Quakers to New England, 643; negotiates with French in Canada, 645, 646; visits Esopus, 647; conference with the savages, 648; lays out village at Esopus, 649; establishes garrison at, 650; revisits the South River, 651; appoints Beeckman vice-director on the South River, 652; refuses Massachusetts permission to navigate the North River, 655; proposes a Dutch settlement at the Wappinger's Kill. 655; revisits Esopus, 660; asks re-enforcements from Holland, 661; complains of Alrichs' conduct, 663; sends re-enforcements to the South River, 665; reports its situation, 669, 670; again refuses to allow Massachusetts people to navigate the North River, 672; replies

to Massachusetts' claim, 673; warns West India Company against New England, 673, 674; requires Indian children to be educated, 675; declares war against the Esopus savages, 676; sends Indian prisoners to the West Indies, 676; refuses to organize court at Esopus, 677; opposes employment of the Mohawks, 677; makes treaty at Esopus, 688; confers with the Senecas at Fort Orange, 679, 680; contributes to church at his bouwery, 681; urges the Mohawks to be at peace with the English savages, 682; negotiates a treaty with Virginia, 683; correspondence with Governor Berkeley, 684; revives persecution against Quakers, 689; incorporates Wiltwyck, and installs Swartwout, 690; incorporates Bergen, 691; New Utrecht and Boswyck, 693; is asked to deliver up regicides, 695; offers of, to Puritan colonists, 696; his dispatch to Holland about Maryland, 697; about Governor Berkeley, 702; his letter to Connecticut, 703; goes with Breedon to Fort Orange, and negotiates with the Mohawks, 704; arrests and banishes John Bowne, 706; is rebuked by the West India Company, 707; further concessions of, to Puritan colonists, 708; forbids West Chester to obey Connecticut, 709; sends re-enforcements to Esopus, 711, 712; surrenders the South River to Hinoyossa, 717; negotiates with commissioners at Boston, 718; sends commissioners to Hartford, 720; security required for his bill on the company, 720; summons a Convention at New Amsterdam, 722; his dispatch to the company, 723; surrenders West Chester and Long Island towns, 724; purchases Nevesinck lands, 724; makes conditional arrangement with Scott, 727; ratifies it, 728; calls General Provincial Assembly, 728; propositions of, to, 729; makes treaty with Esopus savages, 731; reinstates Swartwout, and appoints Beeckman commissary at Esopus, 731, 732; his action respecting Schaenhechstede, 732; his interview with Winthrop on Long Island, 733, 734; hopeful about New Netherland, 734; is warned of designs of the English, 736; deceived by dispatch of West India Company, 737; visits Fort Orange, 737; hurries back to New Amsterdam, 737; sends message to Nicolls, 738; endeavors to withhold summons to surrender from the people, 739; tears Nicolls' letter, 739; last dispatch to Amsterdam, 740; appoints commissioners to agree to articles, 741; surrenders, 742.

Stuyvesant, Balthazar, urges surrender of New Netherland, 741.

Survey and population of New Amsterdam, 623; second survey and map of, 674.

Swaanendael, colony planted at, 206; destroyed by the savages, 219–221; deserted by the Dutch, 228; surrendered to West India Company, 249.

Swannekens, Dutch so called by the Indians, 315, 347, 352, 358, 360.

Swart, Gerrit, schout of Rensselaerswyck, 535.

Swartwout, Roelof, commissioned as schout of Esopus, 677; installed in office, 690; courageous behavior of, 711; discharged from office, 714; reinstated, 731.

Swartwout, Thomas, a delegate from Amersfoort to Convention at New Amsterdam, 571.

Swedish West India Company, 280; colony established on the South River, 281–284; ship seized in Holland, 284; progress of colony on South River, 319–321; colonists assist the Dutch against the English, 338, 382–384; ships arrested in Holland, 385; officers on South River insult the Dutch, 424–428; oppose them further, 482–487, 510, 511; visited by Stuyvesant, 528–530; new arrangements for, 577; officers, hostile proceedings of, 593, 594; ship seized at Manhattan, 594; orders of company for reduction of, 601; expedition against, 603, 604; reduction of, under the Dutch, 605, 606; ship Mercury arrested, 620; Dutch title maintained against, 621, 622; residents not to be appointed to office, 663; residents able to bear arms, number of, 675; arguments of English with, 744; see New Sweden, New Amstel, Altona.

Sweringen, Gerrit van, supercargo of New Amstel expedition, 632; blames Alrichs, 670; at Amsterdam, 697; shoots a soldier and is protected by Hinoyossa, 699; renews treaty with the savages, 717.

Synod of Dordrecht, 109, 110, 117, 342, 609, 617.

Synods and classes in Holland, 104, note, 118, 614.

Tachkanic, or Taconick, Mountains, 75; Dutch soldiers murdered near the, 657.

Tack, Arent Pietersen, of Wiltwyck, 714.

Talcott, Captain John, enforces submission of West Chester to Connecticut, 709; opposes Stuyvesant at Boston, 718; on Long Island, 719; confers with Dutch agents at Hartford, 720, 721; commissioners of Connecticut on Long Island, 726.

Talpahockin, vale of, 89.

Tankitekes, or Haverstraws, 315, 348, 364, 392.

Tappan, derivation of name, 74, note, 757; De Vries at, 301, 307; savages at, refuse to pay tribute, 310, 311; De Vries' plantation at, 313; savages attacked by the Mohawks, 349; massacred at Pavonia, 352; attack the Dutch, 355, 368; peace with, 409; further treaties with, 675, 731; stone procured from, for wall at New Amsterdam, 694.

Tawasentha, post at, 81; treaty of, 88.

Taxation only by consent, the principle in Holland, 192, 436, 437, 440, 442; heavy, in Holland, 458, 462; action respecting, in New Netherland, 473–476, 505, 550, 572, 575, 727; views of the West India Company, 588, 602, 746.

Temple, Colonel, complains of the Mohawks, 732.

Temple, Sir William, on the Dutch, 455, 461, 462.
Tenkenas Island, 267.
Terneur, Daniel, a magistrate of New Haerlem, 675; delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Teunissen, Cornelis, 244.
Teunissen, Gerrit, 244.
Teunissen, Gysbert, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Teunissen, Jan, first schout of Breuckelen, 422.
Texel, Vlieland, and Zuyder Zee, named by the Dutch, 58, 141, 756.
Thanksgiving and fast-days in the Netherlands, 41, 443, 747; in New Netherland, 41, note, 356, 391, 409, 491, 587, 605, 639, 731, 747.
Tharonhyjagon, the god of the Iroquois, 83.
The Hague, origin of its name, 61.
The Kills, or Kill van Cul, 27, 28, 313, note.
The Reformed, first so called in Holland, 100.
Thomas, Captain Jelmer, accompanies Stuyvesant, 432.
Throgmorton, John, at Throg's Neck, 333; settlement called Vredeland, 334; his settlement destroyed by the savages, 366.
Thurloe, Secretary, 583; his collection of papers, 586; negotiates with Nieuport, 601.
Tienhoven, Adriaen van, clerk of court on South River, 486; informs Stuyvesant of conduct of Swedes, 487; appointed receiver general, 532; at surrender of Fort Casimir, 593; dismissed from the public service, 622; leaves New Netherland, 623.
Tienhoven, Cornelis van, book-keeper at Fort Amsterdam, 223; made provincial secretary and schout-fiscal, 275; purchases lands in West Chester, 296; breaks up settlement at Schout's Bay, 299; leads expedition against the Raritans, 310; makes the treaty at the Bronx River, 330; urges Kieft to attack the savages, 349; sent to reconnoitre at Pavonia, 350; retained as provincial secretary by Stuyvesant, 466; visits New Haven and discovers a Dutch vessel there, 478, 479; sent to Holland as Stuyvesant's representative, 509; at the Hague, 511, 512; prepares papers about New Netherland affairs, 513; prepares reply to the Vertoogh, 523; son-in-law of Dam, 524; returns to New Netherland, 524; appointed schout-fiscal in place of Van Dyck, 532; charged with plotting, by Underhill, 556; sent to negotiate with Virginia, 559; sent to New Haven, 579; continued as city schout, 588; sent to warn intruders at West Chester, 595; at Gravesend, 597; superintends South River expedition, 603; in favor of a war against the savages, 610; sent to West Chester, 618; dismissed from the public service, 622; leaves New Netherland, 623.
Tilje, Jan, magistrate of Boswyck, 693.
Tilton, John, town clerk of Gravesend, 596; persecuted as a Quaker, 638, 689; ordered to leave the province, 706.
Timmer Kill, or Timber Creek, Fort Nassau built on, 157, 758.
Tinicum, Fort New Gottenburg built on, 379.
Title, Dutch and English, to New Netherland, 35, 96, 129, 141, 143; Dutch urged to clear their, 180; to Connecticut, 211; questioned and defended, 214–217, 239, 240; see West India Company.
Tobacco subjected to excise, 277; Virginian improvements in cultivating, 290; inspectors of, 292; export duty taken off, 540; trade in, 697, 715, 735.
Toleration in Holland, 101–103, 458, 459, 707; in New Netherland, 335, 374, 582, 614, 707, 749.
Tomasse, Jan, magistrate of New Utrecht, 693.
Tonneman, Pieter, schout of Breuckelen, 580; summons Non-conformists, 639; accompanies Stuyvesant to South River, 651; appointed schout of New Amsterdam, 674; succeeded by Hegeman, 693.
Torkillus, Reorus, first Lutheran clergyman on the South River, 281; death of, 379, note.
Totems, or symbols, of the Iroquois, 84, 85.
Towns, rise of Dutch, 192, 437, 448, 453; in New Netherland, 312, 332, 388, 415, 540, 571, 722, 729; combination of, on Long Island, 726.
Townsend, Henry, of Rustdorp, proceedings against, 637, 638, 689.
Townsend, John, of Rustdorp, case of, 637, 689.
Tracy, Marquis de, viceroy of Canada, 705.
Trade, freedom of, in Holland, 98, 415, 456, 458, 543; restrained in New Netherland, 135, 155, 196, 197; regulated, 277; made more free, 288; consequences, 289, 307, 308; again regulated, 293, 312, 377, 400, 406, 415, 416, 466, 489, 495; freedom of, demanded, 505, 507; concessions respecting, 540; to make Manhattan flourish, 547; confined to residents, 628, 629; opened with Canada, 646; foreign, 415, 656; with Virginia, 684; with Maryland, 697; on South River, 715; in tobacco, 735; see Commerce.
Traders, itinerant, at New Amsterdam, 489; regulated, 628.
Traitors not found in Holland, 464.
Treaty of the Tawasentha, 81, 88; at Fort Orange, 152; of Southampton, 161; at Manhattan, 164; at Swaanendael, 221; at Fort Amsterdam, 359; at Fort Orange, 408; general, at Fort Amsterdam, 409; of Westphalia, 435; at Hartford, 519, 520, 539; on South River, 529; of the Dutch with Cromwell, 586; at New Amsterdam, 675; at Esopus, 678; with Virginia, 683, 684; of the Dutch with Charles II., 701; at Fort Amsterdam, 731; at Fort Albany, 744.
Tribunals, or courts of justice, in New Netherland, 135, 154, 163, 195, 197, 276, 288, 304, 312, 327, 405, 414, 467, 599; see Council, Patroons.
Tribute, attempted exaction of, from River Indians, 309; payment of refused, 310, 350.
Trinity Church, first rector of, in New York, 119, note; estate of, 266.

Tromp, Admiral Marten Harpertsen, 545; vulgar error in calling him *Van* Tromp, 545, note; sweeps the channel clear of English ships, 546.
Troy, or Paanpaack, purchase of, 534.
Turkeys, large wild, 226, 303.
Turtle Bay, 292; see Deutel Bay.
Tuscaroras, 83, 84.
Tweenhuysen, Lambrecht van, 46, 47, 59, 65.
Twelve Men chosen, 317; oppose a war, 318, 319; assent to hostilities, 325; demand reforms, 326–328; are dissolved by Kieft, 329.
Twiller, Wouter van, appointed director general, 222; arrives at Manhattan, 223; character of his administration, 224, 225; conduct respecting English ship William, 229, 230; toward De Vries, 231; replies to Winthrop, 240; undertakes costly works, 243, 244; reprimanded by Domine Bogardus, 245; attempts to dislodge English from the Kievit's Hook, 261; visits Pavonia, 263; irregularities in his government, 265; sends Van Dincklagen back to Holland, 266; purchases lands, 265, 267; rescues two Wethersfield prisoners, 271; complained of in Holland, 273; superseded by the appointment of Kieft, 274; his large estate, 276; an executor of Kilian van Rensselaer, 420; sides with Melyn and Van der Donck in Holland, 512; disliked by the West India Company, 521.

Uncas, chief of the Mahicans, assists the English, 271; accuses Miantonomoh, 330; puts him to death, 364; spreads reports against Stuyvesant, 550.
Underhill, Captain John, sent to Saybrook, 270; attacks the Pequod village, 271, 272; proposes to settle in New Netherland, 291; at Stamford, 366; taken into the service of the Dutch, 366; sent to ask assistance from New Haven, 370; Patrick murdered at his house at Stamford, 387; is sent to Heemstede, 389; commands expedition against Indians near Stamford, 390, 391; arranges a peace, 392, 397; his seditious conduct on Long Island, 552, 555; is banished, 556; commissioned by Rhode Island, 557; seizes Fort Good Hope, 558; at Setauket, on Long Island, 671; a commissioner at Heemstede, 728.
Union of Utrecht, the, 19, 38, 132, 362, 445, 750.
United Colonies of New England, commissioners of the, 361, 362; Kieft's correspondence with, 362, 363; meet at New Haven, 429; claim Indian captives as slaves, 429; reply to Kieft's protest, 430; complain of high duties at Manhattan, 478; correspondence of, with Stuyvesant, 496, 497; forbid foreigners to trade with New England savages, 500, 501; Stuyvesant's interview with, 518; treaty with the Dutch negotiated at Hartford, 519, 520; protest against Stuyvesant's hostility to New Haven adventurers, 530; suspicious of his plotting with the savages against them, 550; their declaration of complaints against the Dutch, 551; send agents to New Amsterdam, 551–554; at variance with Massachusetts, 557, 558; decline to aid the French in Canada, 564; express sympathy for the Dutch, 608; correspondence with Stuyvesant, 625; support claim of Massachusetts, 671; Stuyvesant's answer, 673; measures of, against the Mohawks, 704; negotiate with Stuyvesant at Boston, 718, 719.
Upland, the Swedes at, 483.
Usselincx, William, proposes Dutch West India Company, 21, 23, 134; plans Swedish West India Company, 280.
Utie, Colonel Nathaniel, agent of Maryland at the South River, 664; his conduct toward the Dutch officers, 665; reproved by Heermans, 667; his conduct justified by Maryland, 669.

Valentine and Orson, 46, 66.
Valentine's Manual of the Corporation, 761.
Varcken's Kill, or Salem, in New Jersey, English settlement at, 322; broken up, 338; Fort Elsingburg built near, 380.
Varlett, Judith, case of, at Hartford, 703, note.
Varlett, Nicholas, goes to Virginia and negotiates a treaty, 683; at Hartford, 703; a commissioner on the Dutch side, 741, 763.
Vastrick, Gerrit, case of, 503, 504.
Verazzano at New York harbor, 2, 16, 35; at Block Island, 57, note.
Verbeck, Jan, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Verdrietig Hook, 29, 74.
Verhulst, William, succeeds May as director, 159; succeeded by Peter Minuit, 162.
Verhulsten Island, near the falls of the South River, 159; colonists at, 160; deserted, 170, 183.
Verplanck, or Planck, Abram, buys land at Pavonia, 279; one of the Twelve Men, 317; see Planck.
Vertoogh, or Remonstrance, of New Netherland, 506, 507; presented to the States General, 511; printed and circulated in Holland, 512.
Verveeler, Johannes, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.
Vestens, William, Siecken-trooster and schoolmaster at Manhattan, 516.
Virginia named, 5; colonization of, attempted by Raleigh, 6; new charter for, 11; the "Old Dominion" of the United States, 12; Jamestown founded in, 12; second charter for, 15; proposition of the Dutch to join in colony of, 44, 45; progress of, 49–53; visited by Dermer, 93; by May, 97; patent for the Puritans to settle in, 122, 128, 129; English title to, admitted by the Dutch, 143, 215; Walloons desire to go to, 147; De Vries at, 226; Governor Harvey's friendly bearing, 227; ship from, at Manhattan, 237; explorations by authority of, 249, 250; jealous of Maryland, 253; party from, at Fort Nassau, 254; dislodged and sent back, 255; scarcity in,

269; Harvey returns to, 279; Minuit at, 282; emigrants from, to New Netherland, 290, 292; English in, considered Egyptians by the Hartford people, 295; fugitives from, 335; intercourse with, 335; De Vries in, 381; Plowden at, 382; Dutch commerce with, 415, 466, 479; Cromwell not favored in, 499; the Dutch propose free trade with, 544; trade of Manhattan with, to be encouraged, 547; Stuyvesant proposes commercial friendship with, 549; Dutch send agents to negotiate with, 559; Domine Drisius sent to, 561; Doughty goes from Flushing to, 615, 666; apprehended intrusion of, at Cape Hinlopen, 651; letters from, to Swedes on South River, 663; Heermans in, 669, 683; proposed enlistment of soldiers for the Dutch in, 675; treaty of commerce with, 683, 684; children sent from, to Latin school at New Amsterdam, 694; Berkeley agent of, in England, 701, 702; Navigation Law evaded in, 724; threatening attitude of, 734; ordered to enforce Navigation Law, 735.

Visscher, Schipper, ordered to be ready for defense of New Amsterdam, 549.

Visscher's Hook, or Montauk Point, 54; Block at, 57, 756.

Vleeck, Tielman van, magistrate of Bergen, 691.

Vlie-boat, or Fly-boat, origin of name of, 25, note.

Vlissingen, patent for, 410; see Flushing.

Volckertsen, Captain Thys, 46.

Voorst, Cornelis van, Pauw's commander at Pavonia, 263, 317, note, 368.

Voorst, Gerrit Jansen van, murdered at Hackinsack, 347, 348, 350.

Voyages of David Pietersen de Vries, 156, 381.

Vries, David Pietersen de, his ship arrested at Hoorn, 155; becomes a patroon, 205; sails to Swaanendael, 219; makes peace with the savages, 221; visits Fort Nassau, 225; goes to Virginia, 226; his pleasant interview with Governor Harvey, 227; arrives at Manhattan, 228; his advice to Van Twiller, 230; returns to Holland, 237, 247; revisits Manhattan and Virginia, 255; repairs his ship at the Smid's Vleye, 263; arranges for colonie on Staten Island, and sails for Holland, 265; returns with colonists to New Netherland, 289; visits Connecticut, 294; his plantations on Staten Island and Manhattan, 301; buys at Tappan, 301; at Esopus and Castle Island, 302–306; his opinion of the North River, 307; his plantation on Staten Island plundered and destroyed, 309, 315; establishes colonie at Vriesendael, 313; chosen one of the Twelve Men, 317; opposes hostilities, 318; proposes the building of a new church, 335; visits Hackinsack, 347; visits Kieft at Fort Amsterdam, 348, 349; warns Kieft against attacking the savages, 351; spends night of anxiety at Fort Amsterdam, 352; besieged at Vriesendael, 355; interview with Indians at Rockaway, 358; procures release of son of Van Voorst, 368; his parting prophesy to Kieft, 371; on the South River, 380; returns to Holland, 381; publishes his voyages, 156, 381, note.

Vriesendael, De Vries' colonie at, 313; its distance from Hackinsack, 347; savages seek refuge at, 349; besieged by the savages, 355; visited by friendly sachem, 360; abandoned by De Vries, 370.

Vroedschap in Holland, 453.

Waal-bogt, Walloons settled at, 153, 154; first child born at, 268; Domine Selyns at, 681.

Waerkimin's-Connie, court at, 642.

Wahamanessing, or Wappinger's Kill, 75.

Waldenses at Amsterdam, 629, 631, 715; emigration of, to New Netherland, 632, 692, 749.

Waldron, Resolved, under schout of New Amsterdam, sent on embassy to Maryland, 666–669; sent to Rustdorp, 689; at West Chester, 709.

Walker, Zachariah, preacher at Jamaica, 724.

Wall Street, fence built on site of, 392, 549, 741.

Walloons in Holland, 146; desire to go to Virginia, 147; favored by the States, 148; emigrate to New Netherland, 150; at the Waal-bogt, 153, 154, 749; on South River, 160, 170, 182.

Walvis, ship, at South River, 205–207; island, near the Cohooes, 420, note.

Wampum, 172; Sunday contributions made in, 314; see Sewan.

Wantenaar, Albert Cornelis, a delegate to General Assembly, 729.

Wappang-zewan presents lands on South River to the Dutch, 529.

Wappingers, tribe of, 74; attack the Dutch, 364; among the Stamford Indians, 391; peace with, 409; settlements among, proposed, 655, 672; mediate for the Esopus savages, 675, 678; friendly to the Dutch, 713; tampered with by Connecticut people, 731.

Wappinger's Kill, or Wahamanessing, 74, 75; proposed Dutch settlement at, 655; approved by the company, 672, 681.

War, end of Kieft's Indian, 407; see Esopus.

Waranowankongs, 75, 757.

Washburn, William, a delegate from Heemstede, 571.

Wassenaar, Historische Verhael, 46, 157.

Waters, Anthony, of Heemstede, proceedings of, 723.

Waugh, Dorothy, imprisoned for preaching in streets at New Amsterdam, 636.

Wayandanck, sachem of Montauk, 670, 671.

Weckquaesgeeks, tribe of, 74; murder of one of, at the Kolck, 166; Kieft purchases lands of, 296; De Vries at country of, 301; masts procured from, 302; one of, murders Claes Smits, 316; refuse to surrender murderer, 316; expedition against, proposed, 318, 319; authorized, 325, dispatched, 329; treaty with, 330; Mohawks

demand tribute from, 349; attacked at Corlaer's Hook, 352; lay waste West Chester, 366, 367; expedition against, 387; prisoners at Fort Amsterdam, 389; peace with, 392, 409; Van der Donck purchases land from, 421; English buy land from, 595, 598; again provoked, 606; Dutch prisoners among, 610; treaty with, 675.

Weeks, Francis, of Heemstede, case of, 639.

Weights and measures of Amsterdam required to be used in New Netherland, 406, 412, 489.

Welius, Domine Everardus, at New Amstel, 633; death of, 670.

Werckhoven, Cornelis van, his purchases on Long Island and in New Jersey, 537; signs letter to New England agents, 553; a delegate at New Amsterdam, 569; death of, 537, 693; see New Utrecht.

Werk-baas, meaning of the phrase, 261, note.

West Chester, English settle at, 595; protest of the Dutch against, 598; Puritan Independents at, 616; Dutch expedition against, 618; Oostdorp incorporated, 619; affairs at, 626, 627; declared to be annexed to Connecticut, 703; authority of Connecticut enforced, 709; negotiations at Boston respecting, 718; at Hartford, 721; act of Connecticut respecting, 722; surrendered by Stuyvesant, 723, 724; letter of States General to, 730, 733; spies sent to obtain intelligence at, 737; see Weckquaesgeeks.

West India Company, Dutch, proposed, 24, 97, 125; chartered by the States General, 134; its powers and duties, 135–137; organization of, 148; assigns New Netherland to care of Amsterdam Chamber, 148; takes possession of New Netherland, 149; arrests De Vries' ship at Hoorn, 155; its conquests, 185; its charter for patroons, 187, 194–199; jealousies among its directors, 203; at variance with the patroons, 213; defends its title to New Netherland, 215; its policy respecting New Netherland, 223, 224; answer of, in the case of the ship William, 246; to the "claim and demand" of the patroons, 248; declines to surrender New Netherland to the States General, 285; its unsuccessful management, 286; proclaims a free trade, 288; its new charter for patroons, 311, 312; establishes the Reformed Dutch Church in New Netherland, 312; Hugh Peters commissioned to negotiate with, 323; asserts right to approve calls of ministers, 342, 343; letter of the Eight Men to, 371–373; seizes Swedish ships from the South River, 385; Kieft draws a bill on, 387; bankruptcy of, 393; memorial of Eight Men to, 397–400; asks assistance from the States General, 403; considers measures for the relief of New Netherland, 404–406; commissions new officers, 414–416, 432; willing to promote education, 476; orders criminals to be punished in New Netherland, 478; allows ammunition to savages, 503; reproves Stuyvesant's indiscretion, 504; letter from Gravesend to, 509; avoided by Van der Donck, 511; letter of, to Stuyvesant, 512; encourages emigration 513; Amsterdam Chamber opposes provisional order, 515, 516; another letter from Gravesend to, 518; rebukes pretensions of patroons of Rensselaerswyck, 521, 522; declares the North River to be free, 522; instructions of, about South River, 528; disapproves of Stuyvesant's conduct there, 538, 539; its action on the provisional order, 539, 540; recommendations of, to States General, 546; instructions of, to Stuyvesant, 546, 547; action respecting Van der Donck's application to see records, 560, 561; answers complaints of patroons, 562, 563; proposes a trading-house above Fort Orange, 563; sends an English libel to Stuyvesant, 566; applies to States General to arrange the boundary, 567; conduct of, toward the Lutherans, 582; instructions of, 587; orders Stuyvesant to avoid employing foreigners, 600; submits boundary papers to States General, 600; orders the recovery of Fort Casimir, 601; directs taxation to be enforced, 602; rebukes Stuyvesant's bigotry, 617, 618; procures ratification of Hartford treaty by the States General, 621; orders fort to be built at Oyster Bay, 622; approves South River expedition, 622; dismisses Van Tienhoven, 622; losses of, in Brazil and Guinea, 629; conveys territory on South River to city of Amsterdam, 630–632; enjoins religious moderation, 642, 643; instructs Stuyvesant to be on his guard against the Jesuits, 644; orders redoubt to be built at Esopus, 647; instructs Stuyvesant respecting the South River, 652; grants a foreign trade to New Netherland, and sends a Latin schoolmaster, 656; enjoins more liberality in religion, 656; instructs Stuyvesant not to employ Swedes, 663; declines to take back New Amstel, 670; approves of a settlement on Wappinger's Kill, and orders Stuyvesant to oppose English intruders, 672; appoints Tonneman schout of New Amsterdam, 674; orders Stuyvesant to erect a court at Esopus, 677; to oppose encroachments of Maryland, 682; approves free trade with Virginia, 684; answer of, to Lord Baltimore's claims, 685; memorial of, to the States General, 685, 686; new conditions offered by, 688; rebukes Stuyvesant's bigotry and enjoins toleration, 707; concessions of, to Puritans proposing to settle on the Raritan, 707, 708; cedes the whole South River to the city of Amsterdam, 714, instructs Stuyvesant on the subject, 716; suspicious of Winthrop, 718; security required for Stuyvesant's bill on, 720; charter of, denied by Connecticut, 721; remonstrance of Convention and Stuyvesant's dispatch to, 723; held responsible for disorders on Long Island, 728; expenditure of, for New Netherland, 729; charter of, explained by the States General, 730; instructions of, to

Stuyvesant, 730; desires a cession of Mohawk lands, 732; last dispatch of, to Stuyvesant, 737; last dispatch of Stuyvesant to, 740; general scope of its policy, 746.
Westerhouse, case of, 479, 480, 496, 500, 519.
Westphalia, general treaty of, 435; proclaimed in New Netherland, 517.
Wethersfield, settlement at, 257; attacked by Pequods, 270; captives from, rescued by the Dutch, 271.
Wethouders in Holland, 453.
Weymouth, George, at the Sagadahoc, 9.
Whale-fishery at Swaanendael, 205, 207, 225, 228.
Whales up the North River, 420, note.
Wheeler, Thomas, opposes Dutch at West Chester, 618; submits, and is made magistrate, 619.
Whiting, William, sent from Hartford to Manhattan, 339; his enmity to the Dutch, 431, note.
Whiteneywen, sachem of the Mockgonecocks, 407, 408.
Wickendam, William, persecuted at Flushing, 626.
Wiehackan, purchase near, by Stuyvesant, 642; see Bergen.
"Wilhelmus van Nassauwen," origin of the Dutch national song, 442, note.
Wilkins, William, commissary of Gravesend, 596.
Willett, Captain Thomas, appointed an arbitrator at Hartford, 519; purchases a confiscated ship at Manhattan, 525; appointed by New Plymouth to act against the Dutch, 585; warns Stuyvesant of English expedition, 736; retracts, 737; accompanies Cartwright to Fort Orange, 743; at treaty with the Iroquois, 744.
William I., Prince of Orange, 19, 101, 185, 440, 442–446; William II., 434, 498, 542; William III., 446, 543.
William, English ship, at Manhattan, 229–231, 245, 246.
Williams, Jean, elder of church at New Amstel, 633.
Williams, Roger, exiled from Massachusetts, 331; founds Rhode Island, 332; sails from Manhattan, 354, 355, 359.
Willys, Samuel, a commissioner on the English side, 742, 763.
Wilmerdonck, Abraham, of Amsterdam, visits New Netherland, 730; assists at Indian treaty, 731; urges surrender of New Netherland, 741.
Wiltmeet, Indian fort of, 675.
Wiltwyck, charter of, 690; Roelof Swartwout installed as schout of, 690; new village at, 710; attacked by the savages, 711; re-enforcements sent to, 712; palisaded anew, 714; is represented in General Assembly, 729; Swartwout reinstated as schout at, 731; soldiers ordered from, 738.
Windsor, New Plymouth settlement at, 241, 242, 257, 260.
Winslow, Edward, sent to visit Dutch at Narragansett Bay, 171; visits Connecticut, 210, 233; at Boston, 238; imprisoned in London, 257, 258; again in London, 530.
Winterberg, Dutch name for the Green Mountains, 733.
Winthrop, John, a patentee of Massachusetts, 188, 189; founds Boston, 208; visited by a Connecticut sachem, 210, 233; by Winslow and Bradford, 238; writes to Van Twiller and claims Connecticut for the English, 239; reply of Van Twiller to, 240; Stoughton's letter to, about Connecticut, 293; authorizes Peters to negotiate with West India Company, 323, 324; president of the New England Commissioners, 362; correspondence with Kieft, 363; with Stuyvesant, 478; his "Indians," 429, note; death of, 499.
Winthrop, John (the younger), Governor of Connecticut, 260; returns to England, 323; gives passport to Ninigret, 551, 554; draws up address to Charles II., 695; commissioned as agent of Connecticut, 695; embarks from New Amsterdam, 695; his success in England, 702; at Amsterdam—is suspected by the West India Company, 718; opposes Stuyvesant at Boston, 718; administers oath to Long Island commissioners, 726; visits Long Island towns, 733; interview with Stuyvesant—insists on English title, 734; desired to meet royal commissioners, 737; takes letter from Nicolls to Stuyvesant, 739; a commissioner on the English side, 742, 763.
Winwood, Sir Ralph, 41, 45, 106, 108.
Wissinck, Jacob Elbertsen, counselor, 164.
Witherhead, Mary, imprisoned for preaching in streets of New Amsterdam, 636.
Witsen, Gerrit Jacobsen, 46, 63, 138, note.
Witt, Captain John de, on the Mauritius River, 46, 54.
Witt, John de, grand pensionary of Holland, 567; negotiates treaty with Cromwell, 586; his observations on the Dutch, 103, 457, 458.
Witt, Pieter Jansen de, magistrate of Boswyck, 693.
Wolf, Dirck de, establishes salt-works on Coney Island, 694.
Wolfertsen, Gerrit, one of the Eight Men, 365.
Women, influence of the Dutch, 463.
"Wooden Leg," Stuyvesant called the, by the Mohawks, 493.
Woodhull, Richard, at Huntington, on Long Island, 671, 703; a magistrate under Connecticut, 726.
Woolsey, George, a fire-warden at New Amsterdam, 487.
Writings to be attested, 277, 504.
Wright, Anthony, settles at Oyster Bay, 595.
Wynkoop, Peter, supercargo of Van Rensselaer's ship, 390.

Yennecock, on Long Island, land bought at, 300.

Yonkers, or Kekesick, purchased by Kieft, 290; acquired by Van der Donck, and called Colendonck, 421.
York and Albany, James, Duke of, in Holland, 498; grant of Charles II. to, 726, 735; appoints Colonel Richard Nicolls his deputy governor, 736; grants New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret, 736; New Netherland re-named after titles of, 743, 745.
Yorkshire, Long Island so named by Nicolls, 745.
Young, Captain John, of Southold, commissioners complain of Stuyvesant's treatment of, 625, 626; a deputy from Southold to Connecticut Court, 703; a commissioner of Connecticut on Long Island, 726.
Youngs, John, at Southold, 300.

Zealand, Province of—legend on its early coin, 20, note, 439, note; expeditions sent from, to explore passage to China, 22; East India Chamber at, opposes Hudson's propositions, 24; Chamber of West India company in, 135; meeting of the Nineteen at, 415; Chamber at, opposes Amsterdam Chamber, 539, 540.
Zuyder Zee, waters north of Nantucket so called, 58, 141, 756.

*** On page 164, line 1, for "Procurator," read Prosecutor. On page 290, line 26, for "Cow Bay," read Martinnehouck. On page 459, line 31, for "they," read were.

THE END.

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